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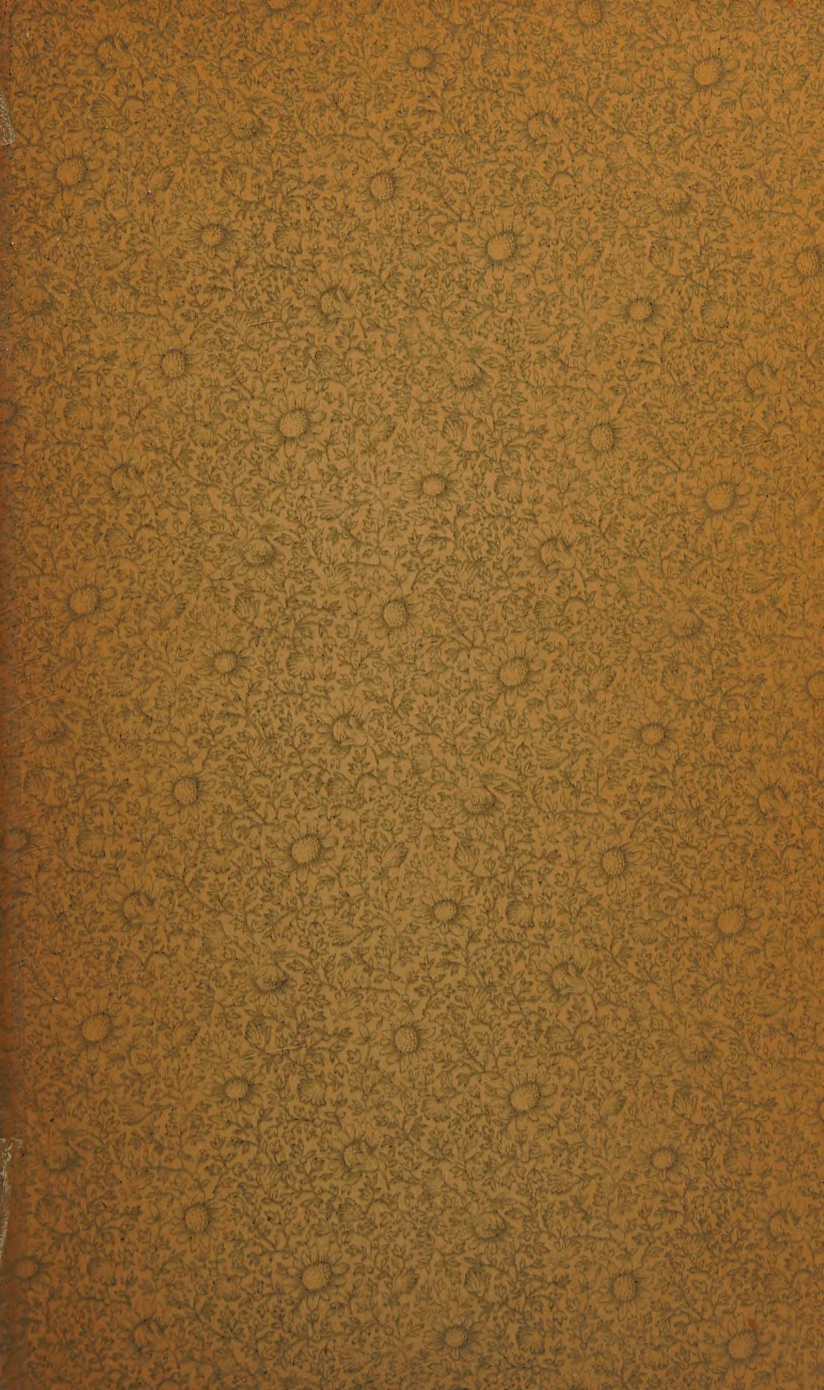
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OF IRELAND





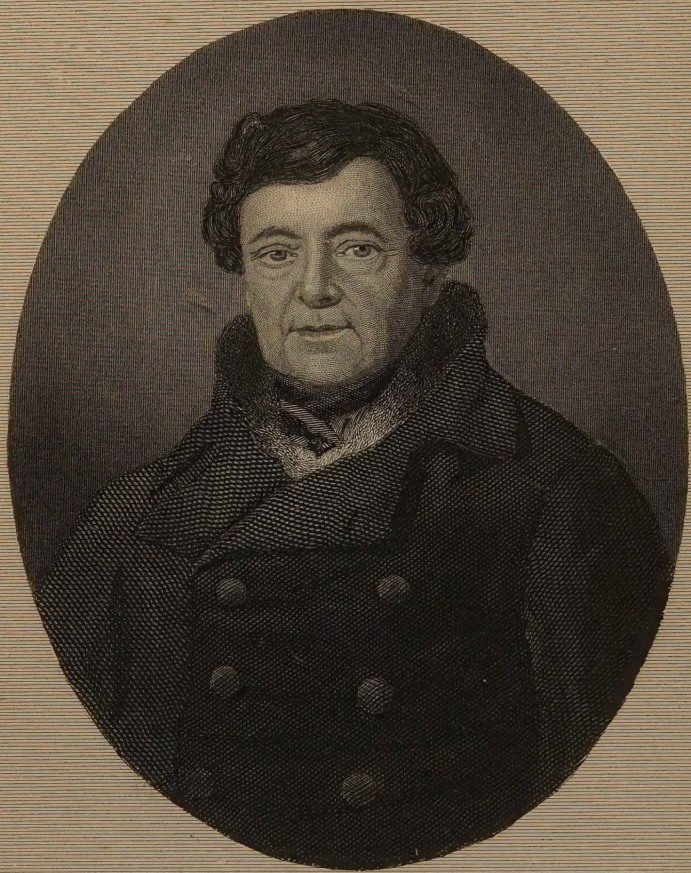








*P. Kelly*



Jas. S. King

Your faithful Servant  
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THE

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HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM

THE EARLIEST KINGS OF THAT REALM DOWN  
TO ITS LAST CHIEF.

BY

THOMAS MOORE, ESQ.

II  
VOL. II.

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# THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

JOHN.

**CONDITION OF IRELAND DURING THE REIGN OF KING JOHN.—THE DISSENSIONS AMONG THE NATIVES FOMENTED BY THE GREAT ENGLISH LORDS.—CONTENTION BETWEEN CATHAL AND CARRACH FOR THE PRINCIPALITY OF CONNAUGHT.—EACH ABETTED BY ENGLISH AUXILIARIES.—TWO THIRDS OF THAT PROVINCE SURRENDERED BY CATHAL TO KING JOHN.—RIVALRY BETWEEN JOHN DE COURCY AND HUGH DE LACY.—DE COURCY SENT PRISONER TO ENGLAND.—THE EARLDOM OF ULSTER TRANSFERRED, ON HIS DEATH, TO DE LACY.—MURDER OF DE COURCY'S NATURAL SON BY ONE OF THE DE LACYS.—EXPEDITION OF KING JOHN TO IRELAND.—SUBMISSION OF MANY OF THE IRISH CHIEFS.—EFFECTS OF HIS PRESENCE UPON THE ENGLISH BARONS.—PANIC AND FLIGHT OF WILLIAM DE BRAOSA AND THE TWO DE LACYS.—OUTRAGE COMMITTED BY THE SEPTS OF WICKLOW.—INTRODUCTION BY JOHN OF ENGLISH LAWS AND USAGES INTO IRELAND.—HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND.—ADMINISTRATION OF DE GREY.—PEACE IN IRELAND.**

THE reign of king John, which, in the hands of the English historian, presents so proud and stirring an example of successful resistance to wrong, exhibits, in our Irish records, but a melancholy picture of slavery and suffering. Some brief struggles were, indeed, attempted, in the course of this reign, by the natives; but, while fondly persuading themselves that, in these efforts, they fought in their own cause, they were, really, but instruments in the hands of some rival English

lords, who, by exciting and assisting the native chieftains against each other, divided and weakened the national strength, and thereby advanced their own violent and rapacious views.

Thus, when, on the death of the monarch Roderic (A. D. 1198), his two sons broke out into fierce contention for the right of succession, William de Burgh, a baron of the family of Fitz-Aldelm, espoused the cause of the brother named Carrach, while John de Courcy and Walter de Lacy were seen to range themselves on the side of Cathal of the Bloody Hand;\* and a signal victory gained over the latter and his English auxiliaries, at Kilmacduagh, appeared, for a time, to have finally decided the contest. As the alliance, however, of William de Burgh had been chiefly the means of insuring Carrach's success, there was yet a chance that this powerful lord might be brought to desert the chief's cause, and that thus the fortunes of the discomfited Cathal might again be retrieved. Speculating, justly, as it appears, on the selfish views of De Burgh, this prince (1200) held forth to him such prospects of gain and advantage, as succeeded in winning him over from the banner of his rival.† With the aid of so disreputable an alliance, Cathal again took the field against his brother, and, after a sanguinary action, in the course of which Carrach was slain, regained his principality.‡

Down to this period, the province of Connaught, the hereditary kingdom of the last Irish monarch, had, however torn by civil dissension, continued to preserve its territorial integrity, as guaranteed by the solemn treaty between Henry and king Roderic. But at the crisis we have now reached, this inviolability of the realm of the O'Connors was set aside, and

\* See Vol. I. chap. xxxii. of this work, pp. 701, 704.

† Ware's Annals. ad an. 1200.

‡ Annal. Inisfall. The Book of Clonmacnoise, at the years 1201-2, commemorates a number of achievements performed by Cathal, in conjunction with William de Burgh.

through the act of its own reigning prince. Whether from weariness of the constant dissensions he had been involved in, or, perhaps, hoping that by the cession of a part of his territories he might secure a more valid title to the remainder, Cathal, of his own free will, agreed to surrender\* to king John two parts of Connaught, and to hold the third from him in vassalage, paying annually for it the sum of 100 marks. The letter of king John † (A. D. 1205), wherein the terms of this compact are stated and agreed to, is addressed to Meyler Fitz-Henry, who was, at this time, justiciary or lord justice of Ireland, and whose name is associated with the earliest adventures of the Anglo-Normans in this island.

The mischief of the policy pursued by Henry II., in deputing to an upstart and suddenly enriched aristocracy (the most odious, perhaps, of all forms of political power) the administration of his Irish possessions, was in few instances more strikingly exemplified than in the rivalry, which now had reached its most disturbing height, between John de Courcy and the rich and powerful baron, Hugh de Lacy, son of the first lord of Meath. Following the example of De Courcy himself, this baron had assumed, for some time, a state of princely independence, entering into treaties with his brother lords and the native chiefs, and aiding the latter in their local and provincial feuds.

On the accession, however, of John to the English throne, the daring openness with which De Courcy spoke of that event, as well as of the dark and guilty deed by which it was followed, drew down upon him the king's heaviest wrath; and to his rival, Hugh de Lacy, now made lord justice, was committed the not unwelcome task of seizing the rebellious baron, and sending him prisoner to England. What was ultimately the fate of this hardy warrior we have no trustworthy means of

\* Close Roll, 6 John.

† This letter is given by Leland at full length, p. 175.



ascertaining.\* The stories told † of his subsequent adventures in England, his acceptance of the challenge of the champion of France, and his display of prowess in the presence of the two kings, are all not only fabulous in themselves, but wholly at variance with known historical events. That he did not succeed as some have alleged, in regaining his place in the royal favour, may be taken for granted from the fact that, though he left a son to inherit his possessions, both the title and property of the earldom of Ulster were, on his decease, transferred to his rival, Hugh de Lacy.‡ Nor did the hatred he had awakened in this family die with himself, but extended also to his race; as we find that, not many years after, a natural son of his, who bore the title of lord of Ratheny and Kilbarrock, was assassinated in cold blood, by one of the De Lacys.§

In the year 1210, king John, with the view, chiefly, as it would seem, of diverting the minds of his people from the depressing effects of the papal interdict which now hung like a benumbing spell over his kingdom, undertook a military expedition against Scotland; and, having succeeded in that quarter, led, soon after, a numerous army into Ireland.|| Between the exactions and cruelties of the English on one side, and the constant revolts and fierce reprisals of the maddened natives on the other, a sufficient case for armed intervention was doubtless then, as it has been at almost all periods since, but too easily found. The very display, however, of so large a force was, of itself,

\* According to the Annals of Inisfallen, he was slain by the De Lacys. Hanmer, whom Lodge follows, makes him die in France.

† By Holinshed, Campton, and others.

‡ Pat. Roll, 6 John.

§ Annal. Hibern. apud Camden.

|| To defray the expenses of this expedition, he had seized and plundered the wretched Jews, all over England; and the memorable torture inflicted upon a Jew at Bristol, by striking out, every day, one of his cheek-teeth, was for the purpose of forcing him to pay down 10,000 marks towards the cost of the Irish expedition. The religious house of Margam, in Wales, was specially exempted from the general exaction levied on this occasion, in consequence of the hospitality extended by its inmates to Henry and his army, both on their way to Ireland, and on their return.—*Annal. de Margam.*

sufficient to produce a temporary calm. No less than twenty, we are told, of the Irish princes, or chiefs, came to pay homage to the monarch, among whom were O'Neill of Tyrone, and the warlike Cathal, prince of Connaught; the latter offering, for the first time, his homage as a vassal of the English crown.\* After remaining but two days in Dublin,† the king proceeded to Carrickfergus, the ancient castle of which town he took possession of, and fixed his abode there for ten days.‡

While thus auspicious appears to have been the effect of the presence of royalty upon the natives, it produced, in a different way, no less salutary consequences, by the check it gave to the career of some of those rapacious barons, compared to whose multiform misrule the tyranny of one would have been hailed as a blessing. Among these, one of the most impracticable had been William de Breuse, or Braosa, to whom the king, soon after his accession, had made a grant of estates in the south of Ireland. Struck with panic at the consciousness of his own misdeeds, this lord took flight precipitately from the kingdom, leaving his wife and daughter at the mercy of the monarch, who, when at Carrickfergus,§ had them both taken into custody, and brought them over with him, on his return into England. At Bristol, he yielded so far to the lady's entreaties, as to allow an interview between her and her husband;|| but she is said to have been afterwards, by his

\* Walsingham represents Cathal as having been, at this time, conquered and reduced by John. "In suam ditionem redegit totam terram Catalo rege Connaccias triumphato."—*Ypodig Neustriae*. But the Annals of Inisfallen, with more correctness, state it to have been an act of willing homage, "Cathal Crob-Dearg, king of Connaught, came with a great retinue to pay his court to king John." See, for John taking Cathal under his protection, Rymer, tom. i. p. 136.

† Itinerary of King John.

‡ Ibid.

§ Rex Johannes transfretavit in Hiberniam et cepit ibi castrum Krakefergus.—*Chron. Thomæ Wikes*. See also *Itinerary*.

|| Letter of king John. See *Description of the Patent Rolls, &c.*, by Thomas D. Hardy, F. S. A. Our histories in general represent De Braosa as being at this time in France.

order, imprisoned in Windsor Castle, and, together with her son, inhumanly starved to death.

The two De Lacys, alarmed at the arrival of the king in Ireland, took flight into France, and there found employment, as garden labourers, in the abbey of St. Taurin. In this retreat they had remained concealed for two or three years, when the abbot, induced, by some circumstances, to suspect their real rank, drew forth from themselves the particulars of their story; and then, by appealing, in their behalf, to the clemency of John, succeeded in prevailing upon him to receive them again into favour. On condition of Walter paying 2,500 marks for Meath, and Hugh, on his part, paying 4,000 marks for the earldom of Ulster, the two brothers were both reinstated in their possessions.\* In grateful acknowledgment of the service rendered him by the abbot of St. Taurin, Walter de Lacy, in returning to Ireland, brought with him the abbot's nephew, and, after making him a knight, bestowed upon him the seignory of Dingle.†

By a writ to his barons and justices, in the ninth year of his reign, John had ordered that measures should be taken for the expulsion from the king's lands of all robbers and plunderers, and all such persons as harboured them; ‡ and an instance of outrage, said to have occurred about the same time, will show how daring was the spirit of lawlessness then abroad; even in the neighbourhood of the chief seat of English power. The population of the city of Dublin, at this time (A. D. 1209), appears to have consisted, for the most part, of colonists from Bristol, who, induced by the grant which Henry II. had so unceremoniously made of Dublin to the Bristolians, established themselves there in great numbers. These citizens having, on the Monday of Easter week, flocked out from the town for air and recreation, towards a place still called Cullen's Wood, were

\* Pat. Roll, 17 John.

‡ Pat. Roll, 9 John.

† Annal. Hibern. apud Camden.

there attacked by some lawless septs, inhabiting the mountains in the neighbourhood of Wicklow, and no less than 300 of the assemblage, exclusive of women and children, inhumanly butchered.\* In commemoration of this massacre, it continued long after to be the custom of the citizens of Dublin to hold a feast every year, on Easter Monday, upon the spot where the memorable outrage had been committed. There, pitching their numerous tents, the citizens passed the day in sports and recreation; and, among other modes of celebrating the occasion, used to challenge, from time to time, the "mountain enemy" to come forth and attack them, if he dared.†

To introduce into the new territories of which they possessed themselves the laws and usages of the country they had left, would be naturally a favourite object of the first settlers in Ireland; and in this civilising process Henry II., though so limited in time for his task, made very considerable progress. Thus, for instance, the duties, conditions, and services by which, under the feudal system, property was held in England, continued to be the grounds of tenure in all the grants made by him in locating his new colony. The establishment, also, of courts baron, by the respective lords to whom he had granted lands, implies, manifestly, the adoption among them of the common law of England; and it appears, from a record of the reign of Edward III., that Hugh de Lacy, from the time of the grant to him of the territory of Meath by Henry II., held and enjoyed all jurisdictions and cognizance of all pleas within that district.‡ In the incorporation charter which John, as lord of Ireland, granted to the city of Dublin, in the year 1192, we find the principle of burgage tenure established, —the messuages, plantations, and buildings, within the metes

\* Hanmer.

† In process of time the singing boys of the cathedral were deputed to offer this defiance (Stuart, *Hist. Memoire of Armagh*, ch. viii.); and the choirs, says Leland, are annually regaled at this place, called the Wood of Cullen, to the present day.

‡ Chancery Roll, Dublin, cited by Lynch, *View of Legal Institutions*, p. 6.



of the city, having been granted to the burgesses, "to be held by them in free burgage, and by the service of landgable which they render within the walls." \*

When John, for the second time, now landed upon the Irish shore, not finding any enemy to encounter his mighty force, he was left the more leisure to attend to the civil condition of the realm; and not only did he give to the laws and institutions which he found there already established a more extended scope and exercise, but he had, also, the merit of introducing others of no less import to the future well-being of the settlement.† Some writers, it is true, have asserted that on this monarch's accession to the throne, he found the laws of England already in full operation throughout his Irish dominions. But there seems little doubt that to him is to be attributed, besides other useful measures, the division of such parts of the kingdom as were in his possession into shires, or counties,‡ with their respective sheriffs and other officers, after the manner of England; and that the first sterling money circulated in Ireland was coined under his direction.§

We need look, indeed, for no stronger evidence of the important share which this prince, in other respects so odious, took in the great task of transplanting his country's laws and institutions into Ireland, than is found in a record of the reign

\* Gale, *Inquiry into the Ancient Corporate System of Ireland, Appendix, iv.* "Nor should it be concealed that, from the beginning of his reign, this inconsistent prince (John) had shown a singular readiness to convert demesne towns into corporate boroughs;—a measure inimical to all despotism."—*Roger Wendover.*

† Mathew Paris,—Henry de Knyghton,—Walter de Hemingford, &c. "Statuitque ibidem (says Henry de Knyghton) legem Anglicanam, et ut omnia eorum judicia, secundum eandem, vel Anglicanam consuetudinem terminarentur."

‡ Of the counties of Ireland, says Ware, "twelve were erected in Leinster and Munster, by king John; viz. Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel (or Louth), Catherlough (or Carlow), Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary."

§ Some of the coins of John were struck before his accession to the throne. Those which he caused to be struck at this time (1210) consisted of pennies, half-pence, and farthings, of the same standard as the English, which gives twenty-two and a half grains to the penny.—Lindsay's *View of the Coinage of Ireland.*

of his successor, Henry III., wherein it is set forth\* that "John brought with him into Ireland discreet men, skilled in the laws, by whose advice he commanded the laws of England to be observed in Ireland, and left the said laws reduced into writing, under his seal, in the exchequer of Dublin." Having provided thus for the better administration of that kingdom's affairs, and in so far redeemed the disgrace of his former experiment, the king set sail for England, leaving to John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, whom he had appointed lord justice, the task of carrying all these measures into effect; and such was the tranquillising influence, both of his policy and of the skill and vigour with which he administered it, that, when the French king, shortly after, threatened an invasion of England, the lord justice was enabled to spare from the force under his command a company of knights and 300 infantry, to aid the cause of his royal master.†

Throughout the remainder of this monarch's reign, which passed in a series of struggles, as dishonouring as they were disastrous, first with the pope and then with his own turbulent barons, there appears to have been no effort made by his subjects in Ireland, whether English or native, to turn the embarrassments of his position to account for the advancement of their own several interests and views. On the contrary, in defiance of all ordinary speculation,—and a similar anomaly presents itself at more than one crisis of our history,—while England was affording an example of rebellion and riot, which mere neighbourhood, it might be supposed, would have rendered infectious, the sister country meanwhile looked quietly on, and remained in unbroken peace. There are extant, indeed, letters of John, written at the time when the English barons were in arms against his authority, returning thanks to the barons of Ireland for their fidelity and service to him, and asking their advice respecting some arduous affairs in which

\* See this writ in Cox, p. 51.

† Cox.

he was then engaged.\* It appears, also, from an order addressed at this time to the archbishop of Dublin, that seasonable presents to the native princes and chiefs were among the means adopted for keeping them in good humour; that prelate having been commissioned to purchase, forthwith, a sufficient quantity of scarlet cloth, to be made into robes for the Irish kings, and others of the native grandees.†

As in the contentions between John and his barons the people of Ireland had taken no part, so neither in the Charter of Liberties wrung from him by those turbulent nobles did his Irish subjects enjoy any immediate communion or share. There were, notwithstanding, present, on the side of the king, at Runnymede (A. D. 1215), two eminent personages, Henri de Londres,‡ and William, earl marshal,§ who might both, from their respective stations, be naturally looked to as representatives of Irish interests; De Londres being archbishop of Dublin, and at this time justiciary of Ireland, while the lord marshal was a baron of immense hereditary possessions in that country. By neither, however, of these great lords, does any claim appear to have been advanced in behalf of the king's Irish

\* Several of such writs from the crown, during this reign, asking "*consilium et auxilium*" of the nobles of Ireland, may be found among the records in the Tower.

† Rymer, tom. i.—Presents of cloth were sometimes made to the chiefs in acknowledgment of their authority; and so late as the middle of the fifteenth century, we find John May, on being appointed archbishop of Armagh, presenting to O'Neil, prince of Ulster, six yards of good cloth for his (O'Neil's) investiture, and three yards of like cloth for his wife's tunic.—*Regist. Armagh*.

‡ It is told of this prelate, that, having called together his tenants, for the purpose of learning, as he alleged, by what title they held their lands, he thus got possession of all their leases, and other evidences of their property, and then consigned the whole to the flames; for which act, it is added, he was nicknamed "Scorch-villain," or "Burn-bill" (as Holinshed explains it), by the natives.—See this idle story, with all its redundant particulars, in Hanmer's Chronicle.

§ The founder of Tintern Abbey, in the county of Wexford. This lord, being in great danger at sea, made a vow to found an abbey on whatever spot he should reach in safety. His bark found shelter in Bannow bay, and he religiously performed his vow, filling the abbey which he there founded with Cistercian monks, brought from Tintern, in Monmouthshire.—Archdall, *Monast. Hibern.*

subjects, nor any effort made to include them specifically in the grants and privileges accorded by the charter.

The same respite, however, from civil strife, continued through the remainder of John's inglorious reign; and the chief merit of this unusual calm may doubtless be attributed to the talent and judgment of Henri de Londres and Geoffry de Marisco, to whom, successively, and, for a time, jointly, during this interval, was intrusted the task of administering the affairs of the realm.

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## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### HENRY III.

▲ACCESSION OF HENRY III.—GRANT OF THE GREAT CHARTER TO HIS ENGLISH SUBJECTS IN IRELAND.—EXCLUSION OF THE NATIVES FROM ALL SHARE OF ENGLISH LAWS AND LIBERTIES.—INDIVIDUAL EXCEPTIONS.—HOSTILITIES BETWEEN HUGH DE LACY AND THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.—SURRENDER OF THEIR PRINCIPALITIES BY THE IRISH CHIEFS.—AGREE TO HOLD THEM IN FUTURE AS TENANTS OF THE CROWN.—BREACH OF FAITH ON THE PART OF THE KING TOWARDS CATHAL.—VISIT OF FEIDLIM, PRINCE OF CONNAUGHT, TO THE ENGLISH KING.—REBELLION AND DEATH OF RICHARD, EARL MARSHAL.—IRISH FORCES EMPLOYED BY THE KING IN HIS WARFARE AGAINST WALES.—ADMISSION OF A FEW NATIVES TO THE PARTICIPATION OF ENGLISH LAW.—THREATENED INVASION OF THE KING'S DOMINIONS IN GASCONY, AND PRESSING REQUESTS FOR AID FROM IRELAND.—GRANT BY HENRY OF THE LORDSHIP OF IRELAND TO HIS SON, PRINCE EDWARD.—IMPORTANT RESERVATIONS IN THAT GRANT.—PROBABILITY THAT PRINCE EDWARD VISITED IRELAND.—RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES WITH WALES.—GENERAL RISING OF THE MAC CARTHYS OF DESMOND.—A NUMBER OF GERALDINE LORDS AND KNIGHTS PUT TO DEATH BY THEM.—FALL OUT AMONG THEMSELVES AND ARE CRUSHED.—DISSENSIONS ALSO BETWEEN THE DE BURGHS AND THE GERALDINES.—A PARLIAMENT, OR COUNCIL, HELD AT KILKENNY, AND PEACE RESTORED BETWEEN THESE TWO FAMILIES.—ADMINISTRATION OF SIR ROBERT DE UFFORD.

THE new monarch being but ten years old when he ascended the throne (A. D. 1216), it became necessary to appoint a guardian both of the king and of the realm; and the earl of Pembroke, who, as marshal of England, was already at the head



of the armies, and who, though faithful to the fortunes of John, had yet retained the respect of the people, was, by a general council of his brother barons, appointed protector of the realm. To this nobleman, in addition to his immense possessions in England and Wales, had devolved, by his marriage with Isabella, daughter and heiress of earl Strongbow, the lordship, or rather royal palatinate, of Leinster. Having, personally, therefore, so deep an interest in the prosperity of the English settlement, it could little be doubted that affairs connected with that country's welfare would, under his government, become objects of special attention.

Accordingly, one of the first measures of the new reign was to transmit to Ireland a duplicate of the instrument by which, in a grand council held at Bristol, Henry had renewed and ratified the great Charter of Liberty granted by his father. Neither had the English settlers themselves been so little alive to the favourable prospect, which a reign, opening under the auspices of the lord of Leinster, presented, as not to avail themselves of the first opportunity of making an appeal to the consideration of the throne. Shortly after the king's accession, they had laid before him, through the medium of one of his chaplains, Ralph of Norwich, a statement of the grievances under which they laboured; and it was in about seven weeks after that the duplicate of the renowned English charter was transmitted to them,\* "sealed," says the letter of Henry, which accompanied it, "with the seals of our lord Gualo, legate of the apostolical see, and of our trusty earl, William Marshall, our governor, and the governor of our kingdom,—because as yet we possess no seal."†

There prevailed a notion, it is evident, through the few first reigns of the Anglo-Irish period, that the kingdom of Ireland ought to have for its ruler some member of the reigning

\* Pat. Roll, 1 Henry III.

† Quia sigillum nondum habuimus.

family of England. An unsuccessful trial of this experiment took place, as we have seen, under Henry Plantagenet; and the reign at present occupying our attention exhibits an equally injudicious partition of the royal title and power; the first suggestion of such a plan having originated with the Irish barons themselves, who, in the memorial addressed by them to Henry, on his accession,\* desired, among other requests, that either the queen dowager or the king's brother should be sent to reside in that country.

In giving an account of the transmission to Ireland, by Henry III. (A. D. 1216), of a copy or duplicate of the great charter, historians have left it too much to be implied that the charters for both countries were exactly the same; without any, even, of those adaptations and compliances which the variance in customs between the two countries would reasonably require. The language of Henry himself, in transmitting the document, somewhat favours this view of the transaction. But such was not likely to have been the mode in which an instrument, then deemed so important, was framed. Among the persons by whose advice it had been granted, were William Marshall, lord of Leinster, Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, John, lord marshal of Ireland,† and several other noblemen, all connected, as lords of the soil and public functionaries, with Ireland, and intimately acquainted with the peculiar laws and customs of the land. As might naturally be expected, therefore, several minute but not unimportant differences are found to exist between the two charters: some in the forms, for instance, of administering justice; others in the proceedings for the advowsons of churches; and some arising out of the peculiar Irish custom as to dowers; while all imply, in those who drew up the document, a desire to accommodate the

\* Close Roll, 1 Henry III.

† Nephew of the lord William Marshall, and appointed by king John to the marshalses of all Ireland, in the ninth year of his reign.

laws of the new settlers to the customs and usages of the country in which they were located.\*

It appears strange, however, that any such deference for the native customs and institutions should be shown by legislators, who yet left the natives themselves almost wholly out of their consideration; the monstrous fact being, that the actual people of Ireland were wholly excluded from any share in the laws and measures by which their own country was to be thus disposed of and governed. Individual exceptions, indeed, to this general exclusion of the natives, occur so early as the time of king John,† during whose reign there appear “charters” of English laws and liberties, to such of the natives as thought it necessary to obtain them; and it is but just to say of John, as well as of his immediate successors, Henry and Edward, that they endeavoured, each of them, to establish a community of laws among all the inhabitants of the country. But the foreign lords of the land were opposed invariably to this wise and just policy; and succeeded in substituting for it a monstrous system of outlawry and proscription, the disturbing effects of which were continued down from age to age, nor have ceased to be felt and execrated even to the present day.

The desire of plunder, which had hitherto united the English settlers against the natives, was now, by a natural process, dividing the enriched English among themselves. The first very violent interruption of the peace that occurred in Henry’s reign arose out of the rival pretensions of two powerful barons, Hugh de Lacy, and the young William, earl of Pembroke, the latter of whom, on the death of his father, in 1219, had succeeded to his vast Irish possessions. Some part of the lands which thus descended to him having been claimed, as

\* Lynch, *View of the Legal Institutions, &c., established in Ireland*, chap. 2.

† So early as the year 1216, John had laid a precedent for this sort of charters, by his grant of “English law and liberty” to Donald O’Neill.—Pat. Roll, 17 John.

rightfully his own, by De Lacy, the arbitrament of the sword was appealed to, in preference to that of the law, and fierce hostilities between them ensued; in the course of which, Trim\* was besieged by Pembroke, and gallantly defended (A. D. 1220), and the counties of Leinster and Meath were alternately laid waste. The powerful chief of Tyrone, O'Neill, lent his aid, in this war of plunder, to De Lacy.†

How little of fairness or good faith the wretched natives had to expect in their dealings with the foreigner, was, about this time, made but too warningly manifest. Regarding the throne as their only refuge against the swarm of petty tyrants by whom they were harassed, more than one of the great Irish captains now followed the example of Cathal of Connaught, in formally surrendering to the king their ancient principalities, and then receiving back a portion by royal grant, to be held in future by them as tenants of the English crown;—thus making a sacrifice of part of their hereditary rights, in order to enjoy, as they hoped, more securely what remained. In this manner O'Brian, prince of Tomond, received from Henry a grant of part of that territory (A. D. 1221), for which he was to pay a yearly rent of 130 marks.‡ The fate of Connaught, however, held forth but scanty encouragement to those inclined to rely on such specious compacts.

In despite of the solemn engagement entered into by king John,§ in the year 1219, assuring to Cathal the safe possession of a third part of Connaught, on the condition of his surrendering the other two parts to the king, the whole of that province was now, by a grant of Henry III., bestowed upon Rich-

\* It is generally believed that the still existing castle of Trim was built by the younger De Lacy soon after this siege.

† Hanmer.

‡ Cox. According to Leland, but I think, incorrectly, the payment was a yearly rent of 100*l.* and a fine of 1000 marks. "This was the only grant (says Cox) made by the crown of England to any mere Irishman to that time, excepting that to the king of Connaught."

§ Cox.



ard de Burgh,—the factious baron who had caused so much trouble to the crown, in the reign of king John,—to be taken possession of by him after Cathal's death.

This violation of public faith was not allowed to pass unresisted or unrevenged. On the death of Cathal (1223), which occurred soon after, the people of his province, regardless of Henry's grant, and supported by the ever-ready sword of O'Neill, proceeded to elect a successor to the chieftainship, and conferred that dignity upon Tirlogh, Cathal's brother. So daring a defiance of the will of the government called down on the offenders the vengeance of the lord justice, Geoffrey de Marisco; and a long and furious struggle ensued, during which, the sovereignty of Connaught, after having passed from Tirlogh to Aedh, a son of Cathal, settled at last on the brow of Feidlim, another son of that prince.

However fertile were these dark times in acts of injustice, violence, and treachery, there are few events in which all these qualities can be found more odiously exemplified, than in the melancholy fate of the young Richard, earl marshal, son of the late protector of the realm. This lord, having incurred the resentment of Henry, by joining in a confederacy against him, with the earl of Cornwall and other malcontent lords, found himself, without trial, deprived of his high office of marshal (A. D. 1233), and was forced to retire for safety into Wales; where, entering into an alliance with Llewellyn and other chiefs of that province, he successfully defended one of his own castles that had been attacked by the king's troops, and made reprisals on the royal territories in return.

To repress such daring movements by force, would have been, on the king's part, no more than an exercise of the natural right of self-defence. But treachery was the means employed to get rid of this refractory young lord. By the base contrivance, as it is said, of the bishop of Winchester, Henry's chief adviser, letters under the king's seal, fraudulently ob-

tained, were sent to the lord justice, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, to Hugh and Walter de Lacy, Richard de Burgh, Geoffrey de Marisco, and others of the Irish barons, informing them, that Richard, late earl marshal of England, having been proscribed, banished, and deprived of his estates, by the king, yet still continuing in rebellion against his authority, it was required of these lords, that should Richard by chance land in Ireland, they should forthwith seize upon his person, and send him, dead or alive, to the king. In consideration, it was added, of this service, all the possessions and lands that had devolved to Richard in Ireland, and were now at the king's disposal, would by him be granted to them and their heirs for ever.\*

So tempting a bribe, to men brought up in no very scrupulous notions of right and wrong, could not fail to appeal with irresistible effect; and, from thenceforth, no art or treachery appears to have been spared to lure the victim into their toils. In order to induce him to pass over into Ireland, exaggerated accounts were conveyed to him of the force of his immediate adherents; together with secret assurances of support from many of the barons themselves. Thus deceived as to the extent of his resources, he rashly ventured over with a guard of but fifteen followers (A. D. 1334), and, immediately on his arrival, was waited upon by the chief actor in the plot, Geoffrey de Marisco; who, reminding him of his ancient rights, and of the valiant blood flowing in his veins, advised him to avenge the insults he had received, by attacking the king's territories without delay. This advice the unsuspecting young earl adopted; and, taking the field with whatever force he could hastily collect, succeeded in recovering some of his own castles, and got possession of the city of Limerick after a siege of but four days.†

\* Mathew Paris.

† "Limeric quoque famosam Hiberniæ civitatem quadriduana cepit obsidione."—*Mathew Paris.*

Still further to carry on the delusion till all should be ripe for his ruin, the treacherous barons now affected alarm at the success of his arms, as threatening danger to the king's government; and, proposing a truce, requested an interview with him for the purpose of arranging the terms. To this, little suspecting the treachery that hung over him, the gallant young earl assented; and, attended by Geoffrey de Marisco and about a hundred followers, proceeded to the place of conference on the great plain of Kildare. But it was soon manifest that he had been decoyed thither only to be betrayed. The pretence of a conference had been devised with the sole view of provoking a conflict: and the signal for the onset having been given on the side of the barons, Richard found himself suddenly deserted by his perfidious prompter, De Marisco, who, drawing off eighty of the earl's band, left him with little more than the fifteen followers who had accompanied him from Wales, to stand the shock of a force ten times their number. Even thus abandoned and beset, the earl marshal kept his ground, till at length unhorsed, and attacked by a traitor from behind, who plunged a dagger up to the hilt into his back, he fell, all but lifeless, on the field; and being conveyed from thence to one of his own castles, which had just fallen into the hands of the justiciary, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, breathed his last (A. D. 1284), in the midst of enemies, with only a youth of his own household to watch over him in his dying moments.\*

Richard was one of five brothers, the sons of the protector Pembroke, who all lived to be earls of Pembroke, and all died childless; in consequence of which default of heirs, the high and warlike house of Marshall became extinct. The death of this gallant nobleman, from the peculiar circumstances attending it, created a strong sensation, not only throughout Ireland,

\* "Cum uno tantum juvene de suis inter hostes remansit." — *Mathew Paris*  
This story of the last days and death of the earl Richard occupies in the diffuse narrative of the old historian no less than fourteen or fifteen folio pages.

but in England, where he was looked up to, says Mathew Paris, as "the very flower of the chivalry of modern times." \*

Among the few legislative measures, directed to peaceful or useful objects, that greet the course of the historian through these times, must be mentioned a writ addressed by the king to his chief justice in Ireland, for free commerce between the subjects of both kingdoms,† without any impediment or restraint;—a measure which "some," it is added, "endeavoured to hinder, to the great prejudice of both." ‡

The rapacity and violence which had marked the conduct of De Burgh and his kinsman, throughout these contests, had been made known to Henry through various channels. Among others, Feidlim, the new dynast of Connaught, had addressed the king confidentially on the subject (A. D. 1240),§ and requested leave to visit him in England, for the purpose of con-

\* "Militiæ flos temporum modernorum." The following are tributes to his fame from contemporary writers:—

"Anglia plange, Marescallum plangens lachrymare  
Causa subest, quare quia pro te planxit amare.  
Virtus militiæ, patriæ protectio," &c. &c.

*Verses in the Annals of Waverly, ad ann. 1234.*

"The wende Richard the marschal, that of Pembroc erl was,  
Into Irlonde to worri, in luther time alas!

\* \* \* \* \*

Wat seiste, 'quoth this gode erl, 'wan Richard the marschal  
Upe is stede iarmed is, & atiled thoru out al,  
& toward is fon in the feld hath is wombe iwent,  
Ssold he turne hom is rugh? he has neuere so issent.  
Vor he ne dude it neuere, ne neuere iwis ne ssal.

Fram such ssendnesse Crist ssulde Richard the Marssal."

*Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.*

† Close Roll, 29 Henry III. Walter Hemingford, a chronicler, who himself lived in this reign, and of whom Leland (*Comment. de Script. Britann.*) says, that he narrated the events of his own time with the greatest care ("summa curâ"), yet states, that an army was led by the king at this time into Ireland, in consequence of the expedition thither of earl Richard, and that, having pacified the country, after that lord's death, he returned the same year to England!

‡ Prynn, cap. 76.

§ Rymer, tom. i. 391.—The following is an extract from Feidlim's letter:—"Grates referimus infinitas; et maxime pro eo quod pro nobis Willielmo de Dene justo vest. Hiberniæ bonæ memoriæ pro restitutione habenda de dampnis nobis per Walterum de Burgo et suam sequelam, in terra nostra de Tyrmara, illatis, devote scripsisti." See, also, writ for the safe conduct of Feidlim (ib. 422.), wherein he is styled "Fedlinus O'Cananir, filius regis Conact."



sulting with him on their mutual interests and concerns. After due deliberation, on the part of Henry, the conference with his royal brother of Connaught was accorded; and, so succesfully did Feidlim plead his own suit, and expose the injustice of the grasping family opposed to him, that the king wrote to Maurice Fitz-Gerald, then lord justice, and, with a floridness of style, caught, as it would seem, from his new Irish associates, desired that he would "pluck up by the root that fruitless sycamore, De Burgh, which the earl of Kent, in the insolence of his power, had planted in those parts, nor suffer it to bud forth any longer." \*

During the disputes that arose between Henry and the two successive sovereigns of Wales, Llewellyn and David, respecting the claim of feudal superiority advanced by the English king, a perpetual warfare continued to be maintained between the borderers of the two nations, which grew, at times, into sufficient importance to call into the field the respective sovereigns themselves. On an occasion of this kind, which occurred in the year 1245, the king, being then hard pressed by the Welsh, and likewise suffering from the intense severity of the winter, summoned to his aid Maurice Fitz-Gerald, with his Irish forces.† A letter written at the time, by a nobleman in Henry's camp, thus gives, with the freshness of a sketch taken at the moment, an account of the state of the English army. "The king with his army lyeth at Gannock, fortifying that strong castle, and we live in our tents, thereby, watching, fasting, praying, and freezing with cold. We watch, for fear of the Welshmen, who are wont to invade and come upon us in the night-time; we fast, for want of meat, for the half-penny loaf is worth five-pence; we pray to God to send us home speedily; we starve with cold, wanting our winter garments, having no

\* "Ut ipsius iniquæ plantationis, quam Comes Cantie Hubertus in illis partibus dum suâ potentiâ debaccharet, plantavit, infructuosam sicomorum radicibus evulsam, non sineret amplius pullulare."

† Rymer, tom. i. 481.

more but a thin linen cloth between us and the wind. There is an arm of the sea under the castle where we lie, whereto the tide cometh, and many ships come up to the haven, which bring victuals to the camp from Ireland and Chester.”\*

All this time the king was looking impatiently for the Irish forces. At length their sails, says the chronicler, were descried; the fleet reached the shore; and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and the prince of Connaught, presented themselves in battle array before the king.† But the tardiness of the lord justice, on this pressing occasion, was by no means forgiven by his royal master. Among other peculiar rights which the Irish barons, in those times, claimed, it was asserted by them that they were not bound to attend the king beyond the realm; differing in this from the nobles of England, who were obliged by law to assist the king in his expeditions as well without as within the kingdom. That Henry was aware of the exemption claimed by them, is clear, from the writs issued by him on this occasion having been accompanied by an express declaration that their attendance now should not be brought forward as a precedent.‡ To mark his displeasure, however, at the lord justice's conduct, he soon after dismissed him from his high office,—notwithstanding some eminent services performed recently by him in Ulster,—and appointed Fitz-Geoffrey de Marisco to be his successor; on which Fitz-Gerald, retiring from the world, took upon him the habit of St. Francis, and dying about ten years after, was buried in the friary of that order, of which he had himself been the founder, at Youghal. He had lived all his life, says Mathew Paris, worthily and laudably, with the sole exception of the mark of infamy left, unjustly, perhaps, upon his name, by the share he was supposed to have taken in the events that led to the melancholy death of earl Richard.

A similar requisition for military aid had been addressed

\* Mathew Paris.

† Ware's *Annals*.

‡ Close Roll, 28 Henry III.

by Henry, the preceding year,\* to those Irish dynasts who had made their submission to the English government, desiring that they would join his standard with their respective forces in the expedition then meditated against the Scottish king. A list of the different Irish toparchs to whom this summons was addressed, is found appended to the requisition, and they consist of about the same number, and are supposed to have been chiefly the same individuals who hastened to pay homage to king John, on his last expedition into Ireland.

The great charter of liberty communicated by Henry to his Irish subjects, proved, in the hands of those deputed to dispense its benefits, a worthless and barren gift. In vain were new writs issued, from time to time, by the English monarch, ordering the charter and laws of John to be observed. The absolute will of the petty tyrants among whom the country had been parcelled out, now stood in the place of all law; and so low was the crown compelled to stoop, in submission to a tyranny of its own creating, that, in a writ or mandate sent over by the king in the 30th year of his reign (A. D. 1246), we find him enjoining his lay and spiritual lords, that, for the sake of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, they should “permit” it to be governed by English law.†

It must at the same time be always kept in mind, that this anxiety to extend to Ireland the benefit of English law, implied by no means a wish to include in that benefit the Irish people. It was only by rare and reluctant exceptions that the few natives admitted to the protection of the conqueror’s law were invested with that high privilege. In a writ of Henry, granting this favour to two brothers, Mamorch and Rotheric, care is taken to mark the exception, by an assertion of the general principle;—the writ stating that this favour is con-

\* Rymer, tom. i. 818.

† “Quod pro pace et tranquillitate ejusdem terræ, per easdem leges eos regi et deduci permittant.”—*Pat. Roll*, 80 Henry III.

ferred upon them notwithstanding that they were Irishmen, and alleging as the grounds of the exception, that they and their forefathers had stood firmly by the English, in their wars against the natives.\* This exclusive spirit, on the part of the state, called forth, even thus early, and while yet the two races were of one religion, an antagonist principle on the part of the Irish church,—the only portion of the native community that was still strong enough to make any effectual resistance. In a synod held about the year 1250, the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of Ireland, who were of Irish birth, enacted a decree that no Englishman born should be admitted a canon in any of their churches. A papal bull, however, issued at the instance of the king, compelled the clergy to rescind this retaliatory act.

There occurred frequently, in the course of this reign, disputes between England and Scotland, arising out of those pretensions of feudal superiority on the part of England, which were carried to their highest pitch and realised by Henry's heroic successor. Among other preparations for an expected war, at one of those junctures, a writ was addressed by the English monarch to Donald, king of Tyrconnell, and about twenty other great Irish chiefs, requiring them to join him with their respective forces, in an expedition against Scotland.†

Another of those exigencies in which Henry had recourse for assistance to Ireland, occurred in the 38th year of his reign, when, under the apprehension that his dominions in Gascony were about to be invaded by the king of Castile, he issued writs to his lord justice in Ireland, pointing out how fatal to both countries might be the success of such an aggression, and urging him to embark, with all his friends, the following Easter, at Waterford, for the purpose of joining him,

\* "Quia si ipsi et antecessores sui sic se habuerunt cum Anglicis quamvis Hibernenses, injustum est, *licet Hibernenses sint*, quod," &c.—*Close Roll*, 87 Henry III.

† Pat. Roll, 96 Henry III.



with horses, arms, and trusty soldiers, in Gascony. "Never, at any time," he adds, "would their aid and counsel be of such importance to him as the present." The same request was shortly after repeated, in writs directed "to the archbishops, bishops, &c.," whereby queen Elianor acquaints them that she "had sent over John Fitz-Geoffry, justiciary of Ireland, to explain to them the state of Gascony and imminent dangers of the crown;" while in another, they are told that their compliance with these requests will be "a measure redounding to their eternal honour."\*

From all this it may fairly be concluded, that, though so backward in many other essential points, this country already, in the peculiar aptitude of its people for military pursuits, contributed largely and usefully to the disposable strength of England for foreign warfare.

In contemplation of the approaching marriage between his son, prince Edward, and the infanta of Spain, Henry (A. D. 1254) made a grant to him and his heirs for ever of the kingdom of Ireland, subjoining certain exceptions, and providing, by an express condition, that Ireland was never to be separated from the English crown.† Not content with this provision, he also, in more than one instance, took care to assert his own jurisdiction, as supreme lord of that land; and even reserved and set aside certain acts of authority, such as the appointment of the lord justice, the issue of a writ of entry out of the Irish Court of Chancery, and one or two other acts of power, which the prince, presuming on his supposed rights, as lord of Ireland, had taken upon him to perform.‡

The motive of the monarch, in thus superseding, occasion-

\* Pat. Roll, 38 Henry III.

† Rymer. "Ita tamen quod prædictæ terræ et castra omnia nunquam separentur a coronâ, sed integre remaneant regibus Angliæ in perpetuum."

‡ See in Prynne, cap. 76., the memorable writ (as he styles it) of Henry to the chief justice of Ireland, to stop all proceedings in law upon the illegal writ issued by the prince, his son.

ally, the authority of his son, arose doubtless from the same fear which appears to have influenced Henry II. under similar circumstances, lest the example of a completely separate and independent sovereign of Ireland, might, in after times, be adduced as a precedent for measures affecting the integrity and strength of the whole empire. How far the lot of that country might have been ameliorated or brightened, had prince Edward, as was once intended, gone over thither as lord lieutenant, and assumed personally the administration of its affairs, there is now no use in speculating. That he would have allowed any ordinary scruples, either of justice or humanity, to stand in the way of his stern policy, the course pursued by him afterwards in Scotland sufficiently forbids us to suppose. Whether, among the Irish chiefs of that day, he would have found or called forth a Bruce, a Douglas, or a Randolph, is a question involving too melancholy a contrast between the champions of the respective countries, to be more than thus glanced at in passing, and then left to the charity of silence.

These reflections are of course founded upon the generally received notion that prince Edward was never in Ireland; but there is reason to believe, though we find no mention of it in any of our histories, that he did once, for a short time, visit his Irish dominions. There is, at least, extant, a royal mandate addressed by Henry in the year 1255, to this prince, approving of his project of passing over to Ireland from Gascony,\* and remaining there for the winter,—with the view, as he adds, of reforming and regulating the state of that country; and that the prince may have put such an intention in practice is rendered, in a high degree, probable, by the tenor of letters addressed to him by the king, in the very same year,† ordering him to convoke before him the prelates, barons,

\* The writ for the sailing of the prince to Ireland, may be found in *Rymer*, tom. I. p. 500, 561.

† Close Roll, 39 Henry III.

and other magnates of Ireland, for the purpose of consulting with them as to the redress and remedy of certain encroachments on their ancient rights complained of by the clergy.

Could a gallant example of self-defence have roused the Irish to an effective effort for their own deliverance, they had now, in the struggle of their brave neighbours the Welsh, against English aggression, a precedent worthy of being emulated by them;—for most truly was it said of that people, now armed to a man in defence of their mountain soil, that “their cause was just, even in the sight of their enemies.”\* In the course of this warfare, the earl of Chester, who was engaged for some time on the side of the Welsh, had recourse for assistance to Ireland; but prince Edward, fitting out hastily a fleet, attacked the vessels which contained this Irish force, and, having sunk the greater number of them, sent the remainder back with tidings of the defeat.

Shortly after, the king himself, renewing hostilities with the Welsh prince, Llewellyn, sent to ask for troops and supplies from Ireland, against the very cause she had lately so warmly espoused. Thus was it then, as it has been too frequently since, the hard fate of the Irish to be not only themselves the bond-slaves of England, but to be made, also, her unwilling instruments, in imposing the same yoke of slavery upon others.

In the year 1259, the office of lord justice was held by Sir Stephen Longespé,† who, in an encounter with O’Neill, in the streets of Down, slew that chief and 350 of his followers. Before the end of the year, however, Longespé himself was treacherously murdered by his own people. During the ad-

\* “Causa autem eorum etiam hostibus eorum justa videbatur.”

† This officer, who was a descendant of the countess Ela of Salisbury (foundress of Lacock Abbey), is styled, in the Book of Lacock, earl of Ulster; and Borlase, among others, has adopted the mistake. The truth is, Stephen Longespé married the widow of Hugh de Lacy, who had been made earl of Ulster by king John, and hence, no doubt, the misconception. See *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey*, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles, pp. 154, 155.

ministration of his successor, William Den, a general rising of the Mac Carthys of Desmond threw all Munster into confusion.\* This warlike sept, the ancient proprietors of the kingdom of Desmond, had, by the grants made to the Geraldines in that territory, been despoiled of almost the whole of their princely possessions. It was not, however, without fierce and frequent struggles that they suffered their soil to be thus usurped by the foreigners; and, at the time we now treat of (A. D. 1261), attacking suddenly a number of nobles and knights collected at Callan, they slew, among other distinguished Geraldines, the lord John Fitz-Thomas, founder of the monastery of Tralee, together with Maurice, his son, eight barons, and fifteen knights. In consequence of this great success, says the chronicler, the Mac Carthys grew, for a time, so powerful, that "the Geraldines durst not put a plough into the ground in Desmond."†

As usual, however, the dissension of the natives among themselves proved the safety and strength of the common enemy's cause. The mutual jealousy to which joint success so frequently leads, now sprang up among the different septs, both of Carbery and Muskerry; and the Mac Carthys, O'Driscolls, O'Donovans, and Mac Mahons, who had lately joined, with such signal success, against the English, being now disunited among themselves, fell powerless before them.

The remaining years of this long reign continued to roll on, at once dully and turbidly, in the same monotonous course of fierce but ignoble strife which had darkened its records from the commencement. As if schooled into civil discord by the example of the natives, scarcely had the swords of the great English lords found time to rest from their wars with the Mac Carthys and Mac Mahons, than they again drew them in

\* The Mac Carthys (says the old chronicler, in language worthy of his subject) "were now playing the devil in Desmond."

† Hanmer.



deadly conflict against each other; and the families of the De Burghs and the Geraldines were now engaged in as fierce contention among themselves, as, but a short time before, they had been waging jointly against the Irish. Walter de Burgh, who, in consequence of his marriage with the daughter and heiress of Hugh de Lacy, had been created earl of Ulster, was, at this time (A. D. 1264), the head of the great house of the De Burghs; and to such a pitch had arisen the feud between them and the Geraldines, that, at a meeting held this year at Castle Dermond, Maurice Fitz-Maurice Fitz-Gerald, assisted by John Fitz-Thomas (afterwards earl of Kildare), audaciously seized on the persons of Richard de Capella, the lord justice, of Richard de Burgh, heir-apparent of Ulster, of Theobald le Butler, and one or two other great partisans of the family of the De Burghs, and committed them to prison in the castles of Ley and Dunamase.\*

At length, the attention of the English monarch, already sufficiently distracted by the difficulties of his own position, was drawn to the disturbed state of his Irish dominions. A parliament or council was held at Kilkenny, by whose advice the prisoners so arbitrarily detained by the Geraldines were released; and the king, recalling the present lord justice, appointed in his place David Barry (the ancestor of the noble family of Barrymore), who, curbing the insolent ambition of the Geraldines, restored peace between the two rival houses.

Among those unerring symptoms of a weak and vicious system of polity, which meet the eye on the very surface of the dreary history we are pursuing, may be reckoned the frequent change of chief governors;—showing how uneasy, under

\* Annal. Hib. ap. Camd.—Dunamase, signifying the Fortress of the Plain, was, in ancient times, the stronghold of the O'Moores, princes of Ley. As this rock bounded the English Pale on the west, a castle was built there for the protection of the vicinity, which Vallancey thinks must have been erected about the beginning of Henry the Third's reign; as, nearly at the same time, the castle of Ley, a structure similar in its general style of architecture, and about eight miles distant, was erected by the barons of Offaley on the banks of the Barrow.—*Collectanea*, vol. ii.

such laws, was power, as well to the rulers as the ruled. David Barry had been but a few months the lord justice, when he was replaced by Sir Robert de Ufford, during whose administration there came over a writ from king Henry to levy *aurum reginæ* for Elianor, the wife of prince Edward. This act of sovereignty, exercised by Henry in Ireland, sufficiently proves how far from his intention it had been to cede to his son the right of dominion over that realm. But a still stronger proof is afforded by a writ issued in the same year,\* wherein he annuls a grant of some lands made by Edward, without his permission, and transfers them to the son of his own brother, Richard earl of Cornwall.

During the administration of Sir James Audley, or Alde-thel, the last but one of the numerous chief governors who administered the affairs of the country during this reign, a more than ordinary effort of vigour was made by the natives to wreak vengeance, at least, on their masters, if not to right and emancipate themselves. Rising up in arms all over the country (A. D. 1270), they burned, despoiled, and slaughtered in every direction, making victims both of high and low. In the country then called Offaley, all the fortified places were destroyed by them; while, in the mean time, the prince of Connaught, availing himself of the general excitement, took the field against Walter de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and putting his forces to rout, killed, among a number of other nobles and knights, the lords Richard and John de Verdon.

In the year 1272, this long reign—the longest to be found in the English annals—was brought to a close; and the few meagre and scattered records which have been strung together in this chapter, comprise all that Ireland furnishes towards the history of a reign whose course, in England, was marked by events so pregnant with interest and importance,—events which, by leading to a new distribution of political power,

\* See this writ in Cox.

were the means of introducing a third estate into the constitution of the English legislature. It is somewhat remarkable, too, that the very same order of men, the fierce and haughty barons, who laid the foundation, at this time, in Ireland, of a system of provincial despotism, of which not only the memory but the vestiges still remain, should have been likewise, by the strong force of circumstances, made subservient to the future establishment of representative government and free institutions in England.



## CHAPTER XXXV.

### EDWARD I.

**LAW**S OF ENGLAND NOT YET EXTENDED TO THE IRISH.—REVOLT OF THE NATIVES.—SEIZE ON THE PERSON OF THE LORD DEPUTY, AND DEFEAT HIS SUCCESSOR IN BATTLE.—WARS OF DE CLARE IN THOMOND.—HIS TREACHERY TO THE CONTENDING CHIEFS.—IS DEFEATED BY TIRLOGH O'BRIAN.—PETITION OF THE IRISH TO BE ADMITTED TO THE BENEFITS OF ENGLISH LAW.—THE KING FAVOURABLE TO THEIR REQUEST.—GRANT OF CHARTERS OF DENIZATION.—CONTINUANCE OF THE FEUD BETWEEN THE GERALDINES AND THE DE BURGHS.—GREAT POWER OF THE EARL OF ULSTER.—CONTEST BETWEEN DE VESCY AND THE BARON OF OFFALEY.—TRIUMPH OF THE LATTER, AND HIS INSOLENCE IN CONSEQUENCE.—THROWS THE EARL OF ULSTER INTO PRISON.—TRUCE BETWEEN THE GERALDINES AND DE BURGHS.—A PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.—IRISH FORCES SUMMONED TO JOIN THE KING IN SCOTLAND.—SAVAGE MURDERS COMMITTED BOTH BY ENGLISH AND IRISH.

THERE had now elapsed exactly a century from the time of the landing of Henry II. ; and it would be difficult to pronounce a severer or more significant comment upon the policy pursued by the rulers of Ireland, during that period, than is found in a petition addressed to king Edward, in an early part of his reign, praying that he would extend to the Irish the benefit of the laws and usages of England.\*

\* Prynn, cap. lxxvi. 257.

It was the wise boast of the Romans, that their enemies, on the day they were conquered, became their fellow-citizens;\* and one of the most eloquent of the Roman philosophers demands, "What would have become of the empire, had not a kindly Providence mixed up together the victors and the vanquished?"† Far different was the policy adopted by the rude satraps of the English colony, who, seeing no safety for their own abused power but in the weakness of those subjected to them, took counsel of their fears, and, never relaxing the unsure hold, continued through ages to keep the Irish in the very same hostile and alien state in which they had found them.

The reign of Edward I., which forms so eventful a portion of England's history, and combines in its course so rare and remarkable a mixture of the brilliant and the solid, the glorious and the useful, presents, as viewed through the meagre records of Ireland, a barren and melancholy waste—unenlivened even by those fiery outbreaks of just revenge, which, at most other periods, flash out from time to time, lighting up fearfully the scene of suffering and strife. In the first year, indeed, of this reign, before the return of Edward from abroad, advantage was taken of his absence, by the natives, to make a sudden and desperate effort for their own deliverance.‡ Attacking the castles of Roscommon, Aldleck, and Sligo, they dismantled, or, as it is said, destroyed them§ (A. D. 1272); and at the same time were enabled, through the treachery of his followers, to seize the person of the lord justice, Maurice Fitz-Maurice, and cast him into prison.||

This nobleman was succeeded in his high office (1273) by

\* "Conditor noster Romulus tantum sapientia valuit, ut plerosque populos eodem die hostes, deinde cives habuerit."—*Tacitus*.

† "Quid hodie esset imperium, nisi salubris providentia victos permiscuisset victoribus?"—*Seneca*.

‡ "Quasi omnes Hiberni guerraverunt," says a MS. fragment, cited by Cox, respecting this general revolt.

§ Hanmer.

|| Ware's *Annals*.

the lord Walter Genevil, newly returned from the Holy Land, during whose administration the Scots and Redshanks, out of the Highlands, made a sudden incursion into Ireland, and, committing the most cruel murders and depredations, escaped with their booty before the inhabitants had time to rally in their defence. Shortly after, however, a considerable force under Richard de Burgh and Sir Eustace de Poer, invading, in their turn, the Highlands and Scottish isles, spread desolation wherever they went, putting to death all whom they could find ; while such as dwelt, in the manner of the ancient Irish, in caves, were smoked out from thence, like foxes from their holes, or destroyed by suffocation.

The successor of Genevil (A. D. 1267) in the government of the country, was Robert de Ufford, now for the second time lord justice ; and the five or six following years, during which, personally, or through his deputy, Stephen de Fulburn, he managed the affairs of the country, were distracted by a series of petty wars, in which not only English fought with Irish, but the Irish, assisted by the arms of the foreigner, fought no less bitterly against their own countrymen. At the great battle of Glandelory, the English were defeated with much slaughter ; and among the numerous prisoners taken is mentioned William Fitz-Roger, prior of the king's hospitallers. On the other hand, Ralph Pippard, assisted by O'Hanlon, gave, in the same year, a severe check to the great chieftain O'Neill.\*

But it was in Thomond that the scenes most tumultuous and most disgraceful to the English name were now exhibited. A large grant of lands, in Thomond, had been, about this time, bestowed upon Thomas de Clare, son of the earl of Gloucester ;—whether by grant from the crown, or as a gift from one of the O'Brian family,† does not very clearly appear.

\* Hanmer.

† According to Lodge, "all that tract of Thomond which extends from Limerick to Ath Solais, was bestowed by Bryan Ruadh, prince of Thomond, upon Thomas de Clare, in consideration of this lord coming with the English troops to reinstate him



Having thus got footing in that territory, De Clare proceeded on a course of open and flagrant treachery, such as proved both the simplicity of his victims, and his own daring craft. Taking advantage of the fierce strife then raging among the O'Brians for the succession to the throne of Thomond, he contrived, by supporting and betraying each of the rivals, in turn, to enrich and aggrandise himself at the expense of all. To enter into the details of these multiplied treacheries, would be an almost endless task; but the following is a brief outline of the events as they are found related in the *Annals of Inisfallen*.\*

Forming an alliance with Brian Ruadh, whose nephew, Tirlogh, was then contending with him for the principality, De Clare, attended by Brian himself, marched an army of English and Irish against his competitor. In the battle which then ensued (A. D. 1277), the allied forces under the English lord were utterly defeated; and among the slain was Patrick Fitz-Maurice, the son and heir of Fitz-Maurice of Kerry, and brother to De Clare's wife. As it was in Brian's cause this calamitous defeat had been incurred, the conclusion drawn by the barbarous logic of De Clare was, that upon him, first, the disaster ought to be avenged; and, the wife and father-in-law of Fitz-Maurice being the most loud in demanding this sacrifice, the wretched chieftain was put to death, and, according to some accounts, with peculiar refinement of cruelty.†

in his kingdom." But, according to others, this immense property was a reckless gift from the crown; and a grant (Pat. Roll, 4 Ed. I.), of ample liberties in his lands of Thomond to Thomas de Clare, seems to confirm this statement.—See Ryley's *Placit. Parliamentar.*, Appendix, 438.

\* MS., translated by Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, and now in the possession of Messrs. Smith and Hodges, Dublin. Though Leland cites these annals as an authority for his account of De Clare's proceedings in Thomond, the statements made by him differ entirely from those found in the *Annals*.

† The particulars of this treacherous act, as given by the Annalist, are as follows:—"The earl of Clare's son took Brian Roe O'Brian prisoner very deceitfully, after they had sworn to each other all the oaths in Munster—as bells, relics of Saints, and bachals—to be true to one another; also after they became sworn gossips, and for

The manner in which De Clare followed up this crime affords a sequel, in every way, worthy of it. To Tirlogh, against whom he had so lately fought, in conjunction with Brian, he made a merit of having thus removed so formidable a rival; while, at the same time, he entered into negotiations with Donogh O'Brian, the son of the murdered prince, and engaged to assist him in gaining the throne of Thomond. To effect this object, and put down the pretensions of the usurper, a force was collected under the joint command of De Clare and Donogh, which, making an impetuous attack upon Tirlogh, drove him, as the annalist describes the locality, "to the east of the wood of Forbair." The Irish chieftain, however, making his way back through defiles and by-ways with which he was acquainted, fell upon the confederates by surprise, and gained so decisive a victory, that they were forced to surrender to him half of the country of Thomond, leaving the remainder in the hands of the rightful successor, Donogh. De Clare, in drawing off his troops from the territories of these chiefs, said significantly, that "the first of them who would lay waste the other's lands, should be his declared friend for life." In one of the battles, fought by this lord with the Irish, himself and his father-in-law, Fitz-Maurice, were drawn, with a part of their force, into a pass in the mountains of Slieve Bloom, and there compelled to surrender at discretion.

While such was the state of Thomond, in almost every other direction the same strife and struggle prevailed; the infatuated natives performing actively the work of the enemy, by butchering each other. Thus, in a battle between the king of Connaught and the chief of the Mac Dermots of Moy-Lurg (A. D. 1277), the army of Connaught was utterly defeated with the loss of two thousand men, and the king himself slain. It

confirmation of this third indissoluble bond of perpetual friendship, they drew part of the blood of one another, which they put in a vessel, and mingled it together. After all which protestations, the said Brian was taken, as aforesaid, and bound to a steed; and so was tortured to death by the said earl's son."

was with reference to this battle that the lord justice, Robert de Ufford, when called to account by king Edward for permitting such disorders, replied shrewdly, that "he thought it not amiss to let rebels murder one another, as it would save the king's officers, and purchase peace for the land." \*

It is clear that the petition addressed to the king, by the natives, praying for the privileges of English law, had not yet been even taken into consideration by the barons, as we find Edward, in the present year (A. D. 1280), again calling upon the lords spiritual and temporal, as well as the whole body of English subjects in "the Land of Ireland," † to assemble and deliberate upon that prayer. Intimating clearly the views he himself entertained on the subject, and the nature of the decision, which, if left to his own clear sense and vigorous will, he could not have failed to adopt, he yet declares, that without the concurrence of at least the prelates and nobles of the land, he should not feel justified in granting the desired boon. With evident allusion, however, to certain excuses alleged by the barons for not sooner applying themselves to the subject, he enjoins strictly, that they shall by no means omit, in consequence of the absence of any of their body, whether owing to business or from their being under age, to meet at the time which he had appointed, and to give to the subject such full and mature deliberation, as might serve to point out to him the line of policy most expedient for him to adopt.‡

The petitioners, though styled, in vague language, "the community" of Ireland, were, in all probability, only the inhabitants of the districts bordering on the English settlement, who, from contiguity of property and other causes, were brought the most frequently into collision with the king's sub-

\* Cox.

† The district occupied by the English, and known, at a later period, by the name of the Pale, was at this time, and for some centuries after, called "the *Land of Ireland*."

‡ Pat. Roll, 8 Ed. I.

jects, in matters of law as well as of warfare; and naturally wished, by acquiring possession of the same rights and privileges as were enjoyed by their neighbours, to share with them the safeguard of English law, instead of knowing it only as an instrument of oppression.

As the crown, in those times, required to be bribed into justice, these wretched petitioners did not forget that necessary consideration, but offered to pay into the king's treasury 8,000 marks, on condition that he would grant their request; and the king, in his reply to the lord justice,\* begins by mentioning—what was, with him, doubtless, not the least interesting part of the transaction—this tender of a sum of money; it having been, throughout his whole reign, one of the most pressing objects of his policy to raise supplies for the constant warfare, both foreign and internal, in which he was engaged. He then proceeds, in this letter, to say that, inasmuch as the laws used by the Irish were hateful in the sight of God, and so utterly at variance with justice as not to deserve to be regarded as laws, he had considered the question deliberately, with the aid of his council, and it had appeared to them sufficiently expedient to grant to that people the English laws;—provided always, that the common consent of the English settlers, or at least of their well-disposed prelates and nobles, should lend sanction to such a measure.†

Thus laudably anxious was this great prince to settle calmly the question, then first brought into discussion, whether the Irish were to be ruled by the same laws, and enjoy the same rights and privileges as the English;—a question which, under various forms and phases, has remained, essentially, down to the

\* This letter of the king is given in full by Leland.

† In order to turn this concession to the most profitable account, for the recruitment of his fiscal and military means, he desired the lord justice to agree with the petitioners for the highest sum of money he could obtain; and also to stipulate that they should hold in readiness a certain number, as might be agreed upon, of good and able foot soldiers, to repair to him whensoever he should think fit to summon their aid.

present day, in almost the same state in which Edward then found and left it. Notwithstanding the urgent terms of the royal mandate, no further step appears to have been taken on this important subject, either by king or barons; and it may be concluded, indeed, from the records of licences \* granted in this and subsequent reigns, admitting certain favoured individuals to the privileges of English law, that no such general measure of denization as the Irish had prayed for, and the throne wisely recommended, was, throughout that whole period, conceded.

Meanwhile, the entire country continued to be convulsed with constant warfare, not only of Irish with English, but of the natives and settlers respectively among themselves; and the long-standing feud between the Geraldines and the De Burghs was, owing to the power of the great families enlisted in it, prolonged through the greater part of this reign. But the deaths, in 1286, of the two leading barons, Gerald Fitz-Maurice and the lord Thomas de Clare, threw the ascendancy, without further dispute, into the hands of the De Burghs; the powerful head of which family, Richard, earl of Ulster, commonly called the Red Earl, attained, during this reign, such immense authority, that his name is frequently, in the king's letters, found mentioned before that of the lord justice. Presuming upon this great power, and without any grounds, as it appears, but his own grasping self-will, he laid claim to the lands in Meath inherited by Theobald de Verdon, in right of Margaret, his mother, daughter of Walter de Lacy. With a large tumultuary force, De Burgh (A. D. 1288) invaded this territory, and besieged De Verdon in one of his castles; † but no other result of this daring aggression is mentioned, than the usual havoc and horror attendant on such inroads.

It was during the time when John Sandford, archbishop of

\* The form of these licences may be seen in Prynne, 258.

† Marleborough.—Davies.



Dublin, held the office of chief governor, that the irruption just mentioned took place; and the same period is rendered, in another sense, memorable, by the statute entitled "An Ordinance for the State of Ireland," which was made in the seventeenth year of this reign (A. D. 1289), and which, in the now defunct controversy respecting the right of the English parliament to bind Ireland, forms part of the evidence adduced in support of that questioned right.\*

The reader has already been prepared, on entering into this Anglo-Irish period, to find the people of the land thrown darkly into the background of their country's history, while a small colony of foreign intruders usurp, insultingly, their place.† So lamentably is this the case, that it is only in the feuds and forays of the English barons that the historian—if he may lay claim to such a title—can find materials for his barren and unhonoured task. A personal quarrel of this description, which now occurred, excited in both countries, from the peculiar circumstances attendant upon it, a more than ordinary share of attention. William de Vescy, a lord high in favour with Edward, having been appointed lord justice of Ireland in the year 1290, a mutual jealousy sprung up between him and John Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Gerald, baron of Offaley,‡ which broke out, at last, into open enmity; and each, accusing the other of treason and rebellion, hurried to England to lay their complaints before the king.

Being admitted to plead their cause before him, in council, they there poured out upon each other speeches full of abuse and recrimination, of which a report, professing to be faithful,

\* See Vol. I. of this work, chap. xxxil. p. 696. *et seq.*

† See Vol. I. of this work, chap. xxxil. p. 693.

‡ This lord, who sat as baron of Offaley, in the parliament of 1295, is, in the pedigree of the earls of Kildare, made the seventh lord Offaley.—See *Lodge*. He had issue two sons, says the same authority;—John, the eighth lord of Offaley, created earl of Kildare; and Maurice, created earl of Desmond. A report on Ireland, in the State Papers (K. Henry VIII.), in speaking of William de Vescy, styles him "one Vescy, which was lord of Kildar befor ther was aney erle of Kildar."—Vol. II.

is preserved by the English chronicler.\* De Vescy having, by his marriage with one of the co-heiresses of the house of Pembroke, become possessor of the actual territory of Kildare, while Fitz-Thomas was but the titular earl of that district, the latter alluded thus to this circumstance, in one of his speeches:—"By your honour and mine, my lord, and by king Edward's hand, you would, if you durst, approach me in plain terms of treason or felony. For, where I have the title, and you the fleece, of Kildare, I wot well how great an eye-sore I am in your sight; so that, if I might be handsomely trussed up for a felon, then might my master, your son, become a gentleman." When their cause was again heard, before the king in council, Fitz-Thomas concluded his speech with the following defiance:—"Wherefore, to justify that I am a true subject, and that thou, Vescy, art an arch-traitor to God and my king, I here, in the presence of his highness, and in the hearing of this honourable assembly, challenge the combat." Whereat (says the chronicler) all the auditory shouted.†

De Vescy accepted the challenge; but, on the day fixed for the combat, when all was ready, the lists prepared, and a crowd assembled to witness the trial, it was found that he had withdrawn privately to France. This unchivalrous step being regarded as an avowal of guilt, the king bestowed on the baron of Offaley the lordships of Kildare and Rathangan, which had hitherto been held by his rival, saying that, "though De Vescy had conveyed his person to France, he had left his lands behind him in Ireland." ‡

Elated with this great success, the ambitious and turbulent lord of Offaley indulged, unrestrainedly, on his return to Ireland, in a course of insulting aggression upon all who had, in any manner, opposed his domineering views; and among the

\* Holinshed.

† See Rymer, tom. II.; "De adjornatione duelli inter Willielmum de Vescy et Johannem filium Thomæ."

‡ Cox.

first objects of his hostility was Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, whom he took prisoner, together with his brother, in Meath, and confined them both in the strong castle of Ley (A. D. 1294).\* He then transferred the scene of his activity to Kildare, where the Irish, rising in immense force, under Calwagh, brother of the king of Offaley, had seized on the castle of Kildare, and burnt all the rolls and tallies relating to the county records and accounts. Between its English and Irish depredators, that district was entirely laid waste, and death and desolation followed wherever they went.

At length an attempt was made, during the government of Sir John Wogan, to moderate the dissensions of these lawless barons; and a truce for two years having been agreed upon between the Geraldines and the De Burghs, the lord justice was enabled by this short respite from strife, to consider of some means of remedying the unquiet and disorganized state of the kingdom. A general parliament was accordingly assembled by him (A. D. 1295), which, though insignificant in point of numbers, passed some measures of no ordinary importance and use.† It was during this reign, as the reader will recollect, that the parliament of England, after a long series of progressive experiments, was moulded into its present shape; nor did a house of commons, before this period, form a regular and essential part of the English legislature.‡ In Ireland, where, from obvious causes, the materials for a third estate were not easily to be found, the growth of such an institution would be, of course, proportionably slow; and the assemblies held there during this reign, and for some time after, though usually dignified with the name of parliament, differed but little, it is

\* Annal. Hibern. ap. Camden.

† Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin. See Ledwich (*Hist. and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny*), who confounds this parliament with one held in 1309.

‡ Speaking of the ordainers in the following reign, Lingard says, "From the tenor of the ordinances, it is plain that the authority of the parliament was hitherto supposed to reside in the baronage, the great council of former reigns. The commons had nothing to do but to present petitions and to grant money."

clear, in their constitution, from those ancient common councils, at which only the nobles and ecclesiastics, together with, occasionally, a few tenants *in capite*, and, perhaps, the retainers of some of the great lords, were expected to give their attendance.

Among the acts passed by this parliament, there is one ordaining a new division of the kingdom into counties; the division established under king John, as well as the distribution then made of sheriffs, having been found defective and inconvenient.‡ Another object that engaged their attention, was the defenceless state of the English territory, and the harassing incursions of the natives dwelling upon its borders; and, as this scourge was owing chiefly to the absence of the lords marchers, it was now enacted that all such marchers as neglected to maintain their necessary wads should forfeit their lands. Among other measures for the maintenance of a military force, it was ordained that all absentees should assign, out of their Irish revenues, a competent portion for that purpose:—a proof how early the anomalies involved in the forced connection between the two countries began to unfold their disturbing effects. To check the private expeditions, or forays, of the barons, a provision was made that, for the future, no lord should wage war but by licence of the chief governor, or by special mandate of the king. With a like view to curbing the power of the great lords, an effort was made at this time to limit the number of their retainers, by forbidding every person, of whatever degree, to harbour more of such followers than he could himself maintain; and for all exactions and violences committed by these idle-men, or kerns (as they were styled), their lords were to be made answerable.†

\* For the different divisions of the kingdom into counties by John and Edward I., see Ware, *Antiq.* c. 5. Whatever may have been the improved distribution made by Edward I., it is clear that the ancient form, which allotted one sheriff to Connaught, and another to Roscommon, was still in use in the time of Edward II. Thus we find in rolls of that reign, Gerald Tirrel, "vice-comes de Roscommon," and Henry Bermingham, "nuper vice-comes Connacæ."—See Serjeant Mayart's Answer to Sir R. Bolton, *Hibernica*, 85.

† Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin.

To this parliament is likewise attributed an ordinance,—belonging, really, however, to a somewhat later period,—which, in reference to the tendency already manifested by the English to conform to the customs and manners of the natives, ordains that all Englishmen should still, in their garb and the cut of their hair, adhere to the fashion of their own country; that whoever, in the mode of wearing their hair, affected to appear like Irishmen, would be treated as such; that their lands and chattels would be seized, and themselves imprisoned.

During the two or three following years, supplies of troops were sent from Ireland, at different intervals, to the aid of the king in his Scottish wars;\* the sort of warfare the Irish were accustomed to among their own lakes and mountains, rendering them a force peculiarly suited to the present state of the war in Scotland, where the northern and mountainous parts of the country alone remained to be subdued. In the spring of the present year (A. D. 1299), John Wogan, the lord justice, having been summoned to join the king,† in Scotland, repaired thither with a select force, and, joining in the pageant of that invasion, was, together with his followers, royally feasted by the triumphant monarch, at Roxburgh castle.‡ During this expedition of the lord justice, William de Ross, prior of Kilmainham, was left to act as his deputy; and the natives, availing themselves of the absence of so many of the choicest of the English nobles and soldiers, broke out into rebellion in several places. The people of the Maraghie mountains burnt Leighlin and other towns; but in Orgiel,§ where O'Hanlon

\* The contributions of Ireland towards this object had commenced some time before, and a tenth of the revenues of the clergy had been granted for it.—Rymer, tom. ii. 519., tom. iii. 442.

† “The king sent unto John Wogan, lord justice, commanding him to give summons unto the nobles of Ireland, to prepare themselves with horse and armour, to come in their best array for the war, to serve against the Scots.”—*Holinshed*.

‡ *Holinshed*.—At Roxborough, says Dr. Lingard, the king “found himself at the head of 8000 horse and 80,000 foot, principally Irish and Welsh.

§ A territory comprehending the present Louth, Monaghan, and Ardnagh.



and Mac Mahon endeavoured to rouse the spirit of their countrymen, they were both of them vanquished and slain.

On the return of Wogan from Scotland (1298), a few years of unwonted tranquillity ensued; owing chiefly, as it appears, to the skill and firmness with which this functionary, who was evidently a favourite with king Edward, succeeded in keeping down the old family feud between the De Burghs and the Geraldines:—so much has the tranquillity of Ireland, at all periods, depended on the example and judicious conduct of her chief nobles and rulers.

During the remaining nine years of this reign, the Irish records supply us with few occurrences worthy of any notice. On the renewed revolt of the Scots, under the regent, John Cummin, the earl of Ulster, with a large force, and accompanied by Eustace de Poer, went to the king's aid in Scotland (1303), the earl having created thirty-three knights, in the castle of Dublin, before his departure.\* Among those summoned to attend the king, was Edmond le Botiller, afterwards earl of Carrick, who hastened to Dublin to embark with his followers for that purpose. But some disturbances having just then occurred, it was not thought advisable that he should leave the kingdom; and Edward, offended at his absence, refused to grant him livery of some lands that had lately fallen to him. On being made acquainted, however, with the truth of the matter, the king ordered the livery to be granted.†

Though war, and its attendant horrors, must form, in all cases, too large a portion of the historian's theme, the enumeration of a list of mere private murders is a task to which rarely his pen is called upon to descend. When the victims, however, are of high rank and station, and when—as, unfortunately, was the case in more countries than Ireland, at this period—

\* *Annal. Hibern.*

† *Carte's Life of Ormond, Introduct.* See *Evidences of the Earl of Ormond's Lands*, taken out of an old Ledger, b. 31. Ed. I. *Lambeth*, 608. fol. 9.

murders are held to be little else than a sort of private warfare, the duty of noticing them, however revolting, cannot honestly be avoided. I shall therefore recount, and as nearly as possible in the brief language employed by the chronicler, some barbarous events of this kind which occurred in the last years of Edward's reign; and it will be seen that both English and Irish were alike implicated in the savage actions recorded.

In the year 1305, Murtoth O'Connor, king of Offaley, and his brother Calwagh, were murdered in Pierce Bermingham's house, at Carbery, in the county of Kildare;\* and in the same year, Sir Gilbert Sutton, seneschal of Wexford, was put to death in the house of Hamon le Gras (1305); the host himself, who was of the ancient family of Grace, having narrowly escaped the same fate.† In the following year, O'Brian, prince of Thomond, was also murdered; and Donald Ruadh, the king of Desmond, met with the same violent end, at the hands of his son, Daniel Oge M'Carthy. About the same time (A. D. 1306), on a wider scale of murder, the sept of the O'Dempseys made great slaughter of the O'Connors, near Geashill, in Offaley; and O'Dempsey, the chief of the O'Regans, was, on the same occasion, slain. Shortly after, Pierce Bermingham suffered a defeat in the marches of Meath, and the town of Ballymore was burnt by the Irish. On this, the war spread rapidly throughout that whole district, and the English were summoned out of the other provinces to the relief of Leinster, where, in a hard-fought battle at Glenfell, Sir Thomas Mandeville, the English leader, had his horse killed under him, and his troops thrown into confusion; but at length succeeded, by skilful captainship, in retrieving the fortunes of the day.‡

Among the events of the last year of this reign (1307), we find recorded the murder of an Irishman, Murtoth Balloch, by an English knight, Sir David Canton, or Condon; and the circumstances attending the act must have been of no ordinary

\* Holinshed. † Annal. Hibern. ‡ Ibid.

atrocities, as, by a rare instance of justice, in such cases, the English knight was hanged, in Dublin, for this murder, in the second year of the following reign. A rising of the O'Kellys, in Connaught, where they surprised and slew a number of English, and some daring efforts of the wild mountaineers of Offaley, who destroyed the castle of Geashill, and burnt the town of Ley, are among the last of the miserable records contributed by Ireland to the history of a reign whose whole course, as traced through England's proud annals, presents such a series of shining achievements, both in legislation and warfare, as no period, perhaps, of the same duration, in the history of any other country ever equalled.

It was in the seventh year of this reign, under the administration of Sir Stephen de Fulburn, that a new kind of coin was struck by order of the king,—who, having, highly to his honour, fixed a certain rule or standard for money, in England, applied the same rule to the regulation of the mints in Ireland, both in the weight and fineness. He also decried, a few years after, by proclamation, the base money called crockards and pollards. \*

\* Ware, *Antiquities*, chap. 32. "To this coinage I am inclined to refer a very curious penny found at Youghal in 1830, together with a large hoard of English and Irish coins of Edward I., and now in the cabinet of the Dean of St. Patrick's. It exactly resembles the penny of this reign, but is of ruder work, and bears the king's head without the triangle."—Lindsay, *Vieo of the Coinage of Ireland*.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

## EDWARD II.

THE NEW KING, ON HIS ACCESSION, RECALLS GAVESTON FROM BANISHMENT.—SENDS HIM TO IRELAND AS LORD-LIEUTENANT.—RIVALRY BETWEEN GAVESTON AND THE EARL OF ULSTER.—HIS GOVERNMENT ACTIVE AND BENEFICIAL.—STRONG INTEREST FELT BY THE IRISH IN THE FORTUNES OF ROBERT BRUCE.—BRUCE TAKES REFUGE IN THE ISLE OF RACHLIN.—HIS EXPEDITION FROM THENCE ATTENDED BY TWO IRISH PRINCES.—EFFECTS OF THE VICTORY OF BANNOCKBURN ON THE MINDS OF THE IRISH.—DEPUTIES SENT BY THEM TO INVITE BRUCE TO IRELAND.—LANDING OF EDWARD BRUCE AT LARNE.—CONSTERNATION OF THE ENGLISH AUTHORITIES.—CAUSE OF THE ENGLISH ESPOUSED BY FEIDLIM, PRINCE OF CONNAUGHT.—THE EARL OF ULSTER DEFEATED BY THE SCOTS.—GREAT BATTLE BETWEEN THE O'CONNORS.—FEIDLIM O CONNOR JOINS THE SCOTS.—SUCCESSFUL PROGRESS OF THE INVADERS.—THE ENGLISH DEFEATED IN MEATH AND IN KILDARE.—GENERAL REBELLION OF THE IRISH.—GREAT BATTLE AT ATHENRY.—FEIDLIM'S ARMY DEFEATED AND HIMSELF KILLED.—LANDING OF ROBERT BRUCE IN IRELAND.—THE EARL OF ULSTER SUSPECTED OF CONCERT WITH THE SCOTS.—IS THROWN INTO PRISON.—INTREPID CONDUCT OF THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN.—ROBERT BRUCE AT THE SALMON-LEAP.—DREADFUL FAMINE, AND SEVERE SUFFERINGS OF THE SCOTS.—INACTION AND INDECISION OF THE ENGLISH LEADERS.—RETREAT OF THE SCOTS INTO ULSTER.—DEPARTURE OF ROBERT BRUCE.—EARL OF ULSTER LIBERATED.—ORDINANCE FOR ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS.—MUTUAL HOSTILITY OF THE ENGLISH AND IRISH CHURCHES.—GREAT BATTLE BETWEEN EDWARD BRUCE AND THE ENGLISH NEAR DUNDALK.—THE SCOTS DEFEATED, AND BRUCE HIMSELF SLAIN.—REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED TO THE POPE BY O'NEILL AND HIS BROTHER CHIEFTAINS.—SUPPRESSION OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS IN IRELAND.

ONE of the first acts of Edward II., on his accession (1307), was to recal his favourite, Gaveston, from banishment; a step which his father, on his deathbed, had solemnly forbidden under pain of his malediction. Shortly after, too, when Edward passed over into France, for the purpose of espousing the beautiful Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, he appointed Gaveston to be regent of the kingdom during his absence, with powers that usually, on such occasions, were reserved by the sovereign to himself.\* In like manner, the high distinction of carrying the crown at the coronation, and walking immediately

\* Lingard.

before the king, had, with insulting neglect of the claims of the ancient nobility, been allotted to this foreign minion. The anger of the barons, at these proceedings, soon found a vent in the voice of parliament, which (1307), demanding the immediate expulsion of Gaveston from the country, compelled the favourite himself to swear he would never return, and bound the bishops to excommunicate him should he violate his oath.

Though thus deprived of his favourite's society, the king<sup>\*</sup> was determined still to uphold and advance his fortunes; and, having bestowed upon him new grants of land, both in England and Gascony, he accompanied him on his supposed exile as far as Bristol. From that port Gaveston sailed (1308); but, to the surprise and mortification of all who had expected to see him humbled, it was now discovered that Ireland was the chosen place of his banishment; \* that he had been sent thither as the king's lieutenant;† and went loaded with the royal jewels.

During the short period of his administration, there was no want of, at least, activity in the new viceroy, whom our records represent as being almost constantly in the field, engaging and subduing the refractory chiefs, and enforcing obedience to the English power.‡ But, like most governors of that country, both before his time and since, he applied himself solely to the task of suppressing rebellion, forgetting the higher duty of investigating and endeavouring to remove its causes.

In so confined a sphere as formed the compass of English dominion at this time in Ireland, it would have been difficult for two such potent lords as the king's favourite and the Red Earl, to move in their respective orbits of rule, without coming

\* Walsingham.

† The king's *locum-tenens*, as he is styled in the instrument of his appointment.—  
Rymer, tom. iii. 92.

‡ Annal. Hibern.



hostilely into collision. It was, of course, with no ordinary feelings of jealousy, that the haughty De Burgh, whose name took precedence of that of the representative of majesty, saw an upstart thus put in possession of the royal resources of the realm; while to Gaveston, it could have been no less galling and mortifying, to find himself confronted by the princely state and feudal authority of the proud earl. Shortly after the lieutenant's arrival, a grand feast was given by De Burgh, in the lordly castle of Trim, where, in the course of the pomps and festivities of the day, he conferred upon two of the noble family of De Lacy the honour of knighthood.\*

Among the benefits resulting from Gaveston's government is mentioned, particularly, the attention paid by him to public works; several castles, bridges, and causeways having been constructed, we are told, during his administration (A. D. 1309). But, however beneficial his continuance in that post might have proved to the country,—depravity of morals being, in him, not incompatible with shining and useful talents,—the infatuated monarch could no longer endure his favourite's absence, and he was immediately recalled to England; the pope absolving him from his late vow, and the barons, in consequence of the king's promises of amendment, giving their consent to his return.

The successor of Gaveston, at the head of the government, was Sir John Wogan, a gentleman high in the royal favour, who had already three times filled the office of lord justice. Soon after his arrival, a parliament was held at Kilkenny, of which the enactments are still preserved;† and among them

\* *Annal. Hibern.* "Heretofore every person dubbed a knight had a power to dub others. . . . Thus we read in Clyn's Annals, that, ann. 1341, the earl of Desmond made Richard Archdekine a knight in Desmond, and on the same day the new knight made three other knights."—Ware, *Antiq. of Ireland*, chap. 26. It appears from Selden, that the same practice prevailed in other parts of Europe in this age.—*Titles of Honour*.

† Bolton's Irish Statutes.

are some directed against the gross exactions and general misconduct of the nobility.

Still further to embroil and complicate those scenes of strife of which Ireland was now the theatre, each of the two contending parties became divided into fierce factions within itself; and the brief pauses between their conflicts with each other were filled up with equally rancorous strife among themselves. In this year (1311), Richard earl of Ulster, leading a force into Thomond, attacked the castle built at Bunratty by the earl Thomas de Clare;\* but, being encountered by the lord Richard de Clare, sustained a signal defeat; himself and his brother, lord William, were made prisoners, and John de Lacy and several others of his followers slain. In the mean while, the native septs were no less active in civil dissension than their foreign masters; but, to their shame, the weapon of the assassin was often substituted by them for the sword of civilized warfare. In this base spirit, Donogh O'Brian, a descendant of their ancient princes, was murdered in Thomond by some of his own people; and John Mac O'Hedan fell in like manner, by the hand of a brother chieftain, Manmoy.†

To the English, a feud that now sprung up among themselves, was nearly productive of serious mischief. The Byrnes and O'Tooles, the hardy septs of the mountains of Wicklow having risen, this year, in great force, had attacked the towns of Tassagard‡ and Rathcoole, and, advancing to the woods of Glendalory, from thence menaced Dublin.§ Instead of being able to repress and punish this audacious movement, the lord justice, Sir John Wogan, found himself compelled to march into Orgiel, with whatever troops he could hastily collect, for the purpose of repressing a revolt headed by Sir Robert de Verdon (1312); and so powerful was the aid given to

\* This lord, whose achievements in Thomond have already been mentioned, was slain in a battle fought by him with one of the O'Brians, in the year 1287.—*Annals of Inisfallen*.

† *Annal. Hibern.*

‡ Now called Taggard.

§ *Cox.*

this outbreak by other English malcontents, that, in the engagement which ensued, the force of the lord justice was defeated, and Sir Nicholas Avenel, Patrick de Roche, and others of his officers were slain.\* Such was the difficult and responsible task, between the "Irish enemy" on one side, and the factious English on the other, which the harassed and sleepless government of that kingdom was called upon constantly to perform.

A few years before the period we have now entered upon, negotiations had taken place between Edward and the Scottish king, in which De Burgh, earl of Ulster, was one of the commissioners on the part of England. A truce then made between the two parties (1309), was, shortly after, through the impatience of both, violated; and a war, memorable for ever in the annals of victorious Scotland, was the immediate result. Aroused from the torpor that had hitherto hung over him, the English monarch collected forces from all quarters, as well mercenaries as vassals; ordered levies of infantry to be made in the marches of Wales and the northern counties of England; and also, by a mandate addressed to the principal Irish chieftains, invited their prompt and strenuous aid.† But to this call on the heirs of Ireland's ancient kings, no voice of loyal obedience seems to have responded. Even the slight feudal link, by which king John had attached those dynasts to the English crown, was now evidently broke asunder; and it is clear, from the terms of the writ of military service, that not one of the chiefs summoned had ever sworn fealty to Edward.

The nature of the policy, indeed, pursued by every successive chief governor,—or, rather, by those rulers of both government and people, the proud and rapacious Anglo-Irish lords,

\* Annal. Hibern.

† Rymer, t. iii. p. 180. The names of thirty-five Irish chiefs are annexed to this summons.

—had been such as to make of the nation they ruled over, not subjects, but bitter and confirmed foes. Aware that the restraints of legal forms would stand in the way of their own unprincipled projects, they refused to the natives all that was protective in the law, while employing against them all its worst contrivances of mischief. To what an extent, at this time, had been carried the wanton exactions of the great English lords, may be gathered from a tardy but significant notice of their rapacity which occurs in the proceedings of a parliament held at the beginning of this reign (1309); and, it needs only to be mentioned as a sample of the spirit in which these legislators dealt with the “Irish enemy,”—for so they called, and took pains to make, the great bulk of the population,—that the murder of an Irishman was not held to be a crime punishable by law;\* and that even the violator of female chastity, if his victim was proved to be an Irishwoman, incurred no legal punishment.†

That a nation thus treated should writhe impatiently under the yoke, and greet with eagerness the faintest prospect of deliverance, was but in the natural course of manly and patriotic feeling; and the noble stand made by the Scots for their national independence had shot a feeling of hope and sympathy through every Irish heart. Besides those motives, arising far less from views of policy than from natural and deep-seated revenge, which would have interested them in the success of

\* In proof of this exclusion of the mere Irish from the protection of the law, we need only refer to the record cited by Davies (4 Ed. II.), where the murderer avows his commission of the act, but pleads that his victim was an Irishman. “*Bene cognovit quod prædictum Johannem interfecit; dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem feloniam committere non potuit, quia dicit quod prædictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus.*”

† This enormity belongs properly to the preceding reign. See the case referred to by Lynch (Chief Remem. Roll. Dub. 6 & 7 Ed. I.), wherein Robert de la Roch and Adam le Waleys were indicted for an offence of this description against Margery O’Rorke; but, it being found that “the aforesaid Margery was an Irishwoman” (*quod prædicta Margeria est Hibernica*), the aggressors, Robert and Adam, were acquitted.

any nation armed against the English, there was also, to enlist their good wishes peculiarly in the cause of the Scots, the sympathy of a kindred people, a common lineage and language, and the similarity, still preserved, of their old national institutions. In the fortunes of Bruce a lively interest appears to have been taken by the Irish, at a time when his great and glorious work was as yet but in its first stages of accomplishment. In the year 1306, when forced to fly, soon after his coronation, it was in a small island called Rachlin, a few miles off the north coast of Antrim, that he found a safe place of refuge, and remained concealed during the winter.

On his first arrival there, the simple islanders, unaccustomed to the sight of armed men, fled to their places of defence with their families and cattle; but, being treated by Bruce with kindness, they submitted to him as their lord, and agreed to furnish him daily with food for 300 men. Here he remained till the approach of spring, when, having received some aid from friends in the north of Ireland, he set sail, with a fleet of thirty-three galleys and about 300 men, and proceeded on that course of chivalrous conquest which led to the establishment of his country's independence and his own deathless renown. Besides the small force he had brought with him, his brothers Thomas and Alexander had collected for him, in the north of Ireland, a body of 700 men, with which they passed over to Loch Ryan in Galloway.\* Being attacked, however, in endeavouring to land, by Duncan M'Dowal, a powerful chieftain of that country, the greater number of them were put to the sword or lost in the sea; and among the slain were found, with their heads cut off, the bodies of two Irish princes.†

The strong interest then felt in the fortunes of the heroic

\* Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*.

† "Sed hos præcipuos de interfectis in prælio obtulit domino regi, videlicet Malcolmi M'Kail, domini de Kenter, caput et duorum regularum Hibernensium capita," &c.—*Matthew of Westminster*, p. 458.



Bruce became elevated, of course, into enthusiasm when full success crowned his generous struggle; and the glorious victory of Bannockburn (1314), in ridding Scotland of the English yoke, opened a vista, also, of hope to the future fortunes of oppressed Ireland. There appeared, at last, a dawning chance of her deliverance from bondage. The proud race who had trodden down her princes and nobles, were now, themselves, not only humiliated, but unmanned, insomuch that, as an historian of the following age expresses it, "a hundred Englishmen would take flight at the sight of two or three Scots." \*

While actively following up his victory, Bruce was waited upon by deputies from the Irish, placing themselves, and all that belonged to them, entirely at his disposal, and praying that, if he, himself, could not be spared from his royal duties, he would send them his brother Edward to be their king; nor suffer, as they said, a kindred nation to pine in bondage beneath the proud and inexorable tyranny of the English. Besides the accession of power and territory which the possession of so fine a country would afford him, Bruce saw in the proposed enterprise a ready vent for the restless ambition of his brother, who had become impatient of inferiority, even to the Bruce himself, and already laid claim to an equal share with him in the government of the Scottish realm.† Robert appears, however, to have fully appreciated the danger and difficulty of the undertaking, as some time elapsed before he adopted any serious steps towards its accomplishment; and a few attempts by his people, in boats, on the coast of Ulster, had all been vigorously repulsed.

In the mean while, Sir Theobald de Vernon was appointed

\* "Nempe tunc Anglis in tantum consueta adempta fuit audacia, ut a facie duorum vel trium Scotorum fugerent Angli centum."—Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*

† Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*.—"Iste Edwardus erat homo ferox, et magni cordis valde, nec voluit cohabitare fratri suo in pace, nisi dimidium regni solus haberet; et hac de causa mota fuit guerra in Hibernia."—*Fordun*.

lord justice of Ireland; and the aspect of affairs being such as to call for more than ordinary consideration, John de Hothum, a clergyman high in Edward's confidence, was sent over to treat and consult with the earl of Ulster, and other great lords and officers, on matters relating to the interests of the king and his realm of Ireland.\* De Hothum was the bearer, also, of writs, or letters of credence, to the different noblemen specified, ordering them to appoint a fit and competent deputy for the government of Ireland, during the lord justice's absence, and likewise to repair all of them, personally, to the parliament at Westminster,† to confer with the king and his prelates and nobles concerning the state and peaceful settlement of that realm.

Early in the spring (1315), Sir Edmund Butler, who had, in the interim, been made lord justice, returned; and, on the 25th of May, Edward Bruce, with a fleet of 300 sail, appeared off the north coast of Antrim, and landed, at Larne, an army of 6000 men.‡ Being joined by immense numbers of the Irish, their united force overran, with scarcely any resistance, the whole earldom of Ulster; striking terror by the havoc and ruin that marked every step of their course. Whether taken by surprise, or, as it is said, distracted by personal feuds, the English lords made no adequate effort to meet this tumultuary onset; and the earl of Ulster, whose stake in the struggle was such as to stimulate even his declining energies, appears to have been the only lord who came forward promptly to face the danger, on its first burst. The town of Dundalk was stormed by the invaders, and burnt down; and the church of the Carmelite friary, in Ardee, filled with men, women, and

\* Close Roll, 8 Ed. II. See also Rymer, for the full powers intrusted to Hothum; - "plenam committimus potentiam."

† "Not as members of parliament," says Prynne, "but only as commissioners or treaters."

‡ Annal. Hibern. The names of the leaders of this expedition may be found enumerated by Barbour, and in Camden's *Annals*.

children, was savagely set fire to, and all within it consumed.\*

Summoning his vassals to attend him at Roscommon, De Burgh marched from thence to Athlone, where he was joined by Feidlim O'Connor, the prince of Connaught, with his provincial troops. As this is the only great native lord who is mentioned as adhering—and even in his case, but temporarily—to the side of the English,† it may be concluded that most, if not all, of the other chiefs enumerated in the king's writ, had joined the standard of the invader. With no other support than the troops of Feidlim, (the lord justice having withdrawn to Dublin,) De Burgh marched in pursuit of the invaders. He had even refused, we are told, the proffered aid of the lord justice—saying to him haughtily, “You may return home: I and my vassals will overcome the Scots.”‡ In the mean time Bruce, while at Dundalk, had caused himself to be crowned king of Ireland;§ and then, after overrunning the counties of Down, Armagh, Louth, and Meath, returned again to the north of Ulster, where, taking up a post in the neighbourhood of the river Banne, he resolved to await supplies from his own country. Here De Burgh came up with the Scottish forces, and making a vigorous attack upon them, was, after a stubborn conflict, defeated, with the loss of a great number of his followers slain, and of his brother William,|| Sir John Mandeville, and Sir Alan Fitz-Alan, taken prisoners.¶ But Bruce had also suffered much loss; and the small force with

\* Holinshed.—*Annal. Hibern.*

† *Book of Clonmacnoise.*

‡ Dalrymple, *Annals of Scotland.*

§ This ceremony, according to Lodge, took place at Knocknemelan, within half a mile of Dundalk.

|| Sir William de Burgh, called *Lyegh* or the *Grey*. He was, on this occasion, carried into Scotland, where, leaving his sons William and Edward hostages, he gained his liberty and returned into Ireland.—*Lodge.*

¶ The stratagem that led to this victory on the part of the Scots, is thus described by Dalrymple:—“The English, ignorant of the motions of an enemy whom they despised, advanced to the attack. The Scots, by the counsel of sir Philip Mobray, left their banners flying in the camp, and, having made a circuit, suddenly assailed

which he had landed being now reduced in numbers and strength by the harassing service in which they had been engaged, he despatched the earl of Moray \* into Scotland for fresh succours.

The part taken by the prince of Connaught, in lending his aid to the English arms,† could not fail to draw down odium upon him, not only in his own sept and province, but among his fellow countrymen in general; and the favourable opening afforded by this feeling for an attempt to supplant him in the sovereignty of Connaught, was quickly perceived, and as quickly acted upon, by his near kinsman, Roderic O'Connor,‡ —a worthy branch of that royal house, whose domestic discords and crimes have furnished the history of their doomed country with some of its darkest pages. Taking advantage of Feidlim's absence, this bold pretender, with the aid of the faction he had secured, made himself master of the Irish district of Connaught, compelling most of the septs to acknowledge his dominion, and give hostages for their future attachment and faith.

To punish and expel this daring usurper was now the most urgent object of the rightful prince; and, whatsoever were his means of raising an adequate force,—for his friends, the English, were themselves too weak to assist him,—his followers, it appears, were still sufficiently strong, both in numbers and loyalty, to enable him to take the field; and a great battle, fought between him and Roderic, ended in the death of that usurper, and the complete discomfiture of his force. Whether the defection of his own people had let in new light on Feid-

the flank of the English army."—*Memoirs of Scotland*. He adds, in a note, "If I mistake not, this simple stratagem has been successfully employed in late wars."

\* Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, or Moray, who commanded the left wing of the Scottish army at Bannockburn.

† "The readiness with which Feidlim O'Connor co-operated with the English forces against Bruce, is one of the many proofs which history and our records furnish of the early and continued inclination of the Irish to be obedient to the laws and government of England, unless when perverted by the rulers in Dublin, and the interested settlers throughout the land by whom the persecuted natives were constantly goaded into rebellion."—Hardiman's *History of Galway*.

‡ Book of Clonmacnoise.

lim's mind, or a closer experience of the English, as allies, had inspired him with dread of them, as masters, he now, in the face of the country, renounced their alliance, and, to the great joy of his brother chieftains, throughout all Ireland, declared for Bruce and the Scots.

This step of Feidlim, to which, in most times and histories, we could point out parallels, was such as his contemporaries, according to the party which they had themselves espoused, would pronounce either noble and patriotic, or treacherous and base.

Meanwhile the Scottish leader, following up boldly his late victory, laid siege to the stronghold of Carrickfergus; while the Irish, rising in arms throughout Ulster and Munster, burnt, in the course of their wild ravages, the castles of Randown and Athlone; and, at the same time, three other castles in Connaught, belonging to the earl of Ulster, were destroyed by a chief of that province, Cathal Ruadh O'Connor.\*

The increasing spread of the spirit of revolt, infecting some even among the English themselves, appeared to the government to warrant the demand of some public pledge of allegiance from those on whose loyalty the safety and maintenance of the king's government depended; and a declaration was accordingly framed (1315), wherein, after stating that "the Scottish enemies had drawn over to them all the Irish of Ireland, several of the great lords, and many English people," the subscribers pledged themselves to maintain loyally the rights of the king against all persons whatsoever.†

Bruce himself, having left some troops to carry on the siege of Carrickfergus,‡ marched his army into Meath; and, being

\* Annal. Hibern.

† Rymer, tom. iii. At the head of the subscribers to this Letter of Allegiance from the *Magnates Hiberniæ*, stands the name of John Fitz-Thomas of Offaley, the first earl of Kildare.

‡ There are some details respecting this siege, not apparently much to be relied upon, which the reader may find on referring to Barbour's *Metrical Life of Robert Bruce*.



encountered there by an English force under the lord justice, Roger Mortimer, put them to rout with great slaughter, owing his success to the treacherous conduct of the De Lacys. Keeping his Christmas at a place called Loughsudy, which he set fire to, we are told, on leaving it, he pushed rapidly on into Kildare; until, arriving in the neighbourhood of the Moate of Ascul, he found himself encountered by the lord justice Butler, who, together with the lord John Fitz-Thomas, the lord Arnold Poer, and other lords and gentlemen of Leinster and Munster, had marched with a force to meet him. After a short skirmish, however, the English army, owing to some feuds and misunderstandings among its leaders, took suddenly to flight, and abandoned the field to the Scots, having lost in the action Sir William Prendergast, knight, and a "right valiant esquire," Hamon le Gras.\* On the Scottish side were killed Fergus of Androssan, and Sir Walter Moray, with several other officers and knights, who were all buried in the church of the Friars Preachers, at Athy.

Encouraged by these evidences of weakness and discord in the English camp, the people of Munster and Leinster rose in open rebellion, and the Byrnes, O'Tooles, and O'Moores, burnt the country from Arklow to Ley. But the lord justice, issuing out upon them, checked their depredations, and returned, with fourscore heads, as a trophy of his triumph, to Dublin.†

Towards the beginning of the year 1316, the forces of both parties were early in the field; but the Scots, after a few ad-

\* In some verses of considerable merit, suggested by a visit to Jerpoint Abbey (see *Memoirs of the Family of Grace*), a tribute to the memory of this young hero may be found.

"On Ascul's plain was heard the sound of woe,  
And, as the gentle Barrow glided by,  
All blood-tinged were its waters in their flow,  
Where heroes died—but not for victory,—  
There Hamon flourished in his flower of days," &c.

In a note on these lines, Hamon le Gras is stated to have been the commander of the force opposed to Bruce at Ascul; but no authority that I have seen warrants this assertion.

† Annal. Hibern

venturous efforts, were compelled, from want of provisions, to return into Ulster. There, taking possession of Northburg Castle, they sat down quietly in their quarters, and Bruce kept his court, and took cognizance of all pleas, as composedly as if it were in times of profound peace. The forces of the English, meanwhile, were furnished with sufficient employment nearer home by the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, and others of the mountain septs of Wicklow, who continued daily to infest the neighbourhood of Dublin, having already laid waste both the town and country of Wicklow. The lord justice, therefore, finding his army too much enfeebled to enable him to cope with these marauders, and detach, at the same time, a sufficient force against the Scots, applied his concentrated means to the former object, and with so much success, that these mountain bandits were, for the time, entirely subdued.

Nor were the Scots, meanwhile, lost sight of;—a small body of troops, under the lord Thomas Mandeville, having been appointed to hover round and watch their movements. In the course of his performance of this service, occasional skirmishes took place between him and the enemy, in one of which he and his party slew thirty Scots; and, in another, this gallant lord was himself slain. The arrival of supplies to Bruce, from Scotland, in the spring of the year 1316, gave a new impulse to this frightful conflict; and the various horrors of massacre, burning and waste, which had been suspended during the late temporary lull, were all now freshly renewed.

To reward the conduct of those lords who had stood firmly by the English government through this crisis, was a measure called for as well by policy as by gratitude; and, with this view, the dignity of earl of Carrick was (A. D. 1316) bestowed upon the lord justice Butler, and John Fitz-Thomas, baron of Offaley, was created earl of Kildare.\* The De Burghs and

\* There occurs a difficulty at this step, in the pedigree of the earls of Kildare, for which the reader may consult Lodge; and likewise Lynch's *View of the Legal In-*

Geraldines, who, even at this trying juncture, had been unable to adjourn their hereditary feud, now consented to a temporary truce; and there appeared, among all, a firm and loyal resolution to set themselves manfully to the defence of the realm.

They were soon furnished, too, with a favourable opportunity of encountering, in a pitched battle, the now favourite champion of the Irish cause, Feidlim O'Connor, who had fully atoned for his former desertion of the national banner, by a series of bold and successful irruptions into the English territory; in the course of which, many of the most gallant knights, and among others, lord Stephen de Exeter and William Prendergast, were cut off by the sword. Encouraged by this success, and the applauding voice of his fellow countrymen, to try a more extended scale of military operations, the Connaught chief now took the field with a large force; and, having been threatened with an incursion into his territory by William de Burgh, assisted by Richard de Bermingham, boldly marched forth to meet them.

It was near Athenry, in the county of Galway, that the two armies encountered each other; and the great battle that then ensued was, according to Irish writers, the most bloody and decisive that had ever been fought from the time of the first English invasion. This mighty struggle ended in the total defeat of the Irish, of whom not less than 11,000, it is said, fell on the field; the gallant young Feidlim, himself, being among the slain,\* together with O'Kelly, chief of Hymaine,† and a number of other great lords and captains of Connaught and Meath. The achievement performed in the course of this battle, by one Hussey, a butcher of Athenry, who, finding him-

*stitutions, &c.*, p. 235. Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, declares that Kildare's patent is "the ancientest form of creation he had seen."

\* "In this battle fell Felim O'Connor, from whom the Irish had expected more than from any other Gael then living."—*Annals of the Four Masters*. According to these annals this prince was then twenty-two years of age.

† "A territory in the county of Galway, bordering on the county of Roscommon, and at times extended by conquest into it, usually called Mainech."—Ware, *Antiq.*

self alone, at the mercy of three assailants, encountered and slew them all, is much dwelt upon by the chroniclers, who add that, Hussey having been, for his bravery, dubbed a knight, his family became afterwards barons of Galtrim. Among other traditions connected with this great victory, which gave a final blow to the power of the O'Connors,\* it is said that the walls of the town of Athenry were built from the spoils gained by that battle.

There had now elapsed more than a year, since the landing of Edward Bruce in Ireland; and, though his arms had been hitherto invariably victorious, no definite object had yet been gained by the enterprise. In this state of the war, his illustrious brother, king Robert, determined, generously, to come in person to his aid. Such was the confusion, indeed, then reigning in the councils of England, where the king and his barons were all but at war on the subject of the Ordinances, that Bruce had little to apprehend from that quarter during his absence. Intrusting the government, therefore, to his son-in-law, the steward, and Sir James Douglas, he passed over to the aid of the new king of Ireland, with a considerable body of troops.†

The brave garrison of Carrickfergus, who had, through so many months of privation and suffering, maintained, unshrinkingly, their post, were now reduced to such extremities as to be compelled to eat the hides of beasts, and even to feed upon the dead bodies of eight Scots whom they had made prisoners. In this dreadful state, they at length surrendered to the two brother kings, on the condition only, that the lives of the garrison soldiers should be spared.

We have seen that to the backwardness or treachery of the De Lacys was attributed the failure of the first efforts against the Scots. In a parliament, held soon after by the lord jus-

\* Hardiman, *Hist. of Galway*. —

† Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*.—"A flying report spread up and down Dublin, that the lord Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, was now landed in Ireland to assist his brother Edward."—*Annal. Hibern.*

tice, Walter de Lacy was declared to be absolved from the charge; but, as an impression still prevailed that this powerful family were leagued secretly with the Scots, they deemed it prudent, in the month of December, this year, to go through the forms of an indictment and acquittal, on the charge;\* and, receiving a charter of pardon from the king, they renewed their oath of fealty, and sealed it solemnly by the sacramental rite.

The two great parties engaged in this general warfare now strained every effort to put forth their utmost strength. Towards the end of the year 1316, the English had gained some important advantages over the natives. A second victory achieved in Connaught by William de Burgh and Sir John Bermingham, was attended with a loss to the Irish, of 500 of their best troops, together with their captains, O'Connor and Mac Kelly; and, in the following month, John Loggan and Hugh Bisset put to rout the Scottish force, in Ulster, slaying, says the chronicler, 100 men in double armour, and 200 in single armour, besides a great number of their naked followers. Among the prisoners taken at this battle and sent to Dublin, were Sir Alan Stewart and Sir John Sandale.

On the side of the Scots, meanwhile, no exertion of labour or zeal was wanting to bring into the field an army strong enough to insure a triumphant result, and thereby signalise, in a manner worthy of him, the presence of their hero, Bruce, in Ireland.† Having collected together a force, computed at 20,000 men, independent of the tumultuary army of the northern Irish, they marched as far as Slane, laying waste and burning all in their way; and from thence to Castleknock, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where, taking Hugh Tyrrel, the

\* Annal. Hibern.

† See, for an account of the great Scottish officers who accompanied the Bruces to Ireland, a poem by the Rev. Dr. Drummond, entitled, "Bruce's Invasion;" in which the scanty materials furnished to the poet by this short episode in our history are turned to account with much skill and success.



lord of that castle, prisoner, they established there their quarters.\* During the encampment of Bruce at this place, the earl of Ulster, who had been living retired in St. Mary's Abbey, near Dublin, was, in consequence of information that he had been instrumental in bringing the Scots to Ireland, suddenly arrested by Robert de Nottingham, mayor of the city, and committed to prison in Dublin Castle.† The suspicion of a secret understanding between him and the Bruces, might possibly have had no other foundation than the near connection between the two families; Robert Bruce having, in the year 1302, married Ellen, one of the daughters of this earl.‡ An attempt, on the part of De Burgh, to make resistance, gave rise to a fray, in which seven of his servants were killed; while the abbey of St. Mary was pillaged and partly burnt down, owing to a suspicion that the monks favoured the enemy.§

The citizens of Dublin, on finding themselves menaced with a siege, declared their resolution to defend, obstinately, the city, and gave, at the same time, a proof of their readiness to make every sacrifice for this object by setting fire at once to the suburbs; though, in this operation, many of the churches were destroyed, and even the venerable fane of St. Patrick did not entirely escape. To the intrepidity, indeed, and decisive conduct of the citizens of Dublin, at this crisis, the very existence of the Irish government was mainly indebted for its preservation.|| On being informed of this spirit of the inhabitants, and learning, also, that the city was well walled, the

\* Annal. Hibern.—Holinshod.

† Harris, *Hist. of the City of Dublin*.

‡ Lodge.—According to other authorities, a sister of the earl.

§ Harris.

|| See, in Pryne (*Animad.* p. 60.), the writ issued, on this occasion by the king (Close Roll, 11 E. II.), granting immunity to the mayor and citizens for having set fire to the suburbs of Dublin: "Nos advertentes (says the writ) quod ea que urgenti necessitate guerre fiunt pœnis legis communis pœnis subesse non debent, vobis mandamus," &c.

Scottish leader deemed it most prudent not to risk the delay or failure of a siege; but, under the guidance of Walter de Lacy, who, in shameless defiance of his late oath, had become the adviser and conductor of the invading army, he turned off with his forces towards Naas, and rested for a short time at Leixlip on his way;\* nor is it a slight addition to the interest of that romantic spot to be able to fancy that the heroic Bruce, surrounded by his companions in arms, had once stood beside its beautiful waterfall, and wandered, perhaps, through its green glen.

Passing from Naas into the county of Kilkenny,† and from thence wasting the whole country as far as Limerick, the Scots, after spreading around them misery and desolation, were brought at length to feel the extremities of famine themselves; and while numbers of them perished from hunger, the remainder had no other resource than the flesh of horses for food.‡ What motive could have led the two brothers, more especially at so inclement a season, to venture on a march of such length and peril, it is by no means easy to divine. If they sought, by this movement, to establish themselves at Limerick as a sort of central position between Munster and Connaught, which might enable them to attract to their banner the chieftains of both those provinces,§ the scheme, though plausible, appears

\* "Le Brus, understanding that the city was fortified to receive him, marched towards Salmon's Leap, where Robert le Brus, king of Scotland, with Edward le Brus, the earl of Moray, the lord John Stewart, &c. encamped themselves and continued for four days."—*Annals of Ireland*.

† "Some vestiges of Bruce's invasion yet remain. Near Aghaboe is an old fortification, vulgarly called Scotfrath, but properly Scottiswaith, or the Scot's walls or fortress."—Ledwich, *Hist. and Antiq. of Irishtown and Kilkenny*.

‡ "In eadem expeditione multi fame perierunt; reliqui vero carnibus equorum usi sunt."—*Fordun*. l. xii. c. 25.

§ According to the Annals of Inisfallen, so far was the cause of the Scots from finding any favour at Limerick, that a large army, composed of English and Irish, had been collected there, for the purpose of attacking them; having chosen unanimously for their leader Murtogh O'Brian, prince of Thomond; and this force, adds the annalist, were about to march against the invaders, when, "to the great dissatisfaction and disappointment of the descendants of Brian Roe, the Scots made a precipitate retreat

to have been hazarded merely on speculation, and to have entirely failed; or if, as may seem more probable, the pressure of famine compelled them to wander to such a distance, the rapine and havoc that marked their course entirely defeated the very object they had in view, and but extended to others the scourge from which they sought to relieve themselves.

Still more unaccountable than even this vague and hazardous movement of the Scots, was the total inaction, meanwhile, of the English leaders; who, instead of availing themselves of the weak condition to which the invaders were reduced, to strike a blow that would, at once, sweep them from the face of the land, were quietly employed in holding parliaments, both at Kilkenny and in Dublin (1317), to consult on the state of the country, and concert measures for the expulsion of the Scots. On one of these occasions their debates lasted, we are told, for a whole week; and during all this delay, an army of no less than 30,000 men, under the command of Sir Edmund Butler and the earl of Kildare,\* were waiting orders to take the field.

While thus these lords, at a moment so critical, allowed the time to elapse in such helpless indecision as can only be accounted for by the awing influence which the presence of Bruce, even under a cloud, was still able to exercise, that great man himself, with the half-famished remains of his army, had succeeded, by slow and painful marches, in effecting his retreat, at the beginning of May, into Ulster. Here, convinced, perhaps, of the hopelessness of any attempt to build up a durable dominion out of materials so rude and crumbling as the state of Ireland then afforded, Bruce committed to his more sanguine brother the further prosecution of the war, and, taking away with him only the earl of Moray, returned to his own

back into Ulster." It appears, from the same annals, that another of the O'Briens, Donough, took the part of the invaders.

\* Thomas, the second earl of Kildare.—*Lodge*.

dominions. Among the great and good qualities of Robert Bruce, strong sense appears, as in most such leading spirits, to have been predominant; nor could he have failed, from all he had observed, to deduce an opinion respecting the Irish, which their whole succeeding history has tended to verify,—that a people whom long misrule had accustomed to be bad subjects, could never, on their own soil, make good or trustworthy soldiers;—a result which, though easily to be accounted for, is rendered, in the case of the Irish, peculiarly striking, from their acknowledged eminence in all the best soldierly qualities, when acting on other shores.

In Easter week (1317), the new lord justice, Sir Roger Mortimer, afterwards earl of March, arrived at Youghall; and active operations were about to be commenced. The welcome news, however, of the retreat of Bruce into Ulster, rendered such measures unnecessary; and the immense body of volunteers which had been collected for the occasion—called by the Irish a “rising out”<sup>\*</sup>—were all dismissed to their several homes.

Thus released from the immediate pressure of the enemy's forces, the attention of the government was drawn to the case of the earl of Ulster, who was still a prisoner in the castle of Dublin, notwithstanding that a writ of mainprise had been issued for his discharge.† In defiance of law and authority, the mayor of Dublin still kept him confined. In a parliament, however, held at Kilmainham by the lord justice, together with the lord Wogan, Sir Fulke Warren, and thirty other knights, the deliverance of the earl was taken into consideration, and, at a second meeting of the same parliament, was effected; the earl having, previously, been required to give hostages, as well as to take an oath on the sacrament, that he would neither by himself, his friends, or followers, do any injury to the citizens in revenge for his imprisonment.

<sup>\*</sup> Cox.

† Hollinshed.—Annal. Hibern.

Among the memorable Articles of Reform framed by the Ordainers in the fourth year of this reign, there was one to the effect that "to prevent delay in the administration of justice, parliaments should be holden, at least once, and, if need be, oftener, every year." Following in the train of that example, a petition was addressed, this year, to the king, praying that "a parliament might be held once every year in Ireland, to redress the grievance mentioned in their petition." Attempts have been made from time to time, especially in periods of high political excitement, to misrepresent the meaning and object of these enactments for the holding of annual parliaments. But it is clear that neither by the measures adopted in England for that purpose, nor by the prayer of the Irish petition just noticed, was it at all meant that parliaments should be elected every year, but simply that the parliament should, every year, hold a session. No further evidence, indeed, is wanting in support of this view of the question, than the known fact, that the very same parliament which confirmed the ordinance for the annual holding of parliaments, was itself continued, by prorogation, to another session.\* With respect to the Irish petition, we learn from a writ dated at Lincoln, in the tenth year of this reign, that the prayer contained in it for a parliament to be held annually was granted.†

Through all the calamities and reverses that now befell the national cause, the spirit of the people was chiefly sustained by the exhortations of their clergy; for it is a fact worthy of notice, that the church of the Irish and the church of the English, in that country, were at this time as widely divided by their difference in language and race, as they have been at any period since by their difference in creed. A strong proof of the sort of feeling with which the native ecclesiastics regarded

\* In the words of the writ of summons, "*ad idem parlamentum quod ibidem duximus continuandum*."—Prynne, *Parliamentary Writs*, iv. 87.

† Close Roll, 10 E. II.—See Prynne, for this writ, *Animad. &c.* 261.



all who belonged to the race of their English rulers, is to be found in a regulation of the abbey of Mellifont, dated A. D. 1322, determining that no person whatsoever should be admitted into that abbey, until he had taken an oath that he was not of English descent.\* They but followed, too, in this exclusive spirit, the example set them by their rulers, who strictly forbade, under severe penalties, the admission of natives into any of the religious communities established within the English bounds.

The disaffection towards the ruling powers so strongly manifested among the clergy, was not confined to the native ecclesiastics, but spread, also, among their English or Anglo-Irish brethren; and Adam de Northampton, bishop of Ferns, was not only a favourer of the cause of the Bruces, but, as appears from a writ issued against him, August 6th, 1317, was accused of furnishing them with provisions, arms, and men.† Complaints had been made by the English monarch to pope Innocent XXII., with whom he stood high in favour, of the disloyal conduct of the Irish clergy; and a letter was addressed, accordingly, by his holiness to the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, empowering them to admonish, and, if necessary, excommunicate, all such rebels to the English crown. The effect of this papal commission, or mandate, on the minds of the Irish, we shall have, presently, a more fit opportunity of noticing.

Throughout the remainder of this year the same chaotic confusion of public and private warfare seems to have prevailed over the whole kingdom. The intractable De Lacys, no less fierce than they were treacherous, still defied and baffled the authority of the lord justice Mortimer, who, having sent to command them to come to him, and received a refusal, then

\* Cox.—“In abbatia Melifontis talis inolevit error, quod nullus, ibi admittatur in domum prædictam, nisi primitus facta fide, quod non sit de genere Anglorum.”

† Ware's Bishops.

formally deputed Sir Hugh Crofts to enter into treaty with them for the settlement of peace. These savage lords, however, did not scruple to murder this envoy, who was a gentleman of high repute and honour. It became, therefore, necessary to adopt strong measures; and the lord justice, taking with him an armed force, attacked the offenders in their own territory, and, driving them from thence into Connaught, laid waste their lands, slew numbers of their followers, and declared themselves, by proclamation, traitors and outlaws.

As another specimen of the sort of example held out thus early by the gentry of the Pale to the natives, it is found on record, that Sir Hugh Cannon, chief justice of the court of common pleas, was, at this time, murdered on the road between Naas and Castle Martyr by one of the family of the Berminghams.

Among the Irish, meanwhile, the old game of discord continued to be carried on with all the usual national zest; and a quarrel, which had been for some time kindling between two great captains, or princes, of Connaught, now led to a battle attended with the slaughter of 4,000 of their respective followers. It was this discord among themselves, the inherent vice of the Irish nation, that paralysed then, as it has done ever since, every effort for their enfranchisement, and which, at that time, would have kept them hopeless and confirmed slaves, had even a whole army of Robert Bruces thronged to their deliverance.

The natural consequences of so long a continuance of the scourge of warfare now showed themselves in a general famine throughout the country, during which the wretched people were reduced to such extremities that they took the dead, as we are told, out of their graves, and, boiling the flesh of the corpses in the skulls,\* thus frightfully appeased

\* "Some of them," says the annalist in Camden, "were so pinched with famine that they dug up graves in churchyards, and after they had boiled the flesh in the skull of the dead body, eat it up." "As if," says Dalrymple, "famine had consumed the spits and the kettles!" This absurd story (Dr. Drummond thinks) may have arisen from

their hunger;—even mothers, in this manner, feeling upon their own children. Following close on these harrowing details, we find an account of a splendid banquet given by the lord justice at the castle of Dublin, in the course of which he conferred knighthood upon John Mortimer, and four others of his train, and shortly after set sail for England, leaving all his debts, which amounted to £1,000, unpaid; in consequence of which, says the chronicler, “many a bitter curse he carried with him to the sea.” Before Mortimer’s departure, he had condemned John de Lacy, who had been for some time in prison, and refused to plead to the indictment against him, to suffer the frightful punishment of being pressed to death.\*

The spell of inaction that had hung, all this time, around Edward Bruce,—owing far more to the weakened condition of his army than to any effect produced by the anathemas of the pope,—was now on the point of being broken, and in a way fatal to his chivalrous enterprise and life. Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, had just been appointed lord justice, succeeding in that office the archbishop of Cashel, William Fitz-John. An early and abundant harvest, in all those parts of the country not wholly wasted by war, enabled both of the belligerent parties to resume early their operations; and Edward Bruce, taking the field with an army amounting, as some say, to about 3,000 men, marched to the Faughard (1318), a memorable spot within two miles of Dundalk.† The other commanders of the Scottish force were Philip lord Mowbray,

the ambiguity of the word “sculls;” which frequently, as used by old writers, means a covering for the head. Thus, in Baron Finglas’s *Breviate of Ireland*, “Every six yeomen to take a hackney, and a lad to bear their jacks, *sculls*, bows, and arrows.”

\* Holinshed—a mode of punishment called by the law, *peine forte et dure*. The annalist in Camden, not understanding this refinement of cruelty, tells us that Lacy’s punishment was “to be pinched in diet, so that he died in pris a.”

† “The Faughard” is an artificial mount, composed of stones and terras, with a deep trench round it, raised to the height of sixty feet, in the form of the frustum of a cone, upon the north frontier of what is now called the English pale. There has formerly been some sort of an octagonal building on the top of it, as appears from the foundations remaining.”—Wright, *Louthiana*.

Walter lord de Soulis, and Alan lord Stewart, together with his three brothers. The three De Lacys, also, had joined the rebel ranks.

The English force which had marched from Dublin to encounter this army, was commanded by the lord John Bermingham, having under him a number of distinguished officers,—Sir Richard Tuit, Sir Miles de Verdon, John Maupas, and other Anglo-Irish barons,—and being accompanied to the field by the primate of Armagh, to perform the last offices to the dying.\*

According to the Scottish historians, Edward Bruce had, in the course of the three years during which he waged war in Ireland, encountered the English armies eighteen times, and been in every one of those successive battles victorious.† The same authorities compute his force on the present occasion to have been little more than a tenth of that of his adversaries; while the English chroniclers, on the other hand, represent the number of their own countrymen engaged to have been not one half of that of the Scots. On whichever side, in these widely differing statements, the balance of truth may be supposed to lean, it is clear, from both accounts, that the conflict was short; that victory declared for the English on the very first onset; and, moreover, that to the desperate bravery of one man that result is mainly to be attributed. Under the persuasion that the death of Bruce himself would give victory, at once, to the English, John Maupas, a brave Anglo-Irish knight, rushed devotedly into the enemy's ranks, to accomplish that object; and when, after the battle, the body of Bruce was discovered, that of John Maupas was found lying stretched across it.‡ The amount of the slain in the respective armies

\* By Walsingham this prelate is represented as having been the captain of the English force. "*Primate de Armach pro rege Anglorum capitaineo existente.*"

† Barbour, book xii.

‡ "A pillar, in the burying ground of Faughard," says Dr. Drummond, "marks the grave of Edward Bruce. This pillar is said to have stood, within the memory of

has been variously stated; being made, by each party, proportionate to its own calculation of the numbers originally engaged.\*

Untaught by the generous example of Robert Bruce, who, after the victory of Bannockburn, treated with the courtesy of a true knight those whom he had conquered in the field,† the English insulted over the body of his fallen brother, and, dividing it into quarters, sent them to be exhibited all over the country; while the head, which Bermingham presented as a trophy, to the English king, procured for him, in return, the earldom of Louth and a grant of the manor of Atherdee.‡

We have seen that the pope, in consequence of the complaints made to him by Edward of the rebellious spirit manifested in Ireland, as well by the clergy as by the laity, had addressed a strong letter to the chief Irish prelates, empowering them to launch the censures of the church against all those, whether lay or ecclesiastical, who were guilty of disaffection to the ruling powers. This interposition, in aid of the views of their haughty oppressors, was felt the more keenly by

man, seven feet above the ground." He adds that "every peasant in the neighbourhood can point out the grave of king Bruce, as he is universally called."

\* The following is Walsingham's account of the result:—"Occisus baronetis de Scotia 29, in eodem campo, et 5 millibus, et octingentis alii præter milites et nobiles supradictos."

† "Captivos quos ceperat tam civiliter tractari fecit, tam honorifice custodiri, quod corda multorum in amorem sui indivisibiliter commutavit."—*Walsingham*. "He set at liberty," says another historian, "Ralph de Monthermer and sir Marmaduke Twenge, without ransom; and sent the dead bodies of the earl of Gloucester and lord Clifford to be interred in England with the honours due to their birth and valour."—*Dalrymple, Annals of Scotland*. An instance of the chivalrous courtesy of Robert Bruce, while in Ireland, is thus related by Mr. Tytler:—"In Ireland we find the king halting the army, while retreating, in circumstances of extreme difficulty, on hearing the cries of a poor lavendere, or washerwoman, who had been seized with labour, commanding a tent to be pitched for her, and taking measures for her pursuing her journey when she was able to travel."—*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii.

‡ Rymer, t. iii. p. 767.—This grant "shows (says Dalrymple) the manner in which earls were created at that time. It confers twenty pounds *per annum* upon him for his services in the battle of Dundalk, under the name of earl of Loueth, and gives that earldom to him and the heirs male of his body by the service of one fourth of a knight's fee."



the great body of the Irish chieftains, as coming from a quarter to which the ancient fame of their country for sanctity and learning might well have encouraged them to look for sympathy and support. In the warmth of this feeling, a memorable remonstrance was addressed to the pope by O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, speaking as the representative of his brother chiefs and of the whole Irish nation. "It is with difficulty," say they, "we can bring ourselves to believe that the biting and venomous calumnies with which we, and all who espouse our cause, have been invariably assailed by the English, should have found admittance, also, into the mind of your holiness, and have been regarded by you as founded in fact and truth." Lest such an impression, however, should, unluckily, have been produced, they begged to lay before him their own account of the origin and state of their nation,—“if state it could be called,”\*—and of the cruel injuries inflicted upon them and their ancestors by some of the English monarchs and their unjust ministers, as well as by the English barons born in Ireland;—injuries, they add, inhumanly commenced, and still wantonly continued. It would thus be in his power to judge of them and their rulers, and determine on which side the real grounds for complaint and resentment lay.

After this introduction, the Irish chiefs proceed to give a rapid sketch of the early history of their country; and, beginning with the sons of Milesius, lay claim to a succession of kings of Ireland through no less a period than 4,000 years, ending in the year 1170, when Adrian, an Englishman by birth, and still more, as they add, by affection and prejudice, delivered up a country which its own line of kings had preserved sacred from foreign dominion, through so many ages, to be the helpless prey of a horde of tyrants, far more cruel

\* "*De ortu nostro et statu, si tamen status dici debeat, ac etiam de injuriis crudelibus nostris, nostrisque progenitoribus, per nonnullos reges Angliæ, eorumque ministros iniquos, et barones Anglicos in Hibernia natos, inhumaniter illatis, et continuatis adhuc.*"

than the fangs of ravening wild beasts.\* From that fatal moment, they allege, no device or expedient that fraud or violence, in their most odious forms, could suggest, had been left untried by the English intruders to extirpate the native race, and appropriate to themselves the sole dominion over the soil. In this design, too, they had so far succeeded, that while all the fairest portion of the island had been gradually usurped by them, the rightful proprietors were driven to the bogs and mountains, and, even there, were compelled to fight for some dreary spot upon which to exist.

The state of a country thus circumstanced, could not be otherwise, these chiefs add, than one of constant civil war; and it was, therefore, not wonderful that the crimes and miseries which are ever attendant on domestic strife,—the murder and rapine, the mean frauds, the detestable perfidies, which it engenders,—should, with both parties, have grown so habitual as to become a second nature.† So great had been the sacrifice of human life, in this struggle, that, without counting the numbers carried off by famine, and long grievous imprisonment, no less than 50,000 on each side had fallen by the sword in the field.‡ “Alas!” they exclaim, “we have now no directing head to watch over us, to enlighten our counsels, and amend our errors.” §

The safety of their church, they bitterly complain, had been brought into peril, not merely in a worldly and temporal sense, but as regarded the eternal safety of their own souls; and while such was the extremity to which the act of the Ro-

\* “*Sicque nos privans honore regio, nostri absque culpa, et sine rationabili causa, crudelioribus omnium bestiarum dentibus tradidit lacerandos.*”

† “*Unde propter hæc et multa alia similia inter nos et illos implacabiles inimicitiae et guerræ perpetuæ sunt exortæ. Ex quibus secutæ sunt occasiones mutuæ, depredationes assiduæ, rapinæ continuæ, fraudes et perfidiæ detestabiles et nimis crebræ.*”

‡ “*Plusquam quinquaginta millia hominum à tempore quo facta est usque in præsens de utraque natione, præter consumptos fame et afflictos carcere, gladio ceciderunt.*”

§ “*Sed, proh dolor! ex defectu capitis, omnis correctio nobis deficit et debita emenda.*”

man pontiff had reduced them, none of those conditions on which he had granted the dominion of Ireland to Henry and his successors, had been fulfilled by any of those princes. According to the bull confirming this grant, the English king had solemnly promised to enlarge the boundaries of the Irish church, and preserve all its rights and privileges untouched and entire; to inform the people, by wholesome laws and sound moral discipline; to implant everywhere, throughout the land, the seeds of virtue, and eradicate those of vice; and, finally, to pay to St. Peter the stipulated pension of 1*l.* a-year from every house.

Such were the conditions of the papal grant; but the kings of England, they declare, had, in every respect, departed from them. Instead of the boundaries of the church having been enlarged, it had, on the contrary, been so much encroached upon, that some of the cathedrals had been despoiled of half their possessions; while, to such an extent was ecclesiastical liberty violated, that bishops and prelates themselves were, by the mere order of the king's ministers, cited to appear, and then arrested and cast into prison; \* till, at length, from long endurance of such treatment, the spirit of the clergy had sunk into servile submission, nor could they now summon the courage to whisper, even to his holiness, the grievances and insults under which they suffered. Such being "their own unworthy silence, under such wrongs, it is not for us," add these indignant chiefs, "to utter a syllable in their behalf."

With respect to the mass of the population, whom their new rulers had pledged themselves to instruct by means of salutary laws and sound moral discipline, such was the manner, they allege, in which this promise had been carried into effect, that, by degrees, all that holy and dovelike simplicity which had once characterised the Irish nation, was transformed,

\* "Per ministros enim regis Angliæ in Hibernia citantur, arrestantur, capiuntur, et incarceratione indifferenter episcopi et prælati."

by the example and society of these strangers, into low serpentine craft.\* Depriving the people of their own ancient and written laws,—with the exception of a few which they would not suffer to be wrung from them,—these foreigners replaced them by others of their own dictation, conceived in the bitterest spirit of hatred towards the people for whom they legislated; and, in more than one instance, providing deliberately for their extermination.

To give some idea of the iniquity of the code under which they suffered, the writers of the remonstrance cite the following instances:—1. That no Irishman,† however aggrieved, could bring an action in the king's courts; though, against himself, an action might be brought by any person who was not an Irishman. 2. That if an Englishman murdered a native, however innocent and exalted in rank might be the latter, or whether he were layman or ecclesiastic, or even a bishop, no cognizance would be taken of the crime in the king's court.‡ 3. That no native woman married to an Englishman could, on his death, be admitted to the claim of dower. 4. That it was in the power of any English lord to set aside the last wills of the natives subjected to him, and dispose of their property according to his own pleasure, appropriating it all, if such was his inclination, to himself. When crime was thus sanctioned by the strict letter of the law, what a host of evils must have been let loose by its spirit!

The remonstrants add that, even by churchmen among the English, the killing of an Irishman was not regarded as a

\* "Quod sancta et columbina ejus simplicitas, ex eorum cohabitatione et exemplo reprobò, in serpentinam calliditatem mirabiliter est mutata."

† "Quod omni homini non Hibernico licet super quacunque indifferenter actione convenire Hibernicum quemcunque; sed Hibernicus quilibet sive clericus sit, sive laicus, solis praelatis exceptis, ab omni repellitur actione eo ipso."

‡ "Quando aliquis Anglicus perfidè et dolosè interfecit hominem Hibernicum, quantumcunque nobilem et innocentem, sive clericum, sive laicum, sive regularem, sive secularem, etiam si praelatus Hibernicus interfectus fuerit, nulla correctio vel emenda fit in dicta curia de tali nefario occisore."

crime; and they refer to several instances of natives having been murdered with impunity; some of them, they say, under circumstances too atrocious to be easily credited. Among other proofs of the feeling of the English clergy, on this point, it is stated that a certain brother Simon, who was of the order of the friars minors, and also a near relation of the bishop of Connor, had been heard to say, but the year before, in the court and presence of Edward Bruce, that he thought it no sin to slay an Irishman; and that, if he himself were to commit such an act, he should not the less celebrate mass after it.\*

From a total dissimilarity, as they allege, between the English and themselves, not only in race and language, but in every other respect,—a dissimilarity greater, they declare, than word or pen can adequately describe,—there appeared no longer the slightest hope that they could ever live peacefully together. So great was the pride and lust of governing, on one side, and such the resolution, on the other, to cast off the intolerable yoke, that, as there never yet had been, so never, in this life, *would* there be, peace or truce between the two nations.† They add, that they themselves had already sent letters to the king and his council, through the hands of John Hothum, now bishop of Ely, representing the wrongs and outrages they had so long suffered from the English, and proposing a settlement by which all such lands as were known to be rightfully theirs should be secured, in future, to them, by direct tenure from the crown; or even agreeing, in order to save the further effusion of blood, to submit to any friendly plan proposed by the king himself, for a fair division of the lands between them and their adversaries.

To this proposition, forwarded to England two years before, no answer, they say, had been returned. “Wherefore,” con-

\* “Quod non est peccatum hominem Hibernicum interficere, et si ipsemet istud committeret, non minus ob hoc missam celebraret.”

† “Quod sicut nec fuit hactenus, nec unquam de cætero inter nos et illos sincera concordia esse vel fieri poterit in hac vita.”



tinue they, "let no one feel surprise if we now endeavour to work out our own deliverance, and defend, as we can, our rights and liberties against the harsh and cruel tyrants who would destroy them." In conclusion, they announce to the pope, that, for the more speedy and effectual attainment of their object (this spirited remonstrance having been addressed to his holiness before the Scottish war), they have called to their aid the illustrious earl of Carrick, Edward de Bruce, a lord descended from the same ancestors with themselves, and have made over to him, by letters patent, all the rights which they themselves, as rightful heirs of the kingdom, respectively possess,—thereby constituting him king and lord of Ireland.

By some of those writers, who allow the spirit of religious partisanship to infect their views, even of those periods in our history when the same creed prevailed in both islands, this memorable Remonstrance of the chiefs and gentry of Ireland has been represented as really issuing from the Irish prelates and clergy.\* It is, however, manifest, that the real object of this spirited document was to denounce, and indignantly protest against, that ultramontane party, in the Irish church, which was now leagued with the Roman court in abetting the English king's projects for the subjugation of Ireland.† The impressive passage in which this servility, on the part of the church, is so bitterly branded, sufficiently sets aside the perverse notion that the native clergy took any leading share in drawing up the document.

\* See Phelan's *History of the Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland*. This writer, however, thus eloquently does justice both to the matter and the manner of the Irish Remonstrance:—"When it urges, on their behalf, that, 'besides the sufferers by famine and disease, 50,000 of their countrymen had already suffered by the Saxon sword;' and 'that there is no longer a spot in their native country which the arrogance of the strangers will allow them to call their own;' it makes an appeal, the truth of which is supported by our wretched annals, and the force acknowledged by human nature."

† "Here again," says Dr. O'Connor (*Columbanus ad Hibernos*, No. 2.), "the ultramontanes interfered; and England, being then in amity with Rome, they confederated with her and with the Roman court, against their native country."

At the commencement of this reign, the cruel persecution and spoliation to which, in consequence of their great wealth, the religious order of Knights Templars had been subjected, in most parts of Europe, was also extended, though in a more mitigated shape, to England and Ireland;—the combined influence of the pope and Philip le Bel (the latter the chief author of the conspiracy) having been exerted to prevail on Edward to join in the unprincipled scheme. To what extent the order of Knights Templars had established themselves in Ireland does not very clearly appear; but the orders for their seizure and imprisonment were issued in the first year of his reign; and, in the year 1308, all the Knights Templars in England and Ireland were apprehended on the same day. The process against them lasted for three years, and was conducted in Dublin with great solemnity before Richard Balbyn, minister of the order of the Dominicans, friar Philip de Slane, lecturer of the same order, and friar Hugh St. Leger. The charges brought against them appear to have been most feebly supported; but already the general voice of Europe had pronounced their condemnation, and the lands and possessions belonging to them in Ireland were bestowed upon a rival order, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, long established at **Kilmainham**.\*

\* *Arohdall, Monast. Hibern. 223.*

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## EDWARD III.

**STATE OF IRELAND ON THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III.—DISSENSIONS AMONG THE GREAT ENGLISH FAMILIES.—IRISH AGAIN PETITION FOR THE ADVANTAGES OF ENGLISH LAW.—AGAIN WITHOUT SUCCESS.—MASSACRE OF ENGLISH BY ENGLISH IN LEINSTER AND MUNSTER.—MAURICE FITZ-THOMAS CREATED EARL OF DESMOND.—LAVISH GRANTS OF PALATINATES.—O'BRIEN TAKES THE FIELD IN GREAT FORCE.—FEUDS BETWEEN THE DE BURGHS AND THE EARL OF DESMOND.—SEVERE MEASURES OF SIR ANTHONY LUCY.—DESMOND REFUSES TO ATTEND PARLIAMENT.—IS ARRESTED AND THROWN INTO PRISON.—LORD WILLIAM BERMINGHAM EXECUTED.—ANNOUNCED INTENTION OF THE KING TO VISIT IRELAND—HIS REAL PURPOSE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST SCOTLAND.—MURDER OF THE YOUNG EARL OF ULSTER.—ADOPTION OF IRISH LAWS AND USAGES BY THE DE BURGHS AND OTHER ENGLISH.—THE LORD OF KERRY JOINS THE IRISH—IS TAKEN PRISONER BY THE EARL OF DESMOND.—SEVERE MEASURES AGAINST THE ENGLISH BORN IN IRELAND—ANNOUNCED RESUMPTION OF ALL GRANTS AND GIFTS MADE TO THEM.—GENERAL INDIGNATION OF THE OLD ENGLISH SETTLERS.—A PARLIAMENT SUMMONED, WHICH DESMOND AND OTHER LORDS REFUSE TO ATTEND.—A CONVENTION HELD BY THESE LORDS AT KILKENNY—REMONSTRANCE ADDRESSED BY THEM TO THE KING.—ADMINISTRATION OF SIR RALPH UFFORD—TAKES SUMMARY MEASURES AGAINST THE REFRACTORY LORDS.—HIS TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF THE EARL OF KILDARE.—UFFORD'S DEATH AND CHARACTER.—EARL OF KILDARE RELEASED FROM PRISON—ATTENDS THE KING AT CALAIS, AND IS KNIGHTED FOR HIS VALOUR—GRACIOUS CONDUCT OF EDWARD TO HIM AND THE EARL OF DESMOND.—DESMOND APPOINTED LORD JUSTICE—HIS DEATH.—USEFUL ORDINANCES FOR IRELAND.—DISQUALIFYING LAWS AGAINST THE NATIVES.—THE DUKE OF CLARENCE, THE KING'S SON, MADE LORD LIEUTENANT—HIS PREJUDICES AGAINST THE ENGLISH SETTLERS—SUCCEEDS IN DEFEATING THE IRISH FORCES, AND RETURNS TO ENGLAND—SENT OVER AGAIN AS LORD LIEUTENANT, AND HOLDS A PARLIAMENT.—THE FAMOUS STATUTE OF KILKENNY—ITS TYRANNICAL ENACTMENTS.—ADMINISTRATION OF SIR WILLIAM WINDSOR—WANTON ACTS OF POWER COMMITTED BY HIM.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.**

DURING the reigns of the first and second Edwards, the power of the English crown, in Ireland, had considerably declined. Even in its best time, the footing gained in that realm was but partial and local, and a large portion even of this limited sovereignty fell away, during the reigns that followed, from the crown. The wars of Henry III. and the two succeeding princes, in France and Scotland, left no disposable force or treasure for the reduction of Ireland; and even of the portion of that kingdom already conquered, the greater part had

been withdrawn from the royal jurisdiction, by those lavish grants to a few favoured individuals, beginning with the first adventurers, which had been the means of wantonly parcelling out, among nine or ten English lords, almost the whole of the kingdom.

The reign of the third Edward (1327) will be found to differ but little from those of his predecessors, in the odious picture it presents of a cruel and rapacious aristocracy let loose upon a defenceless, because divided, people. It would seem, indeed, almost incredible that, in the chivalrous days of the Edwards, there should have been found so many of high-born and warlike English noblemen to take a part in the rude and inglorious frays of Anglo-Irish warfare. But, besides the temptations so fertile a field of plunder held forth, a nearer insight into the homes and habits of the English nobility of that period might warrant the conclusion, that they themselves were still very backward in civilisation; \* and that, not only in the general outline, but in some of the features also of their social condition, they differed not very much from those great Irish chieftains against whom they were now employing all the worst arts of buccaneering warfare. Like the chieftain, the English baron of that day was a kind of independent potentate, regarding only the conventional law of his own class, and submitting but by force to any other; while constantly surrounded by idle and ruffianly retainers, ever ready, at his bidding, for rapine and mischief, he bore, like the Irish chief, too close an affinity to the worst species of king, to be ever expected to prove, under any circumstances, a good subject.

\* The following is the character given by Hume, of the English baron of this period:—"The produce of his estates was consumed in rustic hospitality, by himself or his officers. A great number of idle retainers, ready for any disorder or mischief, were maintained by him: all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his disposal. Instead of applying to courts of justice, he usually sought redress by open force and violence. The great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who, if they submitted to any regulations at all, were less governed by the municipal law than by a rude species of the law of nations."

During the administration of Thomas Fitz-John, earl of Kildare, who was the lord justice, at the commencement of this reign,\* there broke out violent hostilities between Maurice Fitz-Thomas, afterwards earl of Desmond, assisted by the Butlers and Berminghams, and the lord Arnold Poer, having on his side the powerful family of the De Burghs. The cause alleged for the general quarrel which thus committed them, in battle array, against each other, only shows how combustible must have been the state of feeling which so slight an insult—for insult, we are told, it was deemed,—could provoke into explosion. The lord Arnold Poer, it seems, had called Maurice Fitz-Thomas,† in derision, “a rhymer;” and hence the summons of the forces, on both sides, to the field. The consequences of the battle, to the Poers and the De Burghs, were most disastrous; great numbers of both these families were slain, while others were driven into Connaught, and their lands despoiled and ruined. In vain did the lord justice endeavour to compose this senseless strife; his efforts proved wholly unavailing. The unlucky aggressor, Arnold Poer, fled into England,—leaving the field to the triumphant Butlers and their confederates, who, after having wreaked their vengeance by laying waste his lands, were proceeding to extend their ravages still farther, when at length the government, taking alarm, strengthened the guards of the cities and towns, and made preparations for their defence (1328). Mandates were issued also by the king, on hearing of the rebellious spirit manifested by these barons, in which, expressing his surprise and displeasure at the accounts that had reached him, he enjoined the immediate submission of both parties to his representative, the lord justice.‡

Before the arrival, however, of this mandate, the confeder-

\* See Rymer, tom. iv. 295, for a writ addressed to the earl of Kildare, at this time, concerning the custody of the castles near the marches.

† Annal. H. bern.

‡ Rymer, iv. 356.



ates themselves had already adopted the course it enjoined, and, despatching an envoy to the justiciary, had assured him they meant no injury to the king or his cities, but had assembled solely for the purpose of avenging themselves on their enemies. They now added, that they were ready to make their appearance before him at Kilkenny, and there defend themselves against the charge.\* Accordingly, they met, in that city, the lord justice and the king's council, and humbly sued for a charter of pardon or peace; but their offence having been much too serious to admit of such easy remission, further time was taken by the council for the consideration of their suit.

Meanwhile, the Irish of Leinster, taking advantage, in their turn, of the dissensions of their rulers, had set up Donald Mac Art Mac Morrough, a descendant of the ancient princes of that province, to be their king and general; and, making an irruption into the English settlement, advanced with a numerous force within two miles of Dublin; where, being attacked by Sir Henry Traherne, they were all put to rout, and their chief, Mac Morrough, himself, made prisoner. The English general consented, for the sum of £200, to spare this chieftain's life; and he was, soon after, enabled to escape from the castle of Dublin, through the help of another Englishman, Adam Nangle, who conveyed to him a rope for that purpose. This kindness, however, proved fatal to Nangle himself; for he was tried for the act, and executed.†

On the death of the earl of Kildare (1328), the second of that title,‡ at Maynooth, Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, and also lord chancellor of Ireland, was appointed to the office of lord justice. In the same year, James Butler, second earl of Carrick, was created earl of Ormond,§ having, at the same time, granted to him the regalities, liberties, knights' fees, and other royal privileges of the county of Tipperary, with

\* Annal. Hibern.

† Ibid.

‡ Lodge.

§ Carte, *Introduct*

all the rights of a palatine in that county, for life. During the administration of Roger Outlaw, the lords Arnold Poer and William de Burgh having returned into Ireland, the principal leaders of the late disgraceful baronial feuds were induced, through the interposition of the lord justice, to consent to terms of peace; and between the Poers and De Burghs on one side, and the Butlers, Geraldines, and Berminghams on the other, a reconciliation was happily effected, in celebration of which the earl of Ulster gave a great feast in the castle of Dublin; and, on the following day, the lord Maurice Fitz-Thomas commemorated the event by a similar banquet in St. Patrick's church (1329); though, as the chronicler, somewhat scandalised, remarks, it was then the holy season of Lent.\*

Though so frequently repulsed in their efforts to obtain the protection of English law, the natives again, in the second year of this monarch's reign, preferred a petition to the crown, praying that the Irish might be permitted to use the law of England without being obliged to purchase charters of denization to qualify them for that privilege.† The writ of the king recommending this prayer to the "unprejudiced" attention of the lord justice, differs little in phrase or tone from those of his predecessors on the same point; nor is anything more said of the petition or its significant prayer, during the remainder of this king's reign.

Under the government of Sir John Darcy (1329), new insurrections broke forth in the provinces of the south; and while Mac Geoghegan took the field at the head of his followers in Westmeath, O'Brian of Thomond held forth the signal of insurrection to the septs of Munster. At this critical juncture, the infatuated English were employed in murdering each other; and a treacherous massacre which took place in Orgiel, exhibited the frightful spectacle of not less than 160 Englishmen, among whom were the earl of Louth, Talbot of Malahidé,

\* *Annal. Hibern.*

† *Prynne*, 266.

and many more gentlemen of rank, lying basely butchered by their own countrymen, the Gernons, Savages, and others. Almost at the same time, the Barrys, Roches, and other English in Munster, were guilty of a no less atrocious and sweeping act of carnage upon the lord Philip Bodnet, Hugh Condon, and about 140 of their followers, all of whom were, at one fierce swoop, made victims to the factious rage and perfidious cruelty of their own countrymen.

It was, assuredly, but just retribution that, in the fair and open field of fight, the curse of defeat should light upon the arms of those who had dishonoured the name of soldier by such base and craven cruelty; and, in every direction, discomfiture and disaster appear to have attended the course of the English troops. The force marched by lord Thomas Butler into West Meath, was put to rout near Mullingar, with considerable loss, by the chief, Mac Geoghegan. Sir Simon Gen-evil, in like manner, suffered a signal defeat at Carbery, in the county of Kildare; while Brian O'Brian ravaged, at will, over the whole country, and, among other achievements, burnt down the towns of Athassel and Tipperary.

Unable to cope with so general a spirit of insurrection, the lord justice (1330) saw that he was left no other resource than to call in the aid of that powerful and popular nobleman, Maurice Fitz-Thomas, who had a few months before\* been created earl of Desmond, with a grant, at the same time, of all the regalities, liberties, and other royal privileges of the county of Kerry.†

Thus were two more powerful seignories added to the many already created, empowering a proud and upstart oligarchy to domineer over the whole land. The distracting oppression, indeed, of petty kingship under which the country, in its old,

\* Lodge.

† With the exception, as usual, of the four pleas, thus particularised in the words of the patent: "*Quatuor placitis, videlicet, incendio, raptu, foresta, et thesauro inventis ac etiam proficuo de crocets, duntaxat exceptis.*"

independent state, groaned, was now but replaced by a form of toparchy still more insulting and odious, inasmuch as the multifold scourge had passed from the hands of natives into those of aliens and intruders. The palatinate now granted to Desmond formed the ninth of those petty sovereignties into which the kingdom had been wantonly parcelled in order to enrich and exalt a few favoured individuals, not more to the injury of the people than to the usurpation and abuse of the prerogatives of the crown.\* For, in fact, these palatine lords had royal jurisdiction throughout their territories; made barons and knights, and erected courts for civil and criminal causes, as well as for the management of their own revenues, according to the forms in which the king's courts were established in Dublin.† They made their own judges, sheriffs, and coroners; nor did the king's writ run in the palatinates, though they comprised more than two parts of the English colonies.‡

In compliance with the desire of the government, and under a promise from them of king's pay, Desmond, at the head of nearly 10,000 men, having the O'Brians for his allies, took the field against the combined septs of Leinster, the O'Nolans, O'Murroughs, and O'Dempsys; and laying waste all their lands, compelled them to submit and give hostages, having retaken the castle of Ley from the O'Dempsys. The funds of the government being found insufficient to defray the expenses of this war, or discharge the king's pay promised to

\* "Of this sort are the grants of counties palatine in Ireland, which, though at first were granted upon good consideration when they were first conquered, for that those lands lay then as a very border to the wild Irish, subject to continual invasion, so as it was needful to give them great privileges for the defence of the inhabitants thereof; yet now that it is no more a border, nor frontiered with enemies, why should such a privilege be any longer continued?"—Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*.

† Davies.—According to Lynch, the jurisdiction of the Irish seignories was not quite so extensive as it is represented by Sir John Davies. "It is not easy (he says) to determine precisely the jurisdiction belonging to palatinates, or 'contes paleis; but if it was thought that in Ireland there at any time existed such a palatinate as that of Chester, where a subject created his own barons, held his own parliament, &c., such an opinion will prove wholly untenable."—*View of the Legal Institutions, &c.*

‡ Ibid.

Desmond, that lord had recourse, for the subsistence of his troops, to the old Irish exaction of coyne and livery,—a mode of taxation which he himself had first brought into use among the English (having resorted to it, in the preceding reign, for the support of the war against Bruce), and which his cousin, the earl of Kildare, now readily adopted, after his example.

The following year was but a repetition of the same violent scenes, with the same turbulent actors on both sides engaged in them; and under the two several heads of English dissension and Irish insurrection, may be classed all that we find recorded of its stormy course. The unconquered Mac Geoghegans were again up in the county of Meath; but being attacked by the earls of Ulster and Ormond, they were put to flight, after a spirited resistance, leaving the sons of three Irish kings among the slain. Scarcely had the Mac Geoghegans been thus dispersed (1330), when a yet more troublesome enemy, O'Brian, appeared in the field; and a parliament was held forthwith in Kilkenny, at which there were present, besides the archbishop of Dublin, the earls of Ulster and Ormond, the lord William Bermingham, and the lord Walter de Burgh of Connaught; each bringing with him a considerable force, for the purpose of marching against O'Brian, and dislodging him from a strong post in the neighbourhood of Cashel, of which he had got possession.\*

But, even while thus engaged on a great public service, there were some of these self-willed and contentious lords who could not refrain from indulging their own personal vengeance; and the De Burghs, on their way to Limerick in pursuit of O'Brian, wantonly wasted and plundered the earl of Desmond's lands, carrying away with them considerable booty. This outrage aroused all the animosity between the two families; and to such alarming lengths did their feuds proceed, that the lord justice found himself compelled to seize on the heads of

\* Annal. Hibern.



both factions, and to commit the two lords, Maurice of Desmond and the earl of Ulster, to the custody of the marshal of Limerick.\*

During these feuds of the English among themselves, the wretched natives, taking advantage of the general confusion, and perhaps intoxicated with opening prospects of revenge, committed, in Leinster, one of those savagely cruel acts which occur but too commonly in their history, and show, as contrasted with the general kindliness of the national temper, of what anomalous ingredients human character may be composed. While pursuing their course of ravage (1331), this mob found assembled, at their devotions, in the church of Freinston, about fourscore people; who, perceiving that their own doom was inevitable, thought only of saving the priest, and earnestly besought of the soldiers to spare his life. These ruffians, however, deaf to all entreaties, interposed their javelins to prevent the holy man's escape, though he held the Host in his hand; and then, setting fire to the building, completed their work of sacrilege by burning church, priest, and congregation together. But this inhuman rabble was not suffered to go unpunished. The English citizens of Wexford, gathering courage from despair, ventured to attack their brute force, and, putting four hundred of them to the sword, spread such a panic among the remainder, that they all fled in confusion, and were most of them drowned in the river Slaney.

At the commencement of the following year (1331), we find the king, by his writ, appointing the earl of Ulster to be his lord-lieutenant; while, at the same time, Sir Anthony Lucy, a man of high reputation in England, but of a severe and unbending character, was sent over as lord justice, bringing with him the lord Hugh de Lacy, who had been pardoned, and was now restored to some share of favour. The administration of this governor commenced under favourable auspices.

\* *Annal. Hibern.*—*Marleborough's Chronicle*.

Little more than a week had elapsed, from the time of his arrival, before a great victory was gained over the Irish, at a place called Finnagh, in Meath. The new lord justice, however, had come strongly prepossessed with those jealous prejudices and suspicions which used, in former times, to be harboured only against the natives, but which, of late, had begun to be extended to those, also, among the old English, who, whether from interest, love of popularity, or some more generous motive, sought to recommend themselves to the good will of the oppressed native population. Among the most distinguished of these Anglo-Irish was Maurice earl of Desmond, whose popular qualities, added to his great wealth and station, gave him an influence throughout the country which was found, in many instances, so powerful as to throw the authority of the government itself into the shade. To Sir Anthony Lucy, who had come prepared to uphold sternly the powers intrusted to him, this rival ascendancy was, of course, peculiarly obnoxious, and the jealousy it excited in his mind soon found an opportunity of exploding.

A parliament, summoned by him to meet at Dublin shortly after his arrival, having exhibited but a thin attendance of great lords, he thought right to adjourn it to the 7th of July, when it was held at Kilkenny; and there Thomas, earl of Kildare, with other lords and gentlemen who had on the former occasion absented themselves, gave their attendance, and were freely pardoned; having first been sworn on the Holy Evangelists, and the relics of the saints, to bear allegiance and keep the peace for the future. There were, however, many of the powerful lords, and, among the rest, Maurice of Desmond, who had pointedly withheld their presence; and an outbreak of the Irish at the same time in Leinster, where they burnt the castle of Ferns, having appeared to the lord justice to indicate concert between these rebels and the disaffected lords, he proceeded summarily to act upon this suspicion. In the month of

September the lord Henry Mandeville was, by warrant from the chief justice, apprehended; and in the following month the earl of Desmond was, under the same authority, arrested at Limerick; and being brought from thence to Dublin, was there made prisoner in the castle.\* Several other arrests took place under the same suspicion, and, in some instances, it would appear, not without just grounds; as the lord William Bermingham, who, together with his son, was seized at Clonmel in the February following, was, notwithstanding his splendid military career, executed at Dublin (1332);—his son Walter only escaping the same fate in consequence of his being in holy orders.†

Shortly after the new lord justice's arrival, articles were sent over by the king for the reformation of the state of Ireland.‡ It was not the fault, as we have seen, either of this monarch or of his predecessors, that the great benefits of English law had not been extended to the natives in general; and one of the ordinances now transmitted was framed with a view to this wise policy, being couched in the following terms:—"That one and the same law be observed to the Irish and the English;"—an exception being added, in the case of *betages*,§ who, like the English villain, were entirely in the power of their lords. But this royal mandate, like all the rest, in the same liberal spirit, that had preceded it, was rendered null by the blind selfishness of the magnates to whom it was addressed. Another of these ordinances was directed against that standing evil, absenteeism.

The public announcement at this time (1331–2), by the

\* Annal. Hibern.

† Hanmer.—Marleborough's Chronicle.

‡ Pryne, 267.—Cox.

§ "Quod una et eadem lex fiat tam Hibernicis quam Anglicis; excepta servitute Betagiorum, penes dominos suos, eodem modo quo usitatum est in Anglia de Villanis." The term *Betage* is thus explained by Harris:—"It would seem to appear that *villains*, *natives*, *originaries*, or *original tenants*, and *betages* import much the same thing; and that the *English villain* and *Irish betagh* is the same person."—Ware. *Antiquities*, &c., chap. 20.

king, of his intention to pass over into Ireland,\* and apply himself personally to the task of reforming the state of that realm, might well be classed with those other dawnings of better fortune which now and then opened upon hapless Ireland, merely to close again in darkness, were it not manifest that all the preparations made ostensibly for the king's Irish visit were but as a blind, to divert attention from the formidable expedition then preparing against Scotland. But, although the advantage of the king's presence was lost to the Irish,† the very steps taken in contemplation of his visit were such as, by quickening the zeal of the subordinate authorities, and directing their attention to abuses likely to be sifted, could not fail to be of at least temporary service. Thus, among other politic measures, it was commanded that all persons possessing lands in Ireland should repair thither for the advantage and defence of that kingdom; and likewise that search should be made through the king's records, to learn what steps had been taken for the amendment of the state of the Irish.‡

The king had sent writs to the earl of Ulster and other great lords, announcing his intention of coming; and his summons to the absentees, dated January 28th, 1332, requiring them to accompany him, and recover their possessions out of the hands of the rebels, is addressed to Thomas earl of Norfolk, and twenty-two other English lords and gentlemen. But the secret scheme which had been all this time maturing against Scotland, was now ripe for execution; and the mask he had worn towards both countries might with impunity be cast aside. All the supplies, therefore, that had been granted for his pacific visit to Ireland, he, without any scruple, appropriated to his memorable Scottish warfare; and found, in the brilliant victory at Halidon Hill, a result far more suited to

\* Rymer, "*De Passagio Regis in Hiberniam meditato*," t. iv. p. 503.

† Rymer, "*De Passagio Regis ad partes Hiberniæ prorogato*," tom iv. p. 523.

‡ Cx.

his chivalrous tastes than any that the precious, but slow and remote, triumphs of the legislator could furnish.

The only measure which appears to have been taken by him towards the pacification of Ireland, was the issue of writs to the lord justice, and other public authorities, empowering them to admit to the king's peace all disaffected persons, as well English as Irish, upon such terms as the lord justice and his council should deem honourable and expedient.

In the month of June, this year (1333), William de Burgh, the third earl of Ulster, was treacherously murdered near Carrickfergus by his own servants;—an event which, far more from the youth and exalted station of the particular victim, than from any rarity of such crimes, excited a strong and general sensation throughout the country.\* One feature of savage life that marked this murder, was the great number of persons engaged in it. The lord justice, we are told, on hastening to Carrickfergus to see the delinquents duly punished, found that the country people had anticipated his purpose, and killed 300 of the murderers and their abettors in one day. For a long time after the following clause used to be inserted in all pardons, “With the exception of the death of the late earl of Ulster.†

The young lord, who was thus cut off in his twenty-first year, left an only child, a daughter, the heiress of his great possessions, who was married, in the year 1352, to Lionel, third son of king Edward III. This prince was then created, in her right, earl of Ulster, and also lord of Connaught; and, after

\* The following particulars of this murder are given by Lodge:—“He was murdered on Sunday, June 6, 1333, by Robert Fitz-Richard Mandeville (who gave him his first wound), and others his servants, near to the Fords, in going towards Carrickfergus, in the 21st year of his age, at the instigation, as was said, of Gyle de Burgh, wife of sir Richard Mandeville, in revenge for his having imprisoned her brother Walter and others.”

† In some of these charters of pardon, the crime of adherence to the Scottish enemies is coupled, as an exception, with that of the murder of the earl of Ulster:—“Morte nuper com' Ulton. et adherencia Scotis inimicis except.”



him, these titles and possessions were enjoyed, through marriage or descent, by different princes of the royal blood; until at length, in the person of Edward IV., they became the special inheritance and revenue of the English crown.

The usual process by which foreign settlers, in a country already well peopled, become by degrees intermixed and incorporated with the great mass of the population, and which, in all cases save that of Ireland, seems to have been regarded as a natural and salutary result, was, at the period where we are now arrived, in rapid progress among the Anglo-Irish; and, in the instance of the powerful family of the De Burghs, received a more quickening impulse onward from motives of rapacity and ambition. Immediately on the earl's death, the chiefs of the junior branches of the family, then residing in Connaught, fearing the transfer of his large possessions into strange hands by the marriage of the heiress, took advantage of the opportunity now offered of seizing upon his estates; and the two most powerful of the family, Sir William, or Ulick, the progenitor of the earls of Clanricarde, and Sir Edmond Albanach, the ancestor of the earls of Mayo, having confederated together, and declared themselves independent, took possession of the entire territory;—the town of Galway, together with the country as far as the Shannon, falling to the lot of Sir William. Still more to enlist the sympathy of the natives on their side, they renounced the English dress and language, and adopted those of the country; carrying the metamorphosis so far as even to change their names,—Sir William taking the title of Mac William Eighter, and Sir Edmond that of Mac William Oughter.\*

\* Hardiman's *History of Galway*.—"In the same province," says sir John Davies, "Bremingham, baron of Athenry, called himself Mac Yoris; Dexecester, or De' exon, was called Mac Jordan; Mangle, or De Angulo, took the name of Mac Costello. In Munster, of the great families of the Geraldines planted there, one was called Mac Morice, chief of the house of Lixnaw, and another Mac Gibbon, who was also called the White Knight. The chief of the baron of Dunboyne's house, who is a branch of the house of Ormond, took the surname of Mac Pheris."

The example set by these "degenerate English," as they came to be styled, began, from this period, to be very extensively followed. Among the inferior branches of the De Burgh family, one named itself Mac Hubbard, and another Mac David. Similar instances of degeneracy, or rather defection, became common throughout the whole kingdom; and the frequent occurrence of the words "English rebels" in the legal records of this reign, shows that disaffection to the crown was now no longer confined to mere "Irish enemies."

In the spring of this year, the earl of Desmond, after having been imprisoned in the castle of Dublin for more than eighteen months, was released from his confinement; and, in a parliament held soon after, almost all the chief noblemen of the land engaged themselves and their estates as surety for his future fealty. We find him summoned also to attend the king, in his expedition into Scotland; and a writ of liberate, dated Drogheda, 1336,\* shows that he then received £100 for the expenses he had incurred in bringing his men at arms, hobellars and foot-soldiers, from different parts of Leinster to Drogheda, and there waiting a whole month for shipping to convey them to Scotland.

From a grant made at this time, of estates in England, to Matilda, countess of Ulster, the widow of the late murdered earl, it appears that this lady having felt a very natural dread of visiting Ireland, and no returns from her Irish possessions having been received by her, the government had taken all her castles, lands, and tenements there into their own hands, and assigned for her dowry estates of equal value in England.†

No event much worthy of notice occurs in the records of the few following years; with the doubtful exception of a most marvellous victory gained by the English over the natives in Connaught, in which, with the loss to themselves, as it is said,

\* Close Roll, 10 Ed. III.

† Rymer, tom. v. ad ann. 1328.

of but one man, they slew 10,000 of the enemy;\* thus bearing, in its result, a suspicious resemblance to two of the great battle-fields of this reign,—Crecy, and Halidon Hill.†

In the year 1339, the Irish were again up in arms, throughout the whole kingdom; more especially, as usual, in Munster, where the earl of Desmond, attacking the insurgents of Kerry, slew 1,200 of their force, and took prisoner Maurice Fitz-Nicholas,‡ fourth lord of Kerry, who had joined the ranks of the Irish, and, being now cast into prison by Desmond, there ended his days.§ This nobleman had, in the year 1325, been tried and attainted by the Irish parliament for a crime, the violent nature of which, as well as the remission of the capital punishment adjudged to it, mark significantly the lawless character of the times. Bearing a grudge, in consequence of some past dispute, to Desmond Mac Carthy, son and heir to Mac Carthy More, this lord attacked him, as he sat on the bench, in the court of assize, at Tralee, and laid him dead at the judge's feet.||

No less active against the Irish than Desmond, the earl of Kildare now attacked those of Leinster, pursuing the O'Dempseys ¶ so closely that many of them were drowned in the river Barrow; while a booty, richer, it is said, than had ever been taken in that country, was brought by the lord justice,—at that time Charlton, bishop of Hereford,—from Idrone, in the

\* Marleborough's Chronicle.

† At Halidon Hill 80,000 of the Scots were killed; while there fell, on the English side, only 1 knight, 1 esquire, and 13 private soldiers. At Crecy, the disparity of loss was still more remarkable.

‡ Lodge.—According to Cox, he was named Nicholas Fitz-Maurice.

§ Annal. Hibern. "He was put in prison (says the annalist), where he died for want of meat and drink; for his allowance was but very little, because he had rebelled, with the Irish, against the king and the earl."

|| Lodge.

¶ The O'Dempseys were one of the septs inhabiting the territory called anciently Hyfalgia, comprising a part of the county of Kildare, part of the King's County, and part of the Queen's County. Among the other septs composing this union were the O'Malones, O'Dalys, O'Mulloys, Mac Loughlins, &c., &c.—Ware, *Antiq.*; Seward, *Topograph Hibern.*

county of Carlow. In the same year, the chief governor just mentioned resigned his post to the prior of Kilmainham, Roger Outlaw, who now, for the fourth time, held that high office; but died at the beginning of the following year, having constituted Sir John Darcy lord justice of Ireland for life. But Darcy, unwilling, perhaps, to be made the instrument of measures so rigorous as those now about to be adopted, sent over as his deputy Sir John Morris, a gentleman yet untried in the field of Irish politics.

The object of the policy about to be enforced by the king and his English advisers was, not merely to reduce, but, if possible, break up and disperse, that enormous mass of wealth and power which had been accumulated, in the course of nearly two centuries, by the descendants of the first English conquerors of Ireland; and the earliest intimation given by Edward of such a design had been during the administration of Sir Antony Lucy, in the Articles of Reform transmitted to that governor. In this instrument he had threatened that, if the great landholders were not more attentive to their duties, he would be compelled to take their lands and possessions into his own hands.\* There was no attempt, probably, at that time, to carry this threat into execution, as we meet with no further mention of it.

On the arrival, however, of the present lord justice (1341), the very appointment of whom, a mere knight, was viewed as an insult by the great lords, it appeared that still more sweeping and arbitrary measures were about to be enforced against the old English; and among the first was a general resumption of all the lands, liberties, seignories, and jurisdictions that had been granted, in Ireland, not by Edward himself only, but by his father.\* In all cases, likewise, whether in his time or that of his predecessors, where debts due to the crown had been either remitted or suspended, it was now declared that all such

\* Prynn, 267.

indulgences were revoked, and that these debts must be strictly levied without any delay.\* This rigorous measure he endeavoured to excuse by alleging the necessity which he found himself under of providing for the expenses of the war just then renewed with France. Among the ordinances put forth by him, there were some for the correction of official abuses, more especially those of the king's exchequer,† which, had they not so openly formed a part of one fixed and general design to dislodge from its strongholds the ascendancy of the Anglo-Irish, and plant in its place a purely English dominion, would have been welcomed as sound and rational reforms.

But, could any doubts have been entertained as to the real object of his legislation, they must have been removed by an ordinance issued in this year ‡ (1342), wherein, addressing his justiciary, Sir John Darcy, he declared that, whereas it had appeared to him and his council that they would be better and more usefully served in Ireland by English officers having revenues and possessions in England than by Irish or English, married and possessing estates only in Ireland, he therefore ordered that his justiciary, after diligent inquiries, should remove all such officers as were married and held estates in Ireland, and replace them by fit Englishmen having lands, tenements, and benefices in England.

This open announcement of the royal purpose to exclude, in future, from all share in the government, the descendants of those who had conquered that realm, as well as of those who had ever since struggled to retain it, produced, as might have been expected, a burst of indignant feeling throughout the whole of the old English population. The jealousy long felt by the crown towards those great Anglo-Irish lords, whom its own reckless favours had nursed into such portentous strength, and who were now, comparatively, at least, with the

\* Prynn, 272.

† Ib. 274, 275.

‡ Close Roll, 15 Ed. III. See Prynn, p. 274.



king and his nobles, become the natural heads of the land had already, in more than one instance, declared itself. But it was not until now that this feeling had found vent for itself in the law; or that the distinction between the two races, the English by blood and the English by birth, was resorted to as a reason or pretext for the sacrifice of the old colonists to the new. It was now too late, however, to think of dislodging an evil so long and so firmly entrenched; and the only effect of the unwise aggression was, to render the party attacked more sensible of their own power.

To allay the excitement caused by this measure, a parliament was summoned by the lord justice, to meet at Dublin in October, 1342; but the earl of Desmond, and the lords of his party, refused peremptorily to attend it; and, confederating with other great nobles, as well as some cities and corporations, they appointed, of themselves, without any reference to the head of the government, a general assembly to meet, in November, at Kilkenny. This convention, at which were present neither the lord justice nor any other of the king's officers, made itself memorable, not only by the peculiar circumstances under which it met, but also by a long and spirited petition to the king, which was the result of its deliberations, and which though not expressly pretending to parliamentary authority, purports to be the act of the prelates, earls, barons, and commons of Ireland.\* To understand clearly the complaints made by these petitioners of the encroachments, as they chose to consider them, of the natives, it must be borne in mind that, during the troubled reign of Edward II., and in the first years of the present, the Irish had succeeded, in more than one instance, in regaining possession of their ancient territories; and that the greater part of the lands of Leinster had been, for some time, in the hands of Mac Murrough and

\* Prynn, 279.

O'Moore, the descendants of the original princes of that province.\*

The petition, which is in old Norman French, begins by complaining that in consequence of maladministration and the unguarded state in which the country had been left, more than a third part of the lands conquered by the king's progenitors had been taken possession of by his Irish enemies; in consequence of which his liege English subjects had become so impoverished as to be even in want of the means of subsistence. The great castles and fortresses which, while held by the crown, formed the safeguards of the land, were now in the possession of the Irish; chiefly, as the petitioners allege, through the misconduct of the king's treasurers, who had delayed, and frequently embezzled, the pay of the constables and warders. The castles of Roscommon, Rathdown, Athlone, and Bunratty had, from this and other causes, been abandoned to the enemy.

After a number of other such charges against the officers of the royal exchequer, accusing them of fraud and overreaching in almost all their transactions, and praying of the king to apply a remedy to these evils, they proceed to notice the grasping covetousness of his ministers, in holding each a number of lucrative posts; and entreat that in future none should be allowed to hold more than one office.† But the late order issued by the king, for the resumption of all grants made in Ireland by himself and his royal progenitors, was naturally the grievance on which their resentments and recollections were

\* Baron Finglas, *Breviate of Ireland*. It was about the beginning of Edward the Second's reign that this resumption of the lands of Leinster took place. The English lord who then held the territory of Ley having appointed one of the O'Moore's to be his captain of war in that territory, this chief took possession of the country for himself—"de servo dominus, de subjecto princeps effectus," as friar Clynne states it. And a similar appointment, about the same time, enabled Mac Morough, the captain or chief of the Cavanaghs, to possess himself of the county of Carlow, and of the greater part of the county of Wexford.—See *Davies*, p. 194.

† "Easement, sire, pur ces qe voz ministres Dirland embrassent plusieurs offices de pur covetisie daver multz des foies, voillez sire pur vostre profit ordiner qe nul de vos ministres illoeqes ne eyt qe un office seulement."

most alive. Recalling to his mind the gallant devotion of his liege English of Ireland, when, at their own cost, they joined the banner of his royal ancestor, in the wars of Gascony, Scotland, and Wales, they contrasted this devotion with the conduct of the English, who had been sent over to rule them, and who, wanting in means or resources of their own, and wholly ignorant of the country, came but to enrich themselves dishonourably at the expense of a people whom they misgoverned. "In return, sire," say they, "for trusty and loyal services, you and your progenitors granted to divers English people of this realm lands, tenements, franchises, and remissions of debt, of which, by virtue of your charters, they have long remained in quiet possession. But now, sire, your ministers inform us that, by a late mandate from England, all these royal gifts and grants have been revoked." This act they calmly, but firmly, pronounce to be unjust and contrary to reason; as neither by their ancestors nor by themselves had their claim to the favours of the crown been ever forfeited; and they therefore pray of the king that, according to the provisions of the Great Charter, they may not be ousted of their freehold without being called in judgment.\*

There are yet a number of other abuses and grievances complained of by them,—such as the seizure of lands by the king's escheators, merely for the sake of the fee they received on again restoring them; the great hardship of persons indicted for felonies, in Ireland, being compelled to appear and answer for them before the king in England; the seizure of victuals and carriages by the king's ministers, on their own sole authority, and without paying any money for them. On these, and some other subjects of complaint, the petitioners pray of the king to institute searching inquiries, and apply just and prompt remedies.

Of the nature of the answer returned by Edward to this

\* "Pur quei sire vous pleise ordiner, qe eux ne soient ostmez de leur franc tene-mentz sanz estre appele en jugement, comela Grande Chartre voet."

earnest remonstrance, we are left in entire ignorance; the only notice of it that appears to be extant being found in a writ addressed by him to the remonstrants; \* wherein, acknowledging, in most gracious terms, the receipt of their petition, he acquaints them that his answer to its several prayers had been sent under the great seal to John March the chancellor, and Thomas de Wogan. He concludes this writ by informing them of his intention to pass into France with a large force, and asking their aid towards his expedition.

In the same year (1343), Sir Ralph Ufford, who had married the countess dowager of Ulster, was appointed to the office of lord justice; and, by his harsh and rigorous measures, made himself so odious throughout the country, that the long course of tempestuous weather which happened to prevail during his administration, was, by the superstition of the people, laid to his charge.† The first act of this lord justice's government was to put down the aspiring pretensions of Desmond, who, assuming his former attitude of defiance, had refused to attend a parliament summoned by Ufford, at Dublin, and appointed an assembly of his own friends and confederates, at the town of Callan. But the new governor (1345), by his determined conduct, defeated this bold design. The other great lords of Desmond's party, on being prohibited by the king's writ, declined their leader's summons; while, at the same time, the lord justice, marching a force into Munster, seized on that earl's lands, and farmed them out at a rent payable yearly to the king. Getting possession, also, by stratagem, of the castles of Iniskelly and Island, he hanged three knights, Sir Eustace Poer, Sir William Grant, and Sir John Cottrel, who had held the command of them, and against whom the charge was that they had practised the grievous and foreign exaction of coyne and livery.‡

\* Close Roll, 16 Ed. III.

† Annal. Hibern.

‡ By the taxes called coyne and livery, was meant food and entertainment for the

In consequence of these strong measures, Desmond surrendered himself to the lord justice, and was let to bail on the recognizances of the earls of Ulster and Ormond, and four and twenty knights. But as (through fear, it is supposed, of the severity of the lord justice) he failed to appear, according to the condition of the recognizance, his sureties were left to answer for his unworthy default, whereby eighteen of the knights lost their estates and were utterly ruined.\*

While thus successful in curbing and humbling the proud Desmond, Ufford was equally fortunate in his proceedings against the other great leader of the Anglo-Irish, Thomas earl of Kildare; though the means employed by him for this object present such a train of mean and elaborate perfidy as no success, however important, should be suffered to sanction or excuse. Under the pretence of summoning Kildare to join the monarch with his forces, Sir William Burton was sent into Munster with two writs,—one containing the royal summons, and the other secretly empowering Sir William to seize and imprison the earl. So quickly, however, on Kildare's announcement of the king's summons, did his followers crowd to the royal standard, that to produce the secret writ, with any hope of being able to execute it, would have been a worse than vain attempt. In this difficulty, the only resource left to the treacherous envoy, was that of prevailing upon the earl to suspend his levy of troops until he should have consulted with the king's council. To this proposal Kildare unsuspectingly assented; and having accompanied Sir William to Dublin, for

soldiers and forage for the horses. It was the opinion of Spenser, that great injustice was done to the Irish landlords by the prohibition of the custom called *coigny* or *coyne*; "for all their tenants (he says) being commonly but tenants at will, they use to take of them what victuals they list; for of victuals they were wont to make small reckoning. Neither in this was the tenant wronged, for it was an ordinary and known custom, and his lord commonly used so to covenant with him, which if at any time the tenant disliked, he might freely depart at his pleasure. But now, by this statute, the said Irish lord is wronged, for that he is cut off from his customary services."—*View of the State of Ireland*.

\* Cox.—For the names of Desmond's mainprisers, see *Annal. Hiborn.*, ad ann. 1345.



the pretended purpose, was there, while consulting with the council, in the exchequer, suddenly arrested and thrown into prison.\*

In the month of April, this year (1346), the administration of Sir Ralph Ufford was brought to a close, by his death,—leaving behind, as we are told, one general feeling of abhorrence for his memory. Nor had this odium, in his case, been compensated by any of those worldly advantages which too often wait on a life of oppression and rapine, as he died in necessitous circumstances; and his lady, says the chronicler, who had been received like an empress, and lived like a queen, was obliged to steal away through a postern gate of the castle to avoid the curses of her enemies and the clamour of her creditors. Such are the portraits given in our annals of these two unpopular personages; but with every appearance, however, of having been exaggerated and over-coloured by party malice. Coming on a mission so odious and formidable to the fierce oligarchs of the realm, and carrying his measures with such a high hand as even the king himself shrunk from enforcing, it was, perhaps, fortunate for Ufford to be thus rescued, even by death, from the storm of hatred and persecution that would have assailed him on his retirement. The whole period of Ufford's government did not extend beyond a year and nine months; and the state of poverty, in which he is said to have died, seems rather inconsistent with the course of extortion and peculation attributed to him.

There was now a succession of no less than three chief governors in the short space of two months, under one of whom, Sir John Morris, the earl of Kildare, who had been kept arbitrarily for nearly a year in prison, was, on the recognizance of twenty-four lords and gentlemen, released from confinement.

By a similar act of graciousness, and through the interpo-

\* *Annal. Hibern.*

sition of Sir Walter Bermingham, then lord justice, Desmond was permitted to proceed to England, to lay his complaints at the foot of the throne; and was not only graciously received, but, in prosecuting his claims for redress of the wrongs inflicted upon him by Ufford, was allowed twenty shillings *per diem* for his expenses by the king. All the estates, too, of those who had become bound for him, while in prison, were by letters patent restored to them.\*

In the year 1344, on the renewal of hostilities with France, the king had addressed a writ to the magnates of Ireland, summoning them to join him with their forces;† and, in the present year (1347), the earl of Kildare went with thirty men at arms and forty hobillers,‡ to serve the king, at the siege of Calais, where, for his gallant conduct, Edward bestowed upon him the honour of knighthood.

There now ensued a period of tranquillity, for some years, such as rarely the course of our annals presents; and the causes assigned for this unusual calm, namely, the favour extended by Edward to the two popular Anglo-Irish lords, and the daily expectation of seeing the resumed lands and jurisdictions restored, show in what quarter the active elements of political strife and disorder principally lay. During this period the office of lord justice was filled by five or six successive personages; of one of whom, Sir Thomas Rokeby, a homely saying is recorded, characteristic, we are told, of the simple and sound integrity of the man. When reproached by some one for suffering himself to be served in wooden cups, he answered, "I had rather drink out of wood and pay gold and silver, than drink out of gold and make wooden payment."§ It was during Rokeby's second administration (1353), as far as any certainty on the point can be attained, that the crown, after a short and vain struggle against the power it had itself created,

\* Annal. Hibern.—Cox.

† Rymer, tom. v. p. 544

‡ Rymer, tom. v. p. 417.

§ Campton, *Historie*, &c.—Holinshed.

thought fit to restore all the estates and jurisdictions which it had resumed.\*

So well had Desmond succeeded in ingratiating himself with the king, that he was now thought worthy not only of being intrusted with the government of Ireland, but of holding that high and responsible office for life. He survived but five months, however, to enjoy this honour; and, dying in the castle of Dublin (1355), was taken from thence and interred in the church of the Friars Preachers at Tralee.

In the time of his successor, Sir Thomas Rokeby, who resumed, on his death, the helm of the state, an important writ was issued, ordering that, for the future, the parliament of Ireland should take cognizance of erroneous proceedings in the king's courts of that country, instead of, as hitherto, putting the subject to the trouble and expense of prosecuting a writ of error in England.† This useful reform was followed, at an interval of about two years, by a series of ordinances, most of them equally judicious and useful in their several provisions, for the better government of the church and state in Ireland, and the maintenance of the English laws and statutes established in that realm.‡

Among the offences and abuses denounced in these ordinances, are, the intermarriage and fostering of the English with the Irish; the depredations committed by the kerns, or idle men; the manifold extortions and oppressions practised by the king's officers, more especially those of the exchequer and court of wards. In reference to the recent dissensions between the old and new English, the ordinance enjoins that, in every such case, the lord justice shall,

\* In the case of James earl of Ormond, the restitution took place much earlier, as the king, in consideration of this earl's consanguinity to himself, restored to him the palatinate of Tipperary, in the year 1338.—Carte's *History of the Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Introduction.

† Close Roll, 29 Ed. III. See Prynne, p. 286.

‡ *Ordinatio de Statu Hibern.*, cited by Prynne (p. 287), out of the Statute Roll in the Tower.

after diligent inquiry into all the circumstances of the feud, cause due process to be served on the delinquents; and shall, on conviction, punish them by imprisonment, severe fines, or other such just infliction.

During the administration of James earl of Ormond, who, from his being the grandson of king Edward I., was styled, usually, "the noble earl," a considerable advance was made in that sure system of warfare against the Irish, which needed no weapons for its purpose, but those which the law so readily supplied, by the issue of a mandate ordering that no "mere Irishman" should be made a mayor, or bailiff, or other officer of any town within the English dominion; nor be received, through any motives of consanguinity, affinity, or other causes, into holy orders, nor be advanced to any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion.\* A modification of this severe edict took place in the following year, when the king explained, by his writ, that it was not meant to extend to any Irish clerks who had done him service, or given proofs of their loyalty.

The earl of Ormond having been called, for a short time, to England, the office of lord justice was meanwhile held by Maurice Fitz-Gerald, earl of Kildare, with the usual salary of £500 *per annum*, out of which he had to maintain nineteen horsemen besides himself.†

In the following year (1361), the important announcement was made to both countries, of the king's intention to send, as deputy to Ireland, his third son, Lionel, duke of Clarence. This young prince, who married the daughter, as we have

\* Rymer, t. vi. 326. This memorable mandate well merits to be given at full length.—"Quod nullus merè Hibernicus, de natione Hibernicâ existens, fiat major, ballivus, janitor aut aulicus officiarus seu minister in aliquo loco nobis subjecto. Nec quod aliquis archiepiscopus, episcopus, abbas, prior, aut aliquis alius ad fidem nostram existens, sub forisfactura omnium quæ nobis forisfacere posset, aliquem merè Hibernicum, de natione Hibernicâ, ut præmittitur, existentem, causâ consanguinitatis, affinitatis, aut alio modo quocunque, in canonicum recipiat, vel ad aliquod beneficium ecclesiasticum inter Anglicos promoveat vel admittat."

† Prynn, p. 295.

seen, of the late William earl of Ulster, had become, in her right, possessed of that earldom, together with the lordship of Connaught; and, as the maintenance of the king's power in Ireland was now the common cause of all who held possessions in that kingdom, Edward summoned all such persons to appear before him and his council, either personally or by proxy, and concert measures for the preservation and defence of that realm. The causes assigned, in the king's writ, for the state of affairs they are called upon to remedy, are, first, the increased violence of the incursions of the Irish enemy; next, the inability of his loyal subjects to make head against these aggressions; and, lastly, the absence of so many great English proprietors, who drew all they could from their Irish estates, but took no trouble whatever for their defence.\* Among the absentees required to contribute, on this occasion, to the raising of a military force, are found Maria countess of Norfolk, Agnes countess of Pembroke, Margery de Roos, Anna le Despenser, and several other great ladies.

The result that followed on all this show of preparation was by no means worthy either of the occasion or the effort; as an army consisting of but fifteen hundred men was the whole of the force with which Lionel proceeded to Ireland, having under him Ralph earl of Stafford, James earl of Ormond, Sir John Carew, Sir William Windsor, and other distinguished knights.

Although, in more judicious hands, a force even thus small might have been rendered efficient by a skilful mode of employing it,—especially if seconded by a system of policy at once firm and conciliatory,—no such prosperous results were to be looked for from a leader like the young duke, who, besides his inexperience, carried too openly with him into his new sphere of power all those prejudices against the old Eng-

\* "Commodum dictarum terrarum suarum ab eadem terra capiunt, et defensionem aliquam non faciunt."—*Close Roll*, 85 Ed. III.



lish settlers which were then so prevalent among his countrymen, and which, in a land already convulsed by faction, had opened lately a new and ominous chasm of strife. In order to enable him, in his Irish wars, to dispense with the assistance of the old English altogether, it was ordered by proclamation, before his departure, that all who held lands in Ireland should, on pain of forfeiture of their possessions, repair thither with all the force they could raise; and he caused it now, with still more direct avowal of his object, to be proclaimed that none of the old English inhabitants should be allowed to join his army, or even approach his camp.\*

This open and deliberate insult to those who were the progeny of the first conquerors of the land, and who had, themselves, fought and toiled to preserve it, could not fail to be deeply and indignantly resented; and, had so rash a course of policy been persevered in, the realm would have been lost most probably to both of the usurping parties. The young prince, however, was soon made sensible of the mischievous consequence of such conduct. The insurgents of Munster being those whose ravages were found most harassing to the English province, the first measure of the royal duke was to march his army against O'Brian of Thomond. But, being unacquainted with the local bearings of the country, and having no guides or means of intelligence, he lost, in this ill-advised expedition, a great number of his troops. Perceiving how hopeless, therefore, was any endeavour to dispense with the aid of the Anglo-Irish, he hastened to retrieve his rash outset by the issue of a second proclamation, inviting and requiring them to join his standard without further delay. As they were themselves too deeply interested in the success of his arms to regard punctilio in such an emergency, they readily ranged themselves under his banner, and the result of their union was the total dispersion of the Munster chieftains's force.

\* Cox.

Returning to Dublin after this success, the prince conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of his followers, both of the new and the old English race. He likewise removed the exchequer to Carlow, and expended £500 on the walling of that town; by which and a few other acts of the same nature, he so far pleased the country in general, that both clergy and laity concurred in granting to him two years' revenue of all their lands and tithes, towards the maintenance of the Irish war. To this prince is also attributed the merit of having been the first who kept the army in any tolerable state of discipline, and prevented them from being, as heretofore, a grievous burden to the community.

After having held, for nearly three years, the office of lord lieutenant, the duke of Clarence returned to England (1364), without having gained in that time a single important advantage over the natives, or enlarged the scanty boundaries of the English power.

In the course of the three following years, we find him twice again intrusted with the same office; though on both occasions for a very limited period. It was during his last administration, in the year 1367, that the memorable parliament was held at Kilkenny, in which the two estates, as we are told, sat together,\* and which passed the celebrated act known generally by the name of the Statute of Kilkenny. This remarkable ordinance, though directed chiefly against those old English, or, more properly, Anglo-Irish, who had adopted the laws and customs of the natives, contains also, in reference to the latter, some enactments full of that jealous and penal spirit which continued for centuries after to pervade and infect the whole course of English legislation respecting Ireland. The following are the principal provisions of this statute:—That intermarriages with the natives, or any con-

\* "The opinion," says Dr. Lingard, speaking of this reign, "that the several estates sat and voted together, derives no support from the language of the rolls."

nection with them in the way of fostering or gossipred,\* should be considered and punished as high treason:—that any man of English race, assuming an Irish name, or using the Irish language, apparel, or customs, should forfeit all his lands and tenements:—that to adopt or submit to the Brehon law was treason:—that without the permission of the government, the English should not make war upon the natives:—that the English should not permit the Irish to pasture or graze upon their lands, nor admit them to any ecclesiastical benefices or religious houses, nor entertain their minstrels, rhymers, or news-tellers. There were also enactments against the oppressive tax of coyne and livery; against the improper use made of royal franchises and liberties in allowing them to be sanctuaries for malefactors, and one or two other such manifest abuses.

It can hardly be necessary to direct attention to the cruel and iniquitous spirit of some of these items. While all of the lower classes of Irish are prohibited from pasturage within the English limits,—almost the only employment which the backward state of their agriculture then afforded,—all the better ranks are entirely excluded from that great road to wealth and honour, the church; and thus both classes are alike subjected to one common ban of exclusion and proscription, as if wholly unworthy to live or consort with their fellow-men.

Such arbitrary measures are, in general, for the time, efficacious, whatever reaction their insolent defiance of the laws of nature and justice must ultimately provoke. Combined with

\* For the abuses of the tie of gossipred, or compaternity, in Ireland, see Davies, Spenser, sir James Ware, &c., &c. The practice of *fostering* was also complained of as tending to produce these ties and relationships with the native Irish, which it was the great object of the English legislators to intercept and prevent. The warm-heartedness, however, of the people they had to deal with, baffled, in this, as in many other such antisocial schemes, all their unnatural contrivances. "*Fostering*," says Davies, "hath always been a stronger alliance than blood; and the foster-children do love and are beloved of their foster-fathers and their sept more than of their own natural parents and kindred; and do participate of their means more frankly, and do adhere unto them in all fortunes, with more affection and constancy."

the presence of the royal governor, so calming an effect did this rigorous statute produce, that from thenceforth the king's writ ran in Ulster and Connaught, and the revenues of both those provinces were regularly accounted for in the exchequer.\*

Throughout the remainder of this long reign, there occur few events deserving of more than a cursory notice. After closing, satisfactorily, the session of his parliament, the duke of Clarence returned to England, and was succeeded in his office by Gerald earl of Desmond, called, from his skill in writing verses, the Poet, who, in the year 1369, gave place to Sir William de Windsor. During the government of this lord lieutenant,—or *custos*, as we find him styled,—the unusual tranquillity which had for some time prevailed was suddenly interrupted by a rising of the O'Tooles and other rebels of Leinster. Having attacked them with complete success, De Windsor was following up his advantage, when suddenly he found his attention called away to another quarter, by an event, distressing alike both on public and private grounds. A sanguinary affray had just taken place in the county of Limerick (1370), near the monastery of Mayo, in which O'Connor and O'Brian, getting the better of their English antagonists, had slain the earl of Desmond, and taken John Fitz-Nicholas, lord of Kerry, and the lord Thomas Fitz-John, prisoners.† No time, therefore, was to be lost in marching to the defence of Munster; and the lord lieutenant, by a prompt and decisive movement, prevented any further spread of the revolt.

Some arbitrary acts are recorded of this chief governor, which deserve notice, as being characteristic of those times. In the year 1370, when a parliament was held by him in Dub-

\* Cox.—Davies.

† Holinshed.—Annal. Hibern.—Mac Geoghegan According to Lodge and Lynch, Gerald, the fourth earl of Desmond, lived for more than twenty years after the period assigned by the chroniclers for his murder.

lin, the two knights elected for Louth county were cast into prison by him for refusing to grant a subsidy; and, in the following year, having convoked a parliament at Baldoyle, a place where there were no buildings, except a small chapel, he assigned as his reason for this inconvenient arrangement, that the commons, finding themselves so ill-lodged and entertained in that town, would be the sooner disposed to grant the required subsidies.\*

The trite and true maxim, that "moral wrong brings with it its own punishment," needs no more striking illustration than the page of Irish history furnishes, in all that hideous harvest of hate and revolt which the English satraps of Ireland were now reaping as the natural product of their own rapacity and misrule. Even in those objects of which the attainment depends, in general, on mere force, so completely had their grasping views been hitherto baffled, that of all the fruits of their boasted "conquest," there remained subject to them, at the time we are now treating of, only the four shires of the English pale; †—all the other parts of Ireland, including as well their Anglo-Irish as their native population, having fallen away from the crown of England.‡ A proof of the progress made by the Irish "rebels," as they were styled, in recovering their own patrimonial lands, is afforded in a writ issued at this time (1373) by the king, in consequence of a petition addressed to him by the English settlers, praying for relief from the payment of scutage "on all those lands of which the Irish enemy had despoiled them." §

In a country thus circumstanced, the office of chief governor, however alluring it might have been in the first palmy

\* Lynch (*Legislative Institutions, &c.*), who cites as his authority, Original Inquisitions in the Tower of London.

† It seems by no means certain at what period the territory occupied by the English colonies began to be distinguished by the appellation of "the Pale;" but it is generally supposed to have been about the time we are now approaching.

‡ Davies.

Close Roll, 46 Ed. III. See Prynn, 302.



days of plunder and usurpation, had now become so arduous and undesirable a post, that Sir Richard Pembridge, one of the king's servants, and warden of the Cinque Ports, on being ordered to go over to Ireland as lord justice, positively refused. Nor was his refusal, however ungracious, adjudged to be illegal; it being held that even so high an appointment, in Ireland, was no better than an honourable exile, and that no man could be forced by law to abandon his country, except in the case of abjuration for felony, or by act of parliament.\* The king sent over (1374), therefore, in his stead, Sir William de Windsor, already once before lord lieutenant, who undertook to carry on the government for £11,213 6s. 8d. per annum,—a sum exceeding (says Sir John Davies) the whole revenue of the realm of Ireland, which did not at that time amount to £10,000 annually, “even though the medium,” he adds, “be taken from the best seven years during this long reign.” By De Windsor an order was obtained from the king and council, that all those who had lands in Ireland should repair thither without delay, or else send in their place men competent to defend the country, under pain of forfeiting their estates. Notwithstanding, however, all this preparation, so little had the government of that kingdom to do with the Irish people, that, according to De Windsor's own confession, he had never, during the whole course of his service there, been able to get access to the natives, or even discover their secluded places of abode.

The successor of De Windsor in the office of lord justice was James, the second earl of Ormond, under whom a parliament was called (1376) to provide for the exigencies of the government, but refused to grant the supplies. In this emergency writs were issued to the bishops and the commons, requiring them to choose representatives to be sent to the par-

liament of England,\*—there to treat, consult, and agree with the king and his council on the measures necessary for the support and safety of the government of Ireland. In complying, reluctantly, with this order of the crown, the clergy, nobles, and commons declare that, according to the rights, laws, and customs of the land of Ireland, from the time of the conquest thereof, they never had been bound to elect or send any persons out of the said land to parliaments or councils held in England, for any such purposes as the writ requires.†

The same sort of struggle between the civil and ecclesiastical judicatures, as had been maintained so long in England, and the same unceasing demands and exactions on the part of the pope, under the various forms of Peter's pence, first fruits, and other such papal taxes,‡ were experienced likewise, during this century in Ireland. In the reign of Henry III., we find the pope's nuncio, master Stephen, sent to demand of both clergy and laity, in England, Ireland, and Wales, no less than a tenth of all their moveables, for the maintenance of the struggle his holiness was then engaged in with the emperor Frederick;§ and, at different intervals during the same reign,

\* Prynne, p. 305. According to Prynne, it was not to the parliament, but to the king's council, that these representatives, or rather commissioners, were summoned, in the same manner as the Scottish "Community" elected commissioners to repair to England in the thirty-third year of the reign of Edward I.—See Ryley, *Placit. Parliament.* p. 242, 243.

† A similar case occurred in the thirty-third year of Edward I., when persons were elected by the respective counties, cities, and boroughs in Ireland,—whether as members of parliament or commissioners, is a point disputed,—to repair to England, for the purpose of consulting respecting Irish affairs. It is allowed, indeed, by Molyneux,—rather injuriously to his general argument,—that through the greater part of the reigns of the three Edwards, representatives from Ireland came over to sit in the English parliament.

‡ For an account of these different taxes, see Lingard, *Hist. of England*, chap. xix. "In the obstinacy," says Dr. Lingard, "with which the court of Rome urged the exercise of these obnoxious claims, it is difficult to discover any traces of that political wisdom for which it has been celebrated. Its conduct tended to loosen the ties which bound the people to the head of their church, to nourish a spirit of opposition to his authority, and to create a willingness to listen to the declamations and adopt the opinions of religious innovators."

§ Mathew Paris, 483.

two other papal legates, Petrus de Supino and Johannes Rufus, extorted from Ireland the value of the twentieth part of the land, and sums of money amounting to 7,500 marks.\* In the time of De Londres, archbishop of Dublin, so daring had been the encroachments of the spiritual authority, that the king, notwithstanding that prelate's high character and services, was forced to issue a writ, reprehending strongly his conduct, and threatening measures still more severe, should he persist in such practices.†

What with the exactions, indeed, of the pope's agents on one side, and the frequent and pressing demands of the crown on the other, the laity of both kingdoms were allowed little rest from extortion. The ready aid, too, which these great drainers of the public purse generally lent to each other's fiscal enterprises, rendered their hold on its contents more stringent and sure. Thus, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Edward I., the pope made a grant to that king of the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in Ireland, and this was followed soon after by a grant of a fifteenth from the temporalty.‡

An event which occurred in the nineteenth year of Edward III., shows to what aspiring heights, even under a prince so powerful, the haughty churchmen of this period carried the pretensions of their order. The king had obtained a vote from parliament, for the grant of a subsidy, to be levied on church lands, as well as on those of the laity. But the archbishop of Cashel, Ralph Kelly, a native of Ireland, resolved to oppose the levying of this subsidy within his province; and, being supported by his suffragans of Limerick, Emly, and Lismore, issued a decree that all beneficed clergymen who contributed to this subsidy should, by the very act, be deprived of their benefices, and rendered incapable of future preferment within

\* Mathew Paris, 961.

† Ware.—D'Alton's *Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin*.

‡ Cox.

that province. Such of their lay tenants, also, as contributed, were to be excommunicated, and their descendants, to the third generation, excluded from holy orders. To give more solemnity to these decrees, the archbishop, attended by the other prelates, and all dressed in their pontifical robes, presented themselves in the streets of Clonmell, and there solemnly pronounced an excommunication upon the king's commissioner of revenue, and upon all persons concerned in advising, contributing to, or levying the subsidy.\*

For this daring conduct, informations were exhibited against the prelates; who pleaded, in their defence, *Magna Charta*,—by which it was provided, they said, that the church should be free, and that all who violated its immunities should be punished with excommunication. The cause was given against the archbishop and his confederates; but these sturdy lords refused to appear in arrest of judgment, and, as there occurs no further mention of the transaction, obtained, in the end, we may conclude, a virtual triumph.

Much of the opposition thus shown to the government by the Irish clergy, proceeded, doubtless, from political divisions within the church itself;—as, even at that period, when all were of one faith, the church of the government and the church of the people, in Ireland, were almost as much separated from each other by difference in race, language, political feeling, and even ecclesiastical discipline, as they have been, at any period since, by difference in creeds. The attempt made by the synod of Cashel in the year 1172 to assimilate the Irish church, in its rites and discipline, to that of England, entirely failed of its object; and the native clergy and people continued to follow their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the decrees of that memorable synod had never been issued.† Disheartening as may be some of the conclusions too plainly deducible from this fact, it clearly shows, at least, that the establishment of the

\* Ware.—D'Alton.

† Lanigan.

reformed church, in that kingdom, was not the first or sole cause of the bitter hostility between its two races.

It was in the reign of the second Edward that a university was, for the first time, founded within the city of Dublin.\* A bull had been obtained for this object, from pope Clement V., by John Lech, archbishop of Dublin; and the task of carrying it into effect devolved upon his successor, Alexander de Bicknor, by whom statutes for the government of the university were established.† To all students frequenting this university, which was founded in St. Patrick's cathedral, protection was extended by Edward III.;‡ and in the year 1364, his son Lionel, duke of Clarence, granted to the dean and chapter an acre of land at Stachallane, and the advowson of the church, to provide for the payment of ten marks a-year to a person of the order of St. Augustine, to deliver a lecture upon divinity in the scholars' room.§

An ordinance passed by the English parliament, in the fifth year of this reign, "that there should be one and the same law for the Irish and the English," is frequently referred to in the once interesting controversy with which Molyneux, the friend of Locke, connected his name. There is also another inquiry bearing upon the same question, which has no less divided our historical antiquaries,—namely, at what period Ireland began to have a parliament of her own; and it seems

\* Ware's *Antiquities*, chap. xxxvii. sect. 3.

† One of the rules laid down for the government of this projected seminary would be thought, at the present day, rather startlingly liberal:—"We ordain, also, that we and our successors may choose a secular regent in divinity, of any order of worship or religion whatsoever (*de quacumque religione*), who may actually read lectures on the Bible, in our church of St. Patrick, without any contradiction or calumny from any person whatsoever." (The author mistakes the meaning of *religio*, which signifies a religious order.—*Am. Ed.*)

‡ The king, in granting the desired protection, declares strongly his sense of the benefit of such studies; adding that, by those who most cultivate them, morality and virtue are most cherished, and peace in the land best preserved.—*Patent Roll*, 32 Ed. III.

§ *History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, by William Monck Mason.—a most valuable contribution to our antiquarian literature.



to be agreed upon by the best authorities, that, until the reign of Edward II., all the deliberative meetings held in that kingdom, by whatsoever name they may have been called, were rather general assemblies of the great men, than, properly, parliaments.\* That they were sometimes considerable in numbers, as well as in rank, appears from a parliament of this description, held in the year 1302, at which were present no less than 156 persons; and in the following reign, a general assembly, or parliament, was convened, which, in addition to all the English nobility in Ireland, included likewise the four archbishops, ten bishops, the abbot of St. Thomas, the prior of Kilmainham, and the dean and chapter of Dublin. There were likewise present, on this occasion, several great Irish lords, among whom are the following, and thus designated,—O'Hanlon, duke of Oriel, O'Donell, duke of Tyrconnel, O'Neill, duke of Tyrone.

Until the period when regular parliaments began to be held in Ireland, it was usual to transmit thither, from time to time, the laws made by the English legislature, to be there proclaimed, inrolled, and executed, as laws also of Ireland; and there can be little doubt that what was then styled a parliament in that kingdom, was no more than the summoning of the great men of the realm together, reading over to them the law or laws transmitted from England, and enjoining that they should obey them.†

Among the last notices, respecting Ireland, that occur in

\* Speech of sir John Davies, when speaker of the Irish House of Commons, published by Leland, vol. ii. *Appendix*.

† The mandate issued by Henry III., in transmitting to his Irish deputy, Richard de Burgh, the laws and charter of king John, shows how simple was, at that time, the process by which English statutes were made binding upon Ireland:—"Mandamus vobis firmiter præcipientes, quatenus certa die et loco faciatis venire coram vobis archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, priores, comites, et barones, milites et libere tenentes, et ballivos singulorum comitatum, et coram eis publice legi faciatis Cartam domini J. Regis patris nostri . . . . et præcipiatis eis ex parte nostra, quod leges illas et consuetudines in Carta prædicta contentas de cætero firmiter teneant et observent."—*Close Roll*, 12 Hen. III.

the records of this reign, a curious entry in the Issue Roll for the year 1376 may for its quiet significance deserve to be noticed:—Richard Dere and William Stapolyn came over to England to inform the king how very badly Ireland was governed. The king ordered them to be paid ten pounds for their trouble.\*

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## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### RICHARD II.

**COUNCIL OF REGENCY DURING THE KING'S MINORITY.—ACT AGAINST ABSENTEES.—COMMISSION OF SIR NICHOLAS DAGWORTH.—EDMUND MORTIMER, EARL OF MARCH, APPOINTED LORD LIEUTENANT—SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON, ROGER MORTIMER.—GOVERNMENT OF PHILIP DE COURTENAY, THE KING'S COUSIN—HIS OPPRESSION AND EX-ACTIONS—IS DISPOSSESSED OF HIS OFFICE, AND PUNISHED.—THE KING'S FAVOURITE, ROBERT DE VERE—IS CREATED SUCCESSIVELY MARQUIS OF DUBLIN AND DUKE OF IRELAND—IS INVESTED BY THE KING WITH THE SOVEREIGNTY OF IRELAND—ENDS HIS DAYS IN MISERY AT LOUVAIN.—DUKE OF GLOUCESTER ACCEPTS THE OFFICE OF LORD LIEUTENANT—HIS DEPARTURE COUNTERMANDED.—THE KING RESOLVES ON AN EXPEDITION TO IRELAND—HIS SUPPOSED MOTIVES FOR THIS STEP.—SUBMISSION OF THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS—THE KING ENTERTAINS THEM IN DUBLIN—CONFERS ON THEM THE HONOUR OF KNIGHTHOOD.—SALUTARY REFORMS COMMENCED AND PROJECTED BY HIM—IS OBLIGED TO RETURN TO ENGLAND—COMMITS THE GOVERNMENT TO THE YOUNG EARL OF MARCH.—REVOLT OF THE IRISH CHIEFTAINS ON THE KING'S DEPARTURE.—THE EARL OF MARCH SLAIN IN A BATTLE WITH THE NATIVES.—THE KING RESOLVES ON ANOTHER EXPEDITION TO IRELAND—IS ACCOMPANIED BY YOUNG HENRY OF MONMOUTH, AFTERWARDS HENRY V.—DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE ROYAL ARMY.—MAC MOROUGH REFUSES TO MAKE SUBMISSION.—THE ARMY DISTRESSED FOR PROVISIONS.—UNSUCCESSFUL PARLEY WITH MAC MOROUGH.—THE KING RETREATS TO DUBLIN—RECEIVES INTELLIGENCE OF THE LANDING OF HENRY OF BOLINGBROKE—EMBARKS WITH HIS ARMY FOR MILFORD HAVEN.**

THE intention expressed, in a preceding chapter of this work, to pass rapidly over the reigns of the first English kings of Ireland, it has not been in my power to accomplish. Though wanting in almost every quality that lends grace and glory to history, this period of my narrative, I found, could hardly be

\* Issues of the Exchequer.

thus despatched without doing injustice to the demands of the subject. It was, in fact, in these very times, and more especially during the reign of Edward III., that the foundations were laid of that monstrous system of misgovernment in Ireland, to which no parallel exists in the history of the whole civilised world;—its dark and towering iniquity having projected its shadow so far forward as even to the times immediately bordering upon our own.

Enough, however, has, I trust, been related of these few eventful reigns, to convey a clear notion of the spirit of the law and its administration during that period, as well as of the condition of the country, in consequence of that spirit; and likewise to show that, as great power may be administered without tyranny, so is it possible for enormous tyranny to exist without any real power.

On the death of Edward III. (1377), the crown devolved, without question or contest, to Richard of Bordeaux, son and heir of the Black Prince; and the young king being then but in his eleventh year, a council of regency was chosen, “in aid of the chancellor and treasurer,” to conduct the affairs of the government, during the minority of the king.\*

The first measure relating to Ireland, which demands our attention, during this reign, was an act or ordinance against absenteeism,—one of the earliest as well as most permanent of the many grievances attendant on that country’s anomalous position. By this measure,—the first ever enacted on the subject,† and passed by the parliament of England, in 1379, in consequence of a petition from Ireland,—it was ordained that all who possessed lands, rents, or offices in that kingdom should forthwith repair thither and become residents, for the purpose of watching and defending them; or, in case they could allege any sufficient cause for their absence, they were

\* Lingard.

† “Then was the first statute made against absentees.”—*Davies*.

then to send, or find in that country, responsible persons to act as their deputies, and defend their possessions; otherwise two thirds of their Irish revenues were to be contributed by them towards that object. Some exceptions were made to this law in favour of persons in the king's service, of students in the universities, and of those absent for reasonable causes, by special license under the great seal of England; from all of whom there was only required, for the defence of the land, one third of the yearly profits of their estates. Another step taken with a view to reformation, was the appointment of Sir Nicholas Dagworth, to proceed to Ireland, furnished with instructions and powers to survey the possessions of the crown, and call to account the officers of the Irish revenue.\*

About the same time leave was granted by the king, in consequence of a petition to that effect, for a free trade in "wines and other merchandises," between Ireland and Portugal.†

In the third year of Richard's reign (A. D. 1380), Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, and son to Lionel, duke of Clarence, was sent over to Ireland as lord lieutenant; and, about the same time, a number of French and Spanish galleys, which had done much mischief on the coasts of Ireland, having been driven by the English fleet into the harbour of Kinsale, were there attacked, with much bravery, by a combined force of English and Irish, and sustained a complete defeat; their chief captains were all taken,‡ 400 of the sailors slain, and a great number of their barges captured.

\* Davies.—According to an entry in the Issue Roll of this year, the mission of Dagworth was "for the purpose of inquiring concerning the estate and government of the land; and, also, of the estate, conduct, and condition of the men-at-arms, archers, and others dwelling there, at the king's charge, for the protection of the land."—*Pell Records*.

† Pat. Roll, 8 Ric. II.—Prynne, 308.

‡ "Virtute et animositate Anglicorum et Hibernicorum capti sunt duces eorum."—*Walsingham*. The particulars of this action, as given by Walsingham, may be found translated in Holinshed. See also Smith, *History of Cork*, book ii. chap. 3.

On the death of the earl of March,\* in the second year of his government, the prelates, magnates, and commons of the realm were immediately summoned to meet at Cork for the purpose of electing a worthy successor to the vacant office;† and the choice falling unanimously upon John Colton, then chancellor of Ireland, this distinguished ecclesiastic, who became afterwards archbishop of Armagh, was raised to the post of lord justice (1381). He remained, however, but a few weeks in this station, being succeeded, towards the end of January (1382), by the younger Roger earl of March, son of the former lord lieutenant; and, this prince being still under age, the affairs of the realm were administered, in his name, by his guardian and uncle, Thomas Mortimer; so that, in Ireland, as well as in England, the executive power of the realm was, at this time, in tutelage.

The laudable desire evinced by the council of regency, at the outset of Richard's reign, for a searching inquiry into the administration of Irish affairs, and a vigorous reform of the abuses prevailing in all its departments, was now further shown by the firmness of their measures against Philip de Courtenay, cousin of the king, who had succeeded the young earl of March as lord lieutenant (1383). Being the possessor of a considerable estate in the country, he was thought to be therefore peculiarly suited to the office; and by special favour, a grant was made to him of this high post for the space of ten

\* This lord went to the trouble of having some oaks transported to Ireland from his woods in Monmouthshire, for the purpose of building a bridge over the river Uanne, "juxta villam de Kolleroth."—*Priorat. de Wigmore, Monast. Anglican.* He also supplied the monastery of Wigmore, to which he was much attached, with oxen, cows, sea fish, &c. from Ireland, as well as a share of the plunder acquired by him in his military capacity in that country,—*"militari fortunâ sibi in prædam cedentia."*—*Priorat. de Wigmore.*

† Pat. Roll. 5 Ric. II.—In his History of the Bishops, Ware incorrectly represents Colton as having been appointed lord justice the day after the earl of March's death, wholly omitting the important point of the summoning of a parliament for his election. There must have intervened nearly a fortnight before his appointment to the office.



years. Presuming, doubtless, on this long tenure of power, he conducted himself with such utter disregard to law and justice,\* that, by order of the English authorities, he was taken into custody, while in the exercise of his vice-regal functions, and not only dispossessed of his high office, but severely punished for the oppressions and gross exactions of which he had been guilty.†

The direct agency, however, of the youthful monarch, was now beginning to make itself felt in the public councils; and that fatal mixture in his character, of vehement self-will and passion, with but a limited share of judgment, which led ultimately to his ruin, was now shown in the favours showered by him on his young favourite, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, whom he created successively marquis of Dublin and duke of Ireland (A. D. 1385), and bestowed on him the entire sovereignty of that kingdom during his life, to be held by him as fully and perfectly as by Richard himself, or any of his royal progenitors.‡ That the transfer, thus, of an ancient and once independent kingdom, should have been treated as a matter of child's play between a young king and his youthful minion, can hardly be a subject of much wonder; but the solemn sanction of an act so puerile, and, moreover, illegal, by the grave prelates, peers, and commons of an English parliament, only shows how unscrupulous may be the decisions of a large body of councillors acting in concert, and under a responsibility scarce felt, from being divided among so many. This parliament, also, with the view, doubtless, of ridding themselves of

\* Rymer, tom. vi. p. 504.

† Davies.—In the Issue Roll of the thirteenth year of this reign, we find entries of payments made to sir Philip Courtenay, in recompence of damage done to his goods and chattels by the officers of Robert de Vere, from which it would appear that, of the two personages, Courtenay was much the more injured.—See *Issues of the Exchequer*, edited by Edward Devon.

‡ “Adeo plene, integre et perfecte, sicut nos ea tenuimus et habuimus tenuerunt et habuerunt progenitorum nostrorum aliqui,” &c. For the letters patent granting to this young lord the title of marquis of Dublin, the coat of arms, azure, with three golden crowns, &c., see Prynne, p. 87.

the favourite's presence, allotted the sum of 30,000 \* marks for his intended expedition to his new kingdom, besides a force of 500 men-at-arms, and 1,000 archers. Accompanied by Richard himself, De Vere proceeded as far as Wales on his way to Ireland; but there the monarch, either unwilling to part with his favourite, or seeing other emergencies arise in which his aid would be required, abandoned the intention of sending him to Ireland, and appointed Sir John Stanley to be lord deputy of that realm. While Stanley held this office, the great northern chieftain, O'Neill, and his sons, sent in their submission to the government, in writing (1389), renounced all claim to the bonaght † of Ulster, and gave oaths and hostages for their future allegiance.

On the death of the duke of Ireland, who ended his days in exile and misery at Louvain, James, the third earl of Ormond, was made lord justice; and, in a sharp action fought by him with some Irish septs, at a place called Tascoffin in the county of Kilkenny (1392), slew 600 of their force.‡

Though of such details as would afford any insight into the internal state of the country, the records of this period are even more than usually barren, the single fact that, in almost every parliament held in England during this reign, the king applied for aid to carry on the war in Ireland, sufficiently shows the sort of relationship in which, after a lapse of more than two centuries, the rulers and the ruled of that land still continued to stand towards each other. When such was the habitual condition of the country, it is by no means surprising that laws to compel people to reside in it should be of frequent

\* The sum allotted for this purpose was a debt to the amount of 30,000 marks due from the king of France.

† *Bonaght* was an exaction imposed, at the pleasure of the lord, for the maintenance of his soldiers. "There were," says Harris, "two sorts of this imposition, viz *Bonaght-bur*, which was free quarter at discretion, and *Bonaght-beg*, which was a commutation for it in money or provisions, according to agreement with the lord."—Harris's Ware, *Antiq.* chap. 12.

‡ Cox.

occurrence in the statute book ; or that neither by these laws, nor by their own stake in the soil, could land proprietors be brought to remain on their Irish estates. To so great an extent did this abuse prevail in the first years of the present reign, that the province of the Pale was left nearly depopulated by the great concourse of Irish landholders into England ; and as, owing to this state of affairs, the king's revenue had been much reduced, while the power and daring of the Irish rebels were daily increasing, it was thought expedient to revive the law against absentees, and to put forth a proclamation, requiring all persons whose homes were in that kingdom to repair thither without delay.

The duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, a prince who combined in himself both the high rank to which the Irish were supposed to be partial,\* and the vigour of character fitted for supreme command, consented to accept the office of lord lieutenant ; and was already preparing to embark with an army for the seat of his government (A. D. 1393), when a royal order reached him, countermanding his departure, and, at the same time, acquainting him with the king's intention to conduct an expedition into Ireland in person.

For the adoption of this project so suddenly by Richard, various motives have been conjecturally assigned, each of them likely enough to have had some share in inducing him to form his determination. Besides the natural hope that his presence with a large force would do much towards curbing and pacifying the Irish, the grievous loss he had lately sustained by the death of his consort, the "good" Queen Anne, had cast a cloud over his spirits which the excitement, it was hoped, of so new and stirring a scene, would tend to dissipate. But among

\* Walsingham.—"All the Irishry," says Davies, "were ready to submit themselves before his coming ; so much the very name of a great personage, especially a prince of blood, did ever prevail with this people." The government of Ireland was again, at a subsequent period, offered to Gloucester ; but he declined accepting it, saying that Ireland was a country in which he could reap neither wealth nor glory.

these conjectures as to his motive for so sudden an enterprise, none seems more probable than that which attributes it to the mortifying repulse lately experienced by him, in his ambitious effort to be elected emperor of Germany.\* On that occasion, when his ambassadors solicited for him the imperial crown, they were told that the electors did not hold a prince to be worthy of that dignity who could neither keep what his ancestors had gained in France, repress the insolence of his English subjects, nor reduce to obedience his rebellious vassals in Ireland. This bitter taunt, which it is not improbable may have added a spur to his present enterprise, was, as far as it regarded Ireland, perfectly founded in truth; and not with reference merely to its state under Richard himself, but to the condition of its people throughout every reign, from the time of the first landing of an English king upon their shores.

How little had, during that interval, been really effected towards their subjection, is virtually acknowledged in the letters patent conveying Ireland to the royal favourite, Robert de Vere;—the object of the powers thereby intrusted to him having been, in express terms, the “conquest” of that land. For this yet unaccomplished purpose, the army now landed by Richard at Waterford (1394), which consisted of 4,000 men-at-arms, and 30,000 archers, might appear to have been more than a sufficient force. But there hung a spell about the “Isle of Destiny,” † which continued to baffle and put to shame the arms and counsels of her invaders. With such a force to command submission, there was only wanting sufficient wisdom to lay the foundations of social improvement, by extending the protection of English law to the whole native population, and thus giving them that interest in the peace and well-being of the community which a right to participate in all its safeguards and advantages is sure to inspire. Had such a course of policy been adopted by Richard, it is fair to conclude, from the petitions addressed

\* Davies.--Cox.

† Inisfail, an ancient name of Ireland.

to some of his predecessors, as well from large bodies of the natives as from individuals, praying for the benefits of the English law, that a measure granting this desired boon to the whole kingdom, and even enforcing its general acceptance, would have been hailed with joy and thankfulness by the great mass of the Irish people, and might have abridged, by many centuries, the dominion of anarchy in that realm.

But such, unluckily, was not the policy which this young monarch, though with means so ample, and having, to a certain extent, clear views of his regal duty, was far-sighted enough to adopt. A merely outward show of submission and allegiance, such as had been proffered to his progenitors, John and Henry II., was all that his superficial and hasty ambition aimed at; and this the present race of chieftains were fully as ready to proffer and promise as their ancestors, and, it may be added, with quite as little intention of adhering to their engagements. On the first alarm of his arrival, at the head of so numerous a force,—the largest ever yet landed upon the Irish shores,—the natives had fled to those natural fastnesses which a country intersected with woods and morasses afforded to them,\* and so were enabled to elude the invader's approach. But all intention of offering resistance to so powerful a force was soon abandoned; and, it being understood that the submission of the chieftains would be graciously received, O'Neill, and other lords of Ulster, met the king at Drogheda, and there did homage and swore fealty with the usual solemn-

\* "But I shewe you, bycause ye should knowe the trut<sup>h</sup>, Ireland is on of the yvellest countreis of the world to make warre upon, or to bring under subiection, for it is closed strongely and wydely with high forestes, and great waters and maresshes and places inhabytable; it is harde to entre to do them of the countrey anie damage; now ye shall fynde no towne nor persone speke withal; for the men drawe to the woodes and dwell in caves and small cotages, under trees, and among bussches and hedges, lyke wyld savago beestes. . . . For a man of arms beyng never so well horsed, and ron as fast as he can, the Yrisshe men wyll ryn afote as faste as he, and overtake hym, yea, and leape up upon his horse behynde him and drawe hym from his horse."—*Froissart*.



nities,—laying aside their girdles, skeins, and caps, and then falling upon their knees at his feet.\*

In the meanwhile, Mowbray, earl of Nottingham and lord marshal of England, had been specially commissioned by the king to receive the homage and oaths of fealty of the Irish of Leinster. On the open plain, at Balligory, near Carlow, an interview was held by this lord with Art Mac Morough, the heir of the ancient kings of Leinster, and several other southern chiefs,† who there went through the same ceremonies of submission as had been performed in the king's presence, at Drogheda; after which the lord marshal gave to each of them the kiss of peace. They were likewise bound severally, by indentures, and in large penalties, payable in the apostolic chamber, not only to continue loyal subjects, but to answer, for themselves and all their swordmen, that they would, on a certain fixed day, surrender to the king and his successors all the lands and possessions held by them in Leinster, taking with them only their moveable goods. They also pledged themselves to serve him in his wars against all other Irish.‡

In return for this total surrender of their ancient rights and patrimonies, they were to be taken into the pay of the crown, and receive pensions during their lives, together with the inheritance of all such territories as they could seize from the rebels in other parts of the realm; thus giving to these wretched chieftains, as a sort of salve for the injuries perpetrated on themselves, full license, and even encouragement, to inflict the same enormities upon others. The pension of eighty marks, bestowed on Mac Morough, the captain of the Cava-

\* Davies.

† The names of the chiefs who submitted to Richard are thus strangely metamorphosed by Otterbourne:—"Perteriti eorum reguli se regi submiserunt, viz. Power, cum filio suo juxta Waterford; Ocell, Onelon, cum filio suo Abron; Macmourth, cum presbytero, Powerest, Dymell, Dagwith, de Demisin, et Arcay."—*Chron. Reg. Angliæ*.

‡ Cox.

naghs, at this time, was continued to his posterity till the time of Henry VIII.

Neal O'Neill, who, in the letters addressed by him to the king,\* styles himself prince of the Irish of Ulster, was bound, in the indenture agreed upon between them, not only to remain faithful to the crown of England, but to restore to the earl of Ulster the bonaght, or war tax, of that province, which the family of the O'Neills, it was alleged, had usurped. It appears, from the enrolments still preserved of these different indentures and submissions, that the number of chieftains who proffered their homage and oaths of fidelity, was no less than seventy-five,—a fact, in itself, abundantly showing what a scene of confusion must have been the country in which such numbers of rude and petty potentates contributed each his share of despotism and misrule.

From the correspondence that passed between Richard and his council in England, during this expedition, it is clear that he regarded the submission of O'Neill and M'Morrough as a signal success gained by his presence; while the council, in replying to his account of his "noble voyage," as they style it, return, like skilful courtiers, an echo to his own opinion of it. In one important respect, these letters reflect credit on the monarch's memory, as showing him to have had sense enough to discover that English misrule was the main cause of Irish revolt, and manly candour enough to acknowledge so new and unpopular an opinion. "There are, in this our land," he writes from Dublin,† "three classes of persons,—wild Irish, or ene-

\* "Ego Nelanus O'Neil senior, tam pro meipso, quam pro filiis meis, et tota natione mea, et parentelis meis, et pro omnibus subditis meis, devenio ligeus homo vester," &c. &c.

† "Pource ensement qen notre terre Dirlande sont trois maners des gentz, cestasavoir Irrois savages nos enemis, Irroix rebelx et Engleis obeissantz: semble a nous et a notre conseil esteant entour nous que considerez que les ditz Irroix rebelx se sont par cas rebellez pour griefs et tortz a eux faites dune part et par defaute que remedie ne leur ad estez fet dautre part et qe ensement sils ne feussent sagement tretez et mis en bon espoir de grace, ils se vorroient verisemblablement joindre a nos ene-

mies, Irish rebels, and English subjects; and, considering that the rebels have been made such by wrongs, and by the want of due attention to their grievances, and that, if they be not wisely treated, and encouraged by hopes of favour, they will most probably join themselves with our enemies, we think it right to grant them a general pardon, and take them under our especial protection."

In their reply to this letter of the king, the duke and the council, after significantly reminding him that they had formerly advised the adoption of severe measures against the rebels, add that, in deference to his wise discretion, and the greater opportunity he possessed of acquiring information, on the spot, they freely assent to his views,—provided that, in return for the pardons granted to the rebels, certain large fines and ransoms should be paid by them towards the charges of the king's voyage.\*

It was evidently gratifying to the vanity of Richard, to parade thus his state and magnificence in the eyes of the rude but proud chiefs who followed as vassals in his train. One of the charges against him, some years after, on his deposition by parliament, was, that he had carried away the crown jewels to Ireland; and doubtless the pleasure of surprising and dazzling these minor potentates was one of the very few purposes to which he could have found occasion to apply them. Wishing to confer upon these kings the honour of knighthood, he placed them under the care of an English gentleman, named Henry Castide,† who, having married a native woman and lived for

mis," &c. &c.—See *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, edited by sir Harris Nicholas.

\* *Proceedings and Ordinances*, &c.

† According to some readings, Cristal. This gentleman had been made prisoner, in a skirmish with the Irish, under circumstances which he himself thus described:—"It chanced that in this pursuit my horse took fright, and ran away with me, in spite of all my efforts, into the midst of the enemy. My friends could never overtake me; and in passing through the Irish, one of them, by a great feat of agility, leaped on the back of my horse, and held me tight with both his arms, but did me no harm with lance or knife . . . He seemed much rejoiced to have made me his prisoner,

many years in the country, was well acquainted with the Irish language, desiring that he would instruct them in the dress, ceremonies, and manner of behaviour which would be required of them on such an occasion. When informed of the king's intention to make them knights, according to the usage of France, England, and other countries, they answered that they were already knights, and needed no new creation. It was the custom, they added, of every Irish king, to confer that order upon his sons, when very young, and they themselves had been knights since they were seven years old; their first attempts at justing having been to run with small light spears against a shield set upon a stake in a meadow; and the more spears each of them broke the more honour he acquired.\*

According to the account given of these chiefs by the French chronicler, who received his information from their instructor, the progress made by them in the forms and observances of courtly society was by no means very promising.† It was with difficulty he could bring them to relinquish their practice of dining at the same table with their own minstrels and servants, or succeed in prevailing upon them to wear breeches according to the English fashion. Much persuasion also was necessary before they could be induced to exchange the simple mantle of the country, for robes of silk trimmed with squirrel skin or miniver. At length, by the intervention of the earl of Ormond, who spoke their language and was generally respected by the Irish, they consented to submit to

and carried me to his house, which was strong, and in a town surrounded by wood, palisades, and stagnant water. The gentleman who had taken me was called Brin (or Brian) Costeret, a very handsome man. I have frequently made inquiries after him, and hear that he is still alive, but very old. This Brian Costeret kept me with him seven years, and gave me his daughter in marriage, by whom I have two girls."

*Froissart*, John's translation.

\* Froissart.

† "Kynge Edward, of good memory, dyd never so worke upon them as kynge Richarde dyd in this voyage; the honour is great, but the profyte is but lytell; for though they be kynges, yet no man can deuise nor speke of ruder personages."—*Froissart*.

the required forms. Having kept watch all the night before in the church, they were knighted, on Lady-day, in the cathedral of Dublin; and the ceremony was followed by a great banquet, at which the four Irish kings attended in robes of state, and sate with king Richard at his table.\*

In the midst of all this parade, Richard forgot not altogether the higher duties of his kingly station, but showed, by the care which he took in providing the courts of justice with able and trustworthy judges (1394-5), as well as by the reforms commenced by him in legal proceedings, according to the precedents of England, that he both knew where lay the true causes of Ireland's misrule, and was fairly disposed, had the state of his English dominions allowed him leisure, to endeavour to correct and remove them. He had likewise, with a view to the peace and security of the city of Dublin, projected the establishment of a civil plantation in the mountains of Wicklow, having covenanted with the unquiet septs inhabiting that region, for their removal to some other quarter.†

But these wise and useful projects were all now suddenly interrupted. The council had already urged his speedy return to England, in consequence of a rumour having reached them of the intention of the Scots to break the present truce.‡ But a still more pressing motive presented itself. The daring attack made upon the revenues and discipline of the church by those disciples of Wycliffe, called Lollards, had spread much alarm among the whole body of the clergy; and the archbishop of York and the bishop of London were deputed to hasten to the king in Ireland, and represent to him the danger, both of spoliation and heresy, to which the church was, at that moment exposed. An appeal proceeding from this quarter he would doubtless regard as worthy of peculiar attention, on ac-

\* Froissart.

† Davies.

‡ "Par cause qe les Escotz a ce qe nous avons entenduz ne veullen tenir ne garder ses presentes rieurs."—*Acts of Privy Council*.



count of the munificence with which the church had come forward to contribute to the expenses of his Irish expedition; most of the prelates (as well as likewise of the lords of the council) having advanced each a loan of one thousand pounds for that purpose;—not being bound thereto, as they took care to protest, by any strict right, but by their affection for their king.\*

In consequence of all this, the king, after passing his birthday in Dublin, and, according to some accounts, holding a parliament in that city, returned, in the summer of the year 1395, into England, leaving, most rashly, his young kinsman, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, with ample powers, to act as his lieutenant. This young nobleman, whose hereditary rank, in the event of Richard dying without issue, placed him nearest in succession to the throne,† had, on the death of his father, in Cork, in 1382, been left a minor under the legal guardianship of the king; and though, in violation of this trust, some minions of the court had, during his minority, been admitted into the profits of the estates,‡ his property, nevertheless, on his coming of age, was immense. When accompanying the king to Ireland, he had in his retinue 100 men-at-arms, of which two were bannerets, and eight knights, 200 archers on horseback, and 400 archers on foot.

It soon became manifest that the Irish chieftains, in their late specious submissions, had no other view than to bow temporarily to the immediate pressure of power, and then to raise again their heads as soon as the storm should have blown over; for, scarcely had the king sailed with his forces from the shore, when fierce incursions were made into the borders of the Pale. Thus suddenly attacked, and in different quarters at the same time, the English lords, supplying by valour what they wanted

\* Walsingham. "*Facta prius protestatione, quod ad hoc concedendum non tenebantur de stricto jure, sed sui regis affectione.*"

† With a view to such an occurrence, he was nominated by the parliament of 1385 heir presumptive to the crown.

‡ Walsingham.

in numbers, repulsed boldly the assailants; and a force commanded by Sir Thomas de Burgh and Walter de Bermingham, slew 600 of the Irish, together with their chieftain Mac Con. The lord lieutenant, assisted by the earl of Ormond, was no less successful in quelling the O'Byrnes of Wicklow; and the feat of storming the ancient manor house of the chief of this sept was triumphantly commemorated within its walls, by the creation of seven knights.\*

A summons, at this time, to attend the parliament, at Shrewsbury, afforded the young viceroy a welcome opportunity of displaying the pomp and pageantry in which he so much delighted; and he accordingly made his appearance there, at the head of a crowd of retainers, all apparelled, at his own expense, in white and crimson.† But a sad reverse awaited his return to the seat of his government. For, while engaged in a conflict, at Kenlis, with the sept of the O'Byrnes, having been hurried on, by his impetuous valour, into the ranks of the enemy, he was slain, and, it is said, torn to pieces, by the natives.‡

In the year 1398, Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey, half brother to the king, was sent over to Ireland as lord lieutenant, attended by a foreigner, named Janico d'Artois, whose name occurs frequently in our records, during this and the three or four following reigns, and always connected with the charge or exercise of some great public trust, military or civil.

Nearly five years had now elapsed from the time of Richard's first visit to Ireland, when, under circumstances which rendered so wild a scheme of adventure almost unaccountable,

\* Annal. Hibern.

† "Etiam expensis propriis, pro majori parte, in coloribus suis, scilicet rubeo et albo vestitis."

‡ Nequiter occisus et membratim dilaceratus.—*Vita Regis Ric.* In answer to a petition of the earl of Northumberland, and other executors of this young lord (Close Roll, 1 Hen. IV.), he is said to have been "casualiter nequiter interfectus." It is added, in some accounts, that he was disguised, on this occasion, in the habit and accoutrements of an Irish soldier."

he again undertook a great expedition to that kingdom. The line of policy pursued by him in England, during the interval, had been such as to render him at once powerful and odious; to remove arbitrarily out of his way all individual rivals and opponents, but, at the same time, to array against him the combined hatred of the great mass of the people. Of the immense power that had accrued to the crown, during the struggle, he was but too fully aware; but the amount and strength of the popular reaction against his tyranny, he was by no means prepared to expect,—having succeeded meanwhile in lulling himself into that false sense of security from which successful tyranny is in general awakened but by its downfall. In no other way can the strange fatuity be accounted for which led him, at this crisis of his fortunes, to absent himself from his high post, as sovereign of England, and with the sole view, as he professed, of avenging the death of his cousin, the earl of March,\* to undertake a second wild and wasteful expedition against the rebellious chieftains of Ireland.

Having appointed his uncle, the duke of York, to be regent during his absence, the king, after assisting at a solemn mass at Windsor, and chanting a collect himself, took wine and spices, we are told, at the door of the church, with his young queen, who was then but eleven years of age, and, lifting her up in his arms, kissed her several times, saying, “Adieu, madam, adieu, till we meet again.”† He then proceeded (1399), attended by a train of lords, to Bristol, where some reports reached him of plots against his government, which were treated by him with disregard. For the naval part of the armament, the preparations had been on a grand scale. Impressment had been resorted to for the manning of the

\* Walsingham.—In the writ ordering the preparations for this voyage he thus assigns the motives of his expedition:—“Propter malitiam quorundam Hibernicorum inimicorum nostrorum qui contra nos, ex eorum protervia, a diu est, rebelles et inobedientes accreverunt.”

† Lingard.

fleet; and vessels were ordered to assemble at Milford or Bristol from all ports and places on the sea-coast northward as far as Newcastle-upon-Tyne. There were also minstrels attendant upon the army; and, as one who accompanied the expedition tells us, "trumpets and the sound of minstrels might be heard day and night." Joining his forces at Milford Haven, he embarked in a fleet of 200 sail, and in less than two days arrived in sight of the tower of Waterford. On landing, he was received by the merchants and other citizens with a cordial welcome.\* The king had been landed but a few days, when his active officer, Janico d'Artois, taking advantage of the approach of the grand army, began to attack the Irish; and, in a conflict with them at Kenlis, in the county of Kildare, slew 200 of their force.†

After remaining about a week in Waterford, the king marched his army to Kilkenny, where he was detained for fourteen days, expecting anxiously the arrival of the duke of Albemarle. This nobleman, who was Richard's cousin, had been ordered to follow with a fleet of 100 sail, and his long delay was afterwards attributed to secret concert with the king's enemies.‡ When joined by this force, the monarch, though straitened for want of provisions for his unwieldy numbers, directed his march towards the chief Mac Morough, who, retired within his woods and fastnesses, with a large multitude of followers, bade defiance to the arms of the invaders, denounced their power as founded in force and injustice, and declared his resolution "to defend the land unto his death."

\* French metrical narrative:—

"Mainte trompette y pouvoit enoir,  
De jour de nuit menestrelz retentir."

† That this officer had already distinguished himself, during the duke of Surrey's government, may be concluded from the manner in which their names are coupled by an old chronicler:—"Virtus ducis Southreie et Janichonis Alemanni in Hibernia clar ut."—*Chronic. Tinemut. in Leland Collectan.* Though described in this extract as a German, he is generally supposed to have been a Gascon gentleman.

‡ Lingard.—"He was kept (says Stow) tarrying for the duke of Albemarle, that kept not the right course."

Relying on the strengths and intrenchments furnished to them by nature, and preferring the short irregular skirmish to the set battle, the Irish seldom afforded an opportunity of judging of the extent of their whole force. The narrator, however, of the events of this war—himself an eye-witness of much that he describes \*—states Mac Morough's army to have consisted of "3,000 stout men;" and adds, they were "such as it appeared to him the English marvelled to behold." † But notwithstanding that the king's army remained for some time drawn out, in order of battle, at the entrance of the dense woods in which the natives had intrenched themselves, there appeared no chance of provoking the latter to risk an engagement in the open field. All that remained, therefore, for Richard, was to set fire to the adjacent villages, and employ their inhabitants in cutting a passage for the march of his army through the woods. Having taken this resolution, the king advanced his standard, and created under it several knights, among whom was the young Henry of Monmouth,—in after years, the victorious Henry the Fifth,—whom a spectator of the scene describes as then "a young, fair and promising bachelor." The king had taken this youth with him to Ireland, in order that he might learn there the rudiments of war, and make his first trial of arms; ‡ and on the present

\* The writer of the *Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre, Richard*,—an account, in French metre, of the last four or five months of Richard's reign. Of this curious tract there exist two MSS., one of which is in the British Museum, and the other in the library of Lambeth Palace. A translation of that portion of the story which relates to Ireland was made by the eminent sir George Carew, lord president of Munster (see Harris's *Hibernica*.) But the entire narrative has found, within our own time, an accomplished translator and commentator in the Rev. J. Webb, *Archæologia*, vol. xx.

† Carew's translation; thus translated by Webb:—"Wilder people I never saw; they did not appear to me to be much dismayed at the English." The following is the original:—

"Trois mill homes qui fourent moult hardi,  
Et si ayers, conques telz gens ne vy;  
Dangloiz trop pou estoient esbahi,  
Ce me sembla."

‡ "Ut rem militarem disceret et primum exerceeret."—Tit. Liv. *Vita Hen. V.*



occasion, when raising him to the honour of knighthood, Richard is said to have thus addressed him,—“My fair cousin, be henceforth preux and valiant, for you have some valiant blood to conquer.”

But the march of the royal army was beset with difficulties and delays, the road being encumbered with fallen trees, and in many places so boggy that the soldiers, as they marched, sunk into it up to the middle; while, in the mean time, flying parties of Irish, “so nimble and swift of foot, that, like unto stags, they ran over mountains and valleys,” hovered around with barbarous howls, in every direction, cutting off the stragglers and foragers, and hurling their darts or short javelins with a degree of force that no coat of arms could withstand.

Though Mac Morough himself had beheld without flinching the approach of the assailants, there were others of the Irish chiefs, and among those his own uncle, who, panic-struck by the numbers of the enemy, hastened, with halters round their necks, and, falling prostrate at the king’s feet, implored of him mercy and peace. A grant of free pardon was accordingly vouchsafed to them, on condition of their swearing to remain, from thenceforward, true and loyal subjects. At the same time, a message was sent by the king to Mac Morough, summoning that chief to appear before him in a like suppliant guise, and engaging that, if he would thus humbly submit himself, not only should mercy be accorded to him, but the king would bestow upon him, as the reward of his loyalty, ample territories and towns.

The subtle chief, however, knew far too well the real motive of these plausible offers, to allow himself to be shaken, for a moment, from his plan of protracted resistance. He knew, so distressed were the English army for want of provisions, that numbers of the soldiers had already perished by famine; that this scourge had extended also to the officers, and that the whole camp was full of despondence and murmurs. Em-

boldened, therefore, by this knowledge, he replied to the king's message, that "not all the gold in the world could tempt him into submission; that he would continue still to carry on the war, and do the king all the injury in his power." In the mean time, the arrival from Dublin of three ships, laden with provisions, afforded some slight relief to the famished soldiers, who are described as plunging eagerly into the sea to reach the vessels, and even wounding each other in their fierce contest for relief.

The king was now left no other alternative than to decamp and march immediately for Dublin: nor even this was he allowed to effect without molestation, as the Irish enemy hung upon his rear, and, by harassing the troops with constant skirmishes, delayed and embarrassed their retreat.

Having performed thus the only duty that Ireland's chiefs were now left the power to fulfil,—that of reminding their proud masters that the conquered still had arms, nor wanted the spirit to use them,—Mac Morough sent to request of the king a safe conduct to the royal presence, for the purpose of tendering his humble submission;—or, if this proposal should be found displeasing, suggesting that Richard should send some of his lords to treat with the chief on terms of peace. The news of this overture was received with delight in the English camp, where all were weary of the hard service they had lately been engaged in, and joyfully welcomed a chance of rest. By advice of his council, the king appointed the earl of Gloucester, who was the commander of his rear guard, to meet Mac Morough at the place of conference; instructing him to impress on the chief the enormity of his wrongs and crimes against the king's lieges; and also the retribution demanded by justice for his many gross and daring breaches of faith.

The earl took with him to this singular interview a guard of 200 lances and 1,000 archers; and among the personages who, from mere curiosity, accompanied him to the scene of the

conference, was, luckily, the writer of the narrative already so frequently referred to, whose lively description of the manner and appearance of the Irish chief shall here be given, as nearly as translation will allow, in his own words. "From a mountain, between two woods, not far from the sea, we saw Mac Morough descending, accompanied by multitudes of the Irish, and mounted upon a horse without a saddle, which cost him, it was reported, 400 cows. His horse was fair, and, in his descent from the hill to us, ran as swift as any stag, hare, or the swiftest beast I have ever seen.\* In his right hand he bore a long spear, which, when near the spot where he was to meet the earl, he cast from him with much dexterity. The crowd that followed him then remained behind, while he advanced to meet the earl, near a small brook.† He was tall of stature, well composed, strong and active; his countenance fierce and cruel."‡

The parley that then ensued was maintained for a considerable time; the English lord reproaching the chief with his various acts of perfidy, his murder of the earl of March,§ and of others of the king's loyal subjects. But on neither side

\* "Entre deux bois, assez loing de la mer  
Maquemore la montaigne avaler  
Vy, et dirloiz, que pars ne scay nombrer,  
Y ot foison.  
Un cheval ot sans sele ne arcon,  
Qui lui avoit couste, ce disoit on,  
Quatreces vaches tant estoit bel et bon."

† "Deulx deux fut lassemblee faite  
Pres dun ruissel.  
La se maintint masquemore; asselz bel  
Grans homs estoit, a merveillez ysnel;  
A vous dueil sembloit fort fier et fel,  
Et homs de fait."

‡ *Metrical Narrative*, Carew's translation.

§ "Quant le conte de la Marche courtroyz  
Firent mourir, sans jugement ne loiz."

The epithet "courteous" here bestowed upon the young earl of March, is fully justified by the character given of him in a record cited by Mr. Webb: "He was distinguished by the qualities held in estimation at that time; a stout tournayer, a famous speaker, a costly feaster, a bounteous giver, in conversation affable and jocose, in beauty of form surpassing his fellows."

was any advance made towards reconciliation, and the conference ended in leaving the parties as much asunder as when it commenced; the sole conditions on which the king would admit Mac Morough to his peace being such as that chief had haughtily declared he would never submit to while he had life. The Leinster prince had therefore to return to his woods and fastnesses; while Gloucester hastened back to report the result to his royal master, who, thrown into a violent rage, on hearing it, swore by St. Edward, that "he would never depart out of Ireland until he had Mac Morough, living or dead, in his hands."

But the unfortunate monarch's own doom was now fast approaching. He had reached Dublin, with his army, and found in that city such plenty of provisions, that even the 30,000 men which his force added to the population did not much raise, we are told, the prices in the market.\* Here he was joined at last, by the reinforcements under the duke of Albemarle, whose arrival he had been so long expecting; and, having resolved to carry on the war vigorously against Mac Morough, he divided his army into three portions, with the view of surrounding the fierce chief in his woody covert, and so hunting him into the toils. He had also proclaimed, that whoever would deliver him into his hands, dead or alive, should receive 100 marks of gold.

For the space of six weeks, during which Richard remained in Dublin, passing the time in a round of gaities and pomps, there prevailed such a course of stormy weather and adverse winds that all communication of intelligence from England was interrupted; "which appeared to me, undoubtedly," adds the authority already cited, "to be a presage that God was

\* "Dublin, a good city," says the *Metrical Narrative*, "standing upon the sea, and containing such great abundance of merchandise and provisions, that it was said that neither flesh nor fish, bread-corn nor wine, nor other store, was any dearer for all the army of the king. I know full well that they were more than 30,000 that so-journed therein and around."

displeased with the king." At last, there arrived a small bark in the port of Dublin, conveying to Richard the alarming intelligence that Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster, had taken advantage of his absence to land in England; that already some of the most powerful of the English barons had joined his banner, as well as a large portion of the mass of the people, and that this spirit of disaffection was spreading fast through the whole kingdom. The first act of Richard, on learning this ominous news, was to give vent to a burst of petty revenge against Lancaster, by ordering his unoffending son, the young lord Henry, to be imprisoned in the castle of Trim, together with the son of the duke of Gloucester.

The advice of the majority of Richard's council was, that he should proceed with all possible speed to England; but Albemarle—who possessed, undeservedly, as it proved, his confidence,—opposed this opinion of the council; and recommended that, for the present, there should only be sent a small detachment, under lord Salisbury, into Wales, there to form a point of union for the king's friends; while, in the mean time, sufficient shipping might be collected at Waterford to convey from thence the king and the main body of his force. This ill-omened advice was readily adopted; the earl of Salisbury, as he reluctantly embarked, entreating most earnestly of his royal master to follow without delay; while the king, in promising to lose no time, swore also by great oaths, that "if Lancaster fell into his hands, he would cause him to die such a death as that the fame thereof should sound as far as Turkey." Notwithstanding all this show of spirit, nearly three weeks elapsed before Richard arrived in Milford Haven; and, during that interval, the last feeble chance of preserving either his throne or life had vanished.

It may be worth noticing that, in answer to a petition from Ireland, in the third year of this reign, praying for leave to dig mines, the king gives permission for every one to dig in



his own grounds, for gold, silver, and all other metals, during the six following years,—paying the ninth part thereof to the king, and sending the rest to the king's mint at Dublin.\* The gold mines of Ireland had been, from very early times, a subject of speculation; and it appears from a writ addressed, in the year 1360, to James earl of Ormond, that several mines, both of gold and silver, were at that time supposed to have been discovered.†

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## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### HENRY IV.

**STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF YORK AND LANCASTER.—BENEFICIAL ULTIMATELY TO ENGLAND—RUINOUS TO IRELAND.—INVASION OF SCOTLAND BY HENRY.—PREDATORY ATTACKS ON THE IRISH COASTS BY THE SCOTS.—THE KING'S SON MADE LORD LIEUTENANT.—MURDER OF THE SHERIFF OF LOUTH BY FOUR ENGLISH GENTLEMEN.—RIGHT OF THE SWORD CONFERRED ON THE CORPORATION OF DUBLIN.—SUBMISSION OF IRISH CHIEFS.—PARLIAMENT HELD AT TRIM.—EXPEDITION AGAINST MAC MOROUGH—HIS GALLANT RESISTANCE AND DEFEAT.—THE KING'S SON, THOMAS OF LANCASTER, AGAIN MADE LIEUTENANT—REFORMS CONTEMPLATED BY HIM.—ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF THE EARL OF KILDARE.—THE LORD LIEUTENANT WOUNDED IN AN AFFRAY—SUMMONS A PARLIAMENT—IS SUCCEEDED IN HIS OFFICE BY THE PRIOR OF KILMAINHAM.—STATE OF IRELAND AT THIS PERIOD.—PROOFS OF THE DECLINE OF ENGLISH POWER.**

By Henry's election to the throne of England (A. D. 1399),—for such was virtually his title to the crown,—the seeds were sown of those long and sanguinary wars, between the two rival houses of York and Lancaster, of which the whole history is as confused and uncertain as the known results were bloody, treacherous, and disgraceful. One salutary consequence, however, of these contests, was the gradual extension of the pow-

\* Prynne, p. 308.

† "Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod quamplures minæ auri et argenti, in dicta terra nostra Hibernia existunt." &c.—Rymer, tom. v. ad ann. 1360.

ers of parliament, and those wholesome restraints on the royal authority, which the precarious position of the Lancastrian princes enabled the commons, through three successive reigns, to urge and impose. It was, unfortunately, only in the evils of such a struggle that the usual destiny of Ireland allowed her to have any share. The important principle established by Richard's deposition, and the weight thrown into the popular scale by the uncertainty of the tenure of the crown, were advantages derived by England from the wars of the two Roses, which she purchased cheaply, even at the cost of so many years of internal strife. But far different were the state and prospects of the wretched people so anomalously connected with her, who, while sharing in all the worst consequences of such a course of convulsion, saw neither hope nor chance of any of its atoning advantages; but, left at the mercy of some viceroy's deputy, without even an attempt to redress or palliate their wrongs, found that, though subjects of a state advancing in the high road to freedom, they were, themselves, sinking every day deeper into degradation and barbarism.

When Henry, soon after his accession, assuming the character of lord superior of Scotland, proceeded to invade that country, the northern coast of Ireland became frequently an object of attack on the part of the Scots. "Both from the high country and from the isles," as the language of the record expresses it,\* numerous expeditions were fitted out for the Irish shores (A. D. 1400-1); where the traditions, still freshly preserved, of the gallant though fruitless efforts of Bruce, could not fail to rally the natives around the Scottish banner. One of these small armaments, having been encountered, near Strangford in Ulster, by a naval force, under the command of the constable of Dublin castle, repulsed triumphantly the attack, and slew great numbers of the English.†

\* Pat. Roll, 5 Hen. IV.—"Tam de alta patria quam de insulis."

† Cox.—Marleborough.

During the administration of Sir John Stanley, who held at this period the post of lord lieutenant, a subsidy was granted for three years, by the English parliament, to provide for the exigencies of the government.

The policy which had been pursued in most of the preceding reigns, and, on no graver grounds, probably, than the supposed fancy of the Irish for persons of high rank, of sending some member of the royal family to direct the affairs of that country, was adopted likewise under the present king, who intrusted to his second son, Thomas, duke of Lancaster, though not yet quite of age,\* the responsible office of lord lieutenant. Landing on Sunday the 13th of November (1402), at a place called Blowyk, near Dalkey,† this prince proceeded from thence, on the same day, to Dublin. Shortly after his arrival, John Drake, the mayor of Dublin, marched forth, at the head of a strong body of citizens, against the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, whose force consisted, it is said, of 4,000 men, and encountering them in the neighbourhood of Bray, killed near 500 of their number, and put the rest to rout.‡

An event that occurred in the course of this administration shows how very little, in respect of civilisation and morals, the despised native and his proud foreign master differed from each other. During a parliament held in Dublin by the lord lieutenant, Sir Bartholomew Vernon and three other English gentlemen publicly attacked and murdered the Sheriff of Louth, John Dowdal; for which, and for sundry other felonies committed by them, these civilisers of Ireland were outlawed, and their estates disposed of by custodians.§ But even this sluggish effort of justice was only transitory, as the king

\* Thomas Erpingham and Hugh Waterton, knight, had been appointed the young lord lieutenant's guardians.—*Pat. Roll*, 3 Hen. IV.

† "Applicuit apud Blowyk juxta Dalkey."—*Pat. Roll*, 3. Hen. IV.

‡ Marleburrough.—Harris (*Hist. of Dublin*) incorrectly cites Campion as having made the number of slain amount to 4000.

§ Marleburrough.

shortly after pardoned the offences of the criminals, and restored to them their estates during life.\*

An event, important at least in the history of the corporation of Dublin, took place in the course of this year. The right of the sword, or in other words, the privilege of having a gilt sword carried before its chief magistrate, was granted by the king to the city of Dublin.†

As the outward and specious submission of some of the principal native chiefs formed, in general, a part of the pageant prepared to welcome the presence of royalty on these shores, an imposing display of this kind was not wanting to greet the present vicegerent; and Achy Mac Mahon, O'Byrne of the Mountains, and Ryley, the head of a great northern sept, all submitted and entered into covenants of allegiance and service with the lord lieutenant.‡ In the instance of O'Byrne, too, a pledge of no ordinary value was obtained; as this chief, in assurance of his sincerity, granted to the king the castle of Mackenigan, and the appurtenances. After remaining not quite two years of his long term, the royal duke returned to England, leaving, as deputy, Sir Stephen Scroop, who, in the

\* Cox.

† Pat. Roll, 4. Hen. IV. "Quod major civitatis Dublini et successores sui in perpetuum, habeant quendam gladium deauratum coram eis portatum prout Major' London'." Cox, who places this event incorrectly in the tenth year of Henry's reign, adds, that at the same time with the grant of the sword, the "provost" of Dublin was changed into a "mayor." But this is also incorrect. As early as the 18th year of Henry III. we find a writ of the king addressed, "Majori et civibus Dublin;" and the cities of Waterford, Drogheda, Limerick, Cork, could all boast of mayors at nearly as early a period. See Smith's *Hist. of Cork*, book ii. chap. ix.;—Ferrar's *Hist. of Limerick*; where the first mayor of Limerick is placed ten years earlier than the first mayor of London;—Ryland's *Hist. of Waterford*, where, however, the date of the first mayor is carried no farther back than A. D. 1877; &c. &c. To the mayors of Dublin, Holinshed pays the following tribute of praise:—"This maioralite, both for state and charge of office, and for bountiful hospitalitie, exceedeth anie citie in England, London excepted."

‡ Pat. Roll, 3 Hen. IV.—To Achy Mac Mahon, at the same time, was granted, during his life, on condition that he should always be ready, with his force, against the king's rebels, the land and demesne (with the exception of the castle) of Fernewy, in the county of Louth.

following year, resigned to a new lord justice, James earl of Ormond.

Though the truce that ensued between England and Scotland, after the memorable victory of Homildon Hill (1404), was at this period still in force, there occurred, on both sides, frequent infractions of it, by armed merchantmen and cruisers. The depredations of some Scottish pirates, in the Irish seas, provoked reprisals of a similar nature; and the merchants of Drogheda, as well as of Dublin, fitting out ships to different parts of the coast of Scotland, succeeded in bringing from thence considerable plunder. In a marauding expedition of the same kind, into Wales,—where the heroic chieftain, Owen Glendower, was, at this time, baffling the arms of the Henrys, both father and son, by efforts of valour so prodigious as to be attributed to the spells of necromancy,—there was now carried away, among other booty, a shrine of the Welsh saint, St. Cubin, which the pious plunderers, on their return to Dublin, placed as an offering in the priory of the Holy Trinity, now called Christ Church.\*

The piratical warfare between the Irish merchants and the Scots was put an end to this year, by a sort of treaty of peace, the negotiation of which with Macdonald, lord of the isles, was intrusted by the king to John Dongan, bishop of Derry, and Janico d'Artois.

Gerald, the fifth earl of Kildare, having been for a short time lord justice, gave place to Sir Stephen Scroop, who again came over as lord deputy, and held a parliament at Dublin, in January, which, in the Lent after, concluded its session at Trim.

It is painful to be compelled to remind the reader that such, and such only, is the quality of the materials furnished by Ireland to the pen of history, at a period that witnessed the dawning glories of the future hero of Azincourt, and which, in such storied names as Hotspur, Douglas, Owen Glen-

\* Marleburrough.



dower, has transmitted recollections that link history with song, and lend a lustre to the humblest legend in which even a trace of such names is found.

The Leinster chieftain, Art Mac Morough, who defied so boldly, as we have seen, in his rude fortresses, the showy squadrons of the late king Richard, had remained, for the first few years of this reign, perfectly quiet; and we find that, shortly after Henry's accession, the letters patent of the 18th year of Richard, granting a pension of eighty marks a year to this chief, were inspected by the king and ratified.\* But, in consequence, this year, of some hostile demonstration on his part, the lord deputy Scroop, accompanied by the earls of Ormond and Desmond, the prior of Kilmainham, and other captains and gentlemen of Meath, set out from Dublin (1407), with a considerable force, and finding Mac Morough prepared to resist, marched their army into his territories. So gallant was the stand made by the Irish, that, for some time, the fortune of the field was on their side. But at length the English, by superior soldiership, prevailed, and, learning that another body of insurgents was up at Callan, in the county of Kilkenny, they marched to that town with such rapidity as to take them by surprise, and about 800 of the rebels were, together with their leader, O'Carol, put to the sword.†

On returning to Dublin, the earl of Ormond,‡ though not yet of age, was elected lord justice, and, in the following year,

\* Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. IV.

† Marleburrough.

‡ Natural son of the late or third earl of Ormond, who, says Carte, "had two illegitimate children, viz. Thomas le Botiller, alias Baccagh, prior of Kilmainham, a martial man, and lord justice of Ireland in 1408-9,—from whom came several good families of gentlemen in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary,—and James le Botiller, alias Galdie, from whom the lords of Cahir (created barons in 1542) and divers other principal gentlemen, in the counties of Tipperary and Waterford, are descended." In speaking of this lord, who was the fourth earl of Ormond, Carte describes him as "not only a man of good parts, but (which was very rare in noblemen at that time) master of a great deal of learning;" such as was even thought, he adds, sufficient "to qualify him for the highest trusts and employments, before the law deemed him fit to enjoy his estate."—*Introduct.*

held a parliament in that city, by which the statutes of Dublin and Kilkenny were again confirmed.

The experiment of the effects of a royal presence was now again (1408) resorted to in the person of Thomas, the young duke of Lancaster, but apparently not with improved success; although, in the terms on which he undertook the government, the powers and means he stipulated for, and the nature of the reforms contemplated by him, there is much that bespeaks, at least, the intention of fair and useful administration. Among other conditions, it is stipulated that, in order to strengthen the English plantation, he may be allowed to transport into Ireland, at the king's charge, one or two families from every parish in England. He also required that the demesnes of the crown should be resumed, and the act against absentees strictly enforced.

The jealousy naturally felt towards the great Anglo-Irish lords, by those Englishmen of high rank and station, who were sent over to administer the affairs of the kingdom, was strongly exemplified in the instance of the present viceroy, who—apparently, without any just grounds for such violent proceedings—caused the earl of Kildare and three of his family to be arrested, and kept the earl himself a prisoner in Dublin castle, until he had paid down the sum of 300 marks.\* It is indeed manifest, even through the scanty notices of his government transmitted to us, that the royal duke was allowed but little repose or security during his lieutenancy; and mention is made of a serious encounter at Kilmainham, in which he was desperately wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life.† No further particulars of this affray are recorded; but that it was serious would appear from the measures soon after adopted by the duke, who ordered proclamation to be made that all who were bound by their tenures to serve the king, should forthwith assemble at Ross. He also summoned a parliament to

\* Cox

† Marleborough.

meet at Kilkenny, in order to have a tallage granted.\* How far he succeeded in the object of these assemblies does not appear; the only remaining event recorded of his administration being its final close, on the 13th of March, 1409, when the prince set sail for England, leaving his brother, Thomas Butler, the prior of Kilmainham, his deputy.

In the following year a parliament was held by the prior, at Dublin, which made it treason to exact coyne and livery; and shortly after, having imprudently ventured, with about 1,500 kerns, or Irish infantry, to invade the O'Byrnes' country, one half of his followers deserted to the enemy, and he narrowly escaped a serious and disgraceful defeat.

No other event deserving of particular notice occurs in our records for the few remaining years of this reign, which was brought to a close by Henry's death, in the abbot's chamber, at Westminster, on the 20th of March, 1413.

Scantily supplied, as the historian finds himself, at this period, with the two great essentials of the historic scene, events and actors, his only resource for the means of acquiring any insight into the condition of the country lies in the materials supplied by its legal records; and, perhaps, in most cases, it is the state of the law among a people that affords the least fallible means of forming a judgment respecting their moral and social condition. Viewing Ireland with the aid of such lights, at this period, we find, in the first place, abundant evidence of the declension of English power throughout the whole kingdom. The encroachments on the Pale, by the neighbouring Irish, became every day more daring and formidable; and whereas, hitherto, the English borderers could not make war or peace with the natives without leave from the government, the necessity of such special permission was now, in consequence of the greater urgency of the danger, dispensed with; and licenses were granted to particular individuals to deal with

\* Marleborough.

“the enemy” in whatever manner or on whatsoever terms the exigence of the crisis might require.\*

For the same reason, the general interdict against holding traffic or trade with the natives, or admitting them to the English markets, was at this time withdrawn; the inhabitants of the Pale being hemmed in so closely, on every side, by the people of the country, that, without such licences as now were issued to qualify the prohibition, they ran the risk of being reduced to poverty and starvation.†

Equally obvious proofs of the sobering influence of fear in obtaining for the Irish that abatement of persecution which they would have in vain sought from justice or mercy, are to be found in other acts and measures of this period; such as the increased extension of charters of denization to the natives; the permissions to persons living in the marches to take Irish tenants; and the instances of leave given to certain individuals—in despite of the statute of Kilkenny, declaring such practices treasonable—to enter into gossipred and fosterage,‡ and even to marry with the “Irish enemy.” It is almost needless to remark, that concessions thus wrung so manifestly from fear, instead of conciliating, only added contempt to deep-rooted hate, and encouraged still further and more daring encroachments. It was accordingly in the marches, and more especially those of Meath, that lay the most frequent scenes of

\* The following is pretty much the general form of these licences:—“Rex, pro eo quod maneria et possessiones Cornelli Episcopi in Lymk. in frontura marchiarum inter Hibernicos inimicos et Anglicos rebelles sita sunt, concessit ei, tenentibus et servientibus suis quod ipsi cum dietis Hibernicis, &c. tractare possent.” &c.—*Pat. Roll*, 10 Hen. IV.

† Thus, in answer to a petition from the town of Rosse, to be allowed to trade with the Irish enemy, it is said,—“Cum villa prædicta in marchiis sita et Hibernicis inimicis undique circumvallata, non habeat unde vivere valeat, nisi solomodo exemptione, &c. victualium et aliarum parvarum quarum præfatis inimicis, ad evitandam eorum malitiam necessario vendere oportet,” &c. &c.—*Pat. Roll*, 4 Hen. IV.

‡ Licences to place English children with Irish nurses begin to abound at this period. One example will be sufficient. “Rex, pro servicio, licenciam dedit Willielmo filio Henric. Betagh quod ipse Elizam filiam suam cuidam Odoni Oraylly Hibernico dare possit ad nutriendum.”—*Pat. Roll*, 7 Hen. IV.

conflict, confusion, and bloodshed ; and the English authorities were, in consequence, driven to the humiliating expedient of buying off the hostilities of the chiefs on the borders, by means of annual pensions, under the denomination of Black Rent ;—a sort of compact which, being well known to proceed from terror, on one side, was sure to be violated without scruple when the motives were tempting, on the other.

While such was the wretched state of the border districts, the course of affairs within the Pale appears to have been hardly of a less lawless and violent character. In a petition from the commons of Ireland, attributed generally to the time of this monarch,\* we find the law officers of the crown charged with gross abuses and acts of oppression, in consequence of which, according to the petitioners, the people were harassed and impoverished, works of husbandry neglected, and many good towns and hamlets utterly ruined. It is stated, also, that, in defiance of Magna Charta, many churchmen, lords, gentlemen, and others of the king's subjects, were cast into prison without any legal process, and their lands seized and considered as forfeited. Nor was it only by a licentious soldiery that such open acts of spoliation were perpetrated, but by sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other ministers of the king. Among instances adduced in proof of this charge, it is stated that the lieutenant of Ireland himself received, in this lawless manner, eighty marks of the goods of the archbishop of Armagh, and took to the value of £40 of the goods of the archdeacon of Kildare. Of the same high functionary it is stated, together with various other such specimens of his vice-regal conduct, that he kept Sir Nicholas Alger imprisoned until he had obtained from him a missal worth ten marks, and forty marks in money. Complaint is likewise made in this petition, on the part of the commons in the county of Louth, that the king's

\* *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, edited by sir H. Nicholas, vol. II.



commissioners had issued an order, contrary to law, to assess Aghy Mac Mahon, and other Irish enemies upon that county, to the great oppression and impoverishment of his liege subjects therein; that these Irish refused to accept such food as the complainants themselves used, and were dispersed with their "caifs," nurses, and children, throughout the country, spying by day and night all the woods and fortresses; from whence the greatest possible mischief might hereafter arise.

From a memorandum on the back of this petition, it appears that, in numerous letters written at that time by the earl of Ormond, it was stated that the presence of the king was greatly desired in Ireland. But the thoughts of Henry, throughout his whole reign, were far too anxiously occupied with the care of maintaining and defending his slippery hold of the English crown, to allow him to attend to the government of his Irish realm; and accordingly, though in almost every parliament during his reign, "the danger of Ireland" was remembered, not an effort appears to have been made towards either the correction of that kingdom's turbulence, or the redress of its countless wrongs. All was left to proceed in the same headlong course of mischief which, through more than two centuries, we have now painfully tracked; and the only result at all savouring of justice, that arose out of this chaotic state of things, was the recovery by the injured natives of a considerable portion of their own rightful territories. To such an extent, indeed, had they already won back what belonged to them, that in an address delivered by the speaker of the English house of commons, we find it openly admitted "that the greater part of the lordship of Ireland" had, at this time, been "conquered" by the natives.\*

A law enacted by the parliament of the Pale, during this reign, shows that their legislation could be sometimes as capricious, as it was almost always tyrannical and unjust.

\* Lingard.

Though giving to the Irishman, on his own soil, the title of "enemy," and invariably treating him as such, they were yet more proud of him, it would seem, as a victim, than afraid of him as an enemy, since, by a law passed during this reign, they deliberately rendered it difficult for a native to quit the kingdom. By an act of their parliament, in the 11th year of this reign, it was ordained that no Irish enemy should be permitted to depart from the realm, without special leave under the great seal of Ireland; and that any subject who should seize the person and goods of a native attempting to transport himself without such licence, was to receive one moiety of his goods, while the other was to be forfeited to the crown.\*



## CHAPTER XL.

### HENRY V.

CONTINUANCE OF WARFARE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE NATIVES.—LIEUTENANCY OF SIR JOHN TALBOT—HIS MARTIAL CIRCUIT OF THE BORDERS OF THE PALE.—REDUCES TO SUBMISSION A GREAT NUMBER OF THE IRISH CHIEFS.—APPROBATION OF HIS CONDUCT BY THE LORDS OF THE PALE.—EVIL CONSEQUENCES OF HIS SUCCESS.—INTOLERANT SPIRIT OF THE ENGLISH RULERS.—IRISHMEN EXCLUDED FROM THE CHURCH OF THE ENGLISH.—THE KING SUMMONS TO HIS STANDARD IN NORMANDY A BODY OF NATIVE IRISH.—THEIR GALLANT CONDUCT.—LAWS AGAINST ABSENTEES.—THE LEINSTER CHIEF MAC MOROUGH MADE PRISONER—IS SENT TO LONDON AND COMMITTED TO THE TOWER.—IMPEACHMENT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.—PETITION OF GRIEVANCES FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE PALE.

OF the reign we have just reviewed, a great historian † has pronounced, that it produced few events worthy of being transmitted to posterity; and if this may be said, with truth, of

\* Leland, who refers to MS. Trin. Coll., Dublin.—"Those whom the English refused to incorporate with, as subjects, they would yet compel to remain as rebels or slaves . . . . . We have heard of a bridge of gold for a flying enemy, but an act of parliament to compel him to stand his ground, could only have been passed by an Irish legislature."—*Memoirs of Captain Rock*.

† Hume.

the records of England during that period, we cannot wonder that those of Ireland should be found so blank and valueless. But, barren as are the materials of our history, during the time of the fourth Henry, they are even more trivial and void of interest in the reign of his heroic successor, who, although he had been invested with the honours of knighthood in Ireland, having made there his first essay in arms, does not appear to have at any time afterwards turned his attention to the affairs of that kingdom.

After the departure of Sir John Stanley, who had succeeded the prior of Kilmainham in the government of Ireland, the nobility elected to the office of lord deputy Thomas Cranley,\* archbishop of Dublin; and, during the sitting of a parliament held by him, the Irish borderers, who always took advantage of these occasions, when the principal lords and gentry were known to be absent from their homes, made a fierce inroad into the Pale, marking their course with fire and waste. To repair the damage caused by this desperate irruption, supplies were demanded of the parliament, which that body refused to grant; and, after a session of fifteen days, was dissolved.

A succession of conflicts now ensued between the English and the Irish, in one of which, at a place called Inor, the enterprising Gascon, Janico d'Artois, met with a check; which giving encouragement to the Irish, the lord deputy found it expedient to assume the command of the troops in person. Going no farther with them than Castle Dermot, the venerable prelate remained at that place, along with his clergy, ranged in order of procession, and putting up prayers for the success of his small army. Nor did the event disappoint his hopes, as the result of the conflict, which took place at Kilkea, was victory on the side of the English.

\* Leland, Cox, and others, have transformed this name into *Cranley*. The inscription on his monument in New College Chapel, at Oxford, ought to have taught them better:—"Flori pontificum, Thomæ Cranley, &c."—See Ware, *Bishops*.

The confidence of the natives, however, in their own strength was now daily increasing; and the English of Meath sustained, this year (1414), a signal defeat from the chieftain O'Connor, with the loss of Thomas, baron of Skrine, slain in the conflict, and two or three other men of rank made prisoners. In consequence of this and other such failures, it was thought expedient to select a military man for the office of chief governor, and Sir John Talbot, of Hallamshire, lord of Furnival,\* who afterwards so nobly distinguished himself in the wars against France, was appointed lord lieutenant. Landing at Dalkey, this active officer lost no time in proceeding to accomplish the object of his mission; and, hastily collecting whatever troops he found on the spot, as none could be spared to accompany him from England, set out on a martial progress round the borders of the Pale. Beginning with O'Moore, of Ley, the viceroy invaded that chief's territory, and, in the course of two great "hostings," each a week in duration, laid waste, by burning, foraging, and all other modes of devastation, almost the whole of his lands. He also attacked and took by storm two of O'Moore's castles or strongholds, and having released from thence several English prisoners, put to death the officers of the chief who held them in charge. Thus driven to extremity, O'Moore reluctantly sued for peace, and delivered up his son, in pledge of his faith, to the lieutenant. But still further humiliation awaited this chief; he found himself compelled to join with his force the English banner, and assist in inflicting the same havoc and desolation on the territory of a brother chieftain, Mac Mahon. And here a similar result ensued; for, Mac Mahon, also in his turn overpowered, was compelled to follow, with his rude troops, to the attack of two other great Ulster captains, O'Connor and O'Hanlon. In

\* Lord Furnival by courtesy, through his wife,—having married the eldest daughter of sir Thomas Nevil, by Joan, the sole daughter and heiress of William, the last lord Furnival.

this manner did the English lord pursue his course, making of each successive chief that fell into his hands a tool and scourge for the subjection of his fellows; or, as the letter describing the expedition more briefly expresses it, "causing every Irish enemy to serve upon the other."\*

This showy and sweeping achievement occupied altogether about three months; and, although little more, as usual, had been gained by it than the outward form, without any of the reality of submission, so much satisfaction did it give to the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, that, shortly after, they sent to the king, who was then in France, a certificate, in the French language, expressing their sense of the value of this great public service. It was found eventually, however, that this circuit of the viceroy had been productive of much more evil than good; as the soldiers, being ill paid, were compelled to have recourse to the odious exactions of coyne and livery; and more was suffered by the subjects of the Pale from the revival of this scourge, than they had gained by their slight and temporary advantage over the Irish.

On the return of the king to England (1415), after his immortal victory at Azincourt, the Irish parliament, deeming it a moment highly favourable for such an appeal, prepared a petition to be laid before him, stating fully the wants and grievances of his subjects in that realm. Their object, however, was frustrated by a most barefaced stretch of power. Laurence Merbury, the lord chancellor, being himself, it is probable, interested in preventing too eager an inquiry into official abuses, refused to affix the great seal to the petition; and thus, in defiance of the will of the legislature, intercepted and set aside their remonstrance.†

\* *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, edited by sir Henry Ellis, Second Series, vol. i. letter 19.

† "Quod cum in parlamento 4 Hen. V. Thomas Crawley archiepisc. Dublin. electus fuit ad proficiscendum in Angliam ad Regem cum cunctis mandatis scriptis statutum Hiberniæ concernentem, Laur. Merbury, cancellarius, magnum sigillum eis



It is not a little curious, in perusing the minutes of the king's council for this period, to find France and Ireland alternately figuring as the scenes of English warfare; but it is also melancholy to reflect, that while the rich harvest of princely dominion so gloriously reaped, at that time, in one of these fields, has long since passed away, the fruits of the mischief sown in the other still continues in fresh and baleful luxuriance. Among the minutes of the council relating to Ireland, we find it noted that the king was to be consulted respecting the increase of the number of archers and men-at-arms, for the guard of the Irish marches; and also relating to the equipment of a barge from Chester, with men-at-arms and other soldiers;—the bows and arrows to be provided by lord Furnival, at his own expense. It is suggested, likewise, that cannon should be sent to Ireland for its defence.

A petition addressed, this year (1417), to the English parliament, from the king's subjects in Ireland, exhibits, in its rawest and most unsophisticated form, that hateful spirit of monopoly and exclusion in which the government of that realm was then, and has been almost ever since, administered. The petition, after stating that Ireland was divided into two nations, the English and the Irish, the latter of whom were the king's enemies, proceeds to the chief purport of its prayer, which was, that no Irishman should in future be presented to any ecclesiastical office or benefice; and that no bishops that were of the Irish nation should, on pain of forfeiting their temporalities, collate any clerk of that nation to a benefice, or bring with them to parliaments or councils held in Ireland any Irish servant. This notable petition, which shows how alert was then the persecuting spirit, and how much mischief it could already effect without any help from religious differences,

*apponere recusaverit:—cum prece quod dictus Laur. Merbury ponatur ad declarandum cur sic fecit.*—*Close Roll*, 1 Hen. VI.

received from the English parliament a ready assent to its insolent prayer.\*

The only symptom shown by Henry during his reign, of any interest in the fortunes of that country where he had first been made a soldier, was his summoning, in the year 1417, when about to invade France for the second time, a small body of native Irish to join him in Normandy, under the command of Thomas Butler, the martial prior of Kilmainham.† The feats of valour achieved by this troop of wild warriors, at the siege of Rouen,—so much beyond what could have been expected from so small a force,—naturally led to that overstatement of their numbers which is found in the chroniclers of both nations. “They so did their devoir,” says the English chronicler, “that none were more praised, nor did more damage to their enemies;”‡ and when, in the following year, the king had got possession of Pontoise, the Irishmen, according to the same authority, “overcame all the Isle of France, and did to the Frenchmen damages innumerable.”

In turning, wearily, over the records of these rude times, the eye is occasionally refreshed by glimpses of a somewhat

\* “Whereas the said land is divided between two nations, that is to say, the said petitioners, English and of the English nation, and the Irish nation, those enemies to our lord the king, who, by crafty designs, secretly, and by open destruction, making war, are continually purposed to destroy the said lieges and to conquer the land, the petitioners pray that remedy thereof be made.”

† Among the payments entered in the Issue Roll of this year, is the sum of 91*l*. 17*s*., for “the wages and rewards to masters and mariners of the town of Bristol, for embarking the prior of Kilmainham, 200 horsemen, and 300 foot, from Waterford in Ireland, to go to the king’s presence in France.”—*Pell Records*.

‡ Hall,—who makes their number 1600. They were armed, he says, in mail, with darts and skeins, after the manner of their country; and “were appointed to keep the north side of the army, and, in especial, the way that cometh from the forest of Lyons.”

The following is Monstrelet’s account of this gallant band:—“The king of England had with him in his company a vast number of Irish, of whom the far greatest part went on foot. One of their feet was covered, the other was naked, without having clouts, and poorly clad. Each had a target and little javelins, with large knives of a strange fashion; and those who were mounted had no saddles; but they rode very adroitly their little mountain horses.”

more civilised state of existence, in those grants of leave of absence accorded to particular individuals, to enable them to visit, for the purposes of study, the schools of Oxford and Cambridge. Others proceeded, with the view of learning the legal profession, to London; and here, the distaste avowed so insultingly by the English towards all connected with Ireland—a feeling extended to those of their own race born in that country—was most strongly and illiberally displayed. By a stretch of tyranny, unknown under former reigns, the Anglo-Irish law-students were now excluded from the inns of court.

The old offence, indeed, of absenteeism, had begun to be regarded in somewhat a new point of view; for whereas, formerly, those offending in this respect were blamed merely for their absence from Ireland, the offence now most strongly protested against, was their presence in England. In some enactments on the subject, during this reign, the effects of the practice are viewed in both these lights. Thus, in the year 1413, it was enacted by the king and parliament, that, “for the peace and quietness of England, and the increase and prosperity of Ireland, all Irishmen, Irish clerks, beggars, &c., should be removed out of England before All Saints following; with the exception of graduates in schools, serjeants and apprentices at law, &c.” After a few more such exceptions to this enactment, it is added, further, that all Irishmen holding offices or benefices in Ireland, should dwell there, for the defence of the land.

In that fierce but inglorious warfare which raged incessantly between the two races, there had occurred nothing till this year deserving of any notice, since the martial circuit of the borders of the Pale, by lord Furnival. A success, however, of some importance, was achieved, at this time, by the same commander, in consequence of which, Mac Morough, the captain of Leinster, had fallen into his hands; and how valuable was thought the possession of this representative of the old Lage-

nian kings is sufficiently manifested, by his being conveyed to London, and committed a prisoner to the Tower. Shortly after, the captain of the sept of the O'Kellys was taken prisoner by Sir William de Burgh, and 500 of his followers slain.

The lord lieutenant, having been summoned to England, (1419) left his brother, Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, to act as his deputy; and, in the April of the following year, James, earl of Ormond, who was appointed lord lieutenant, with very extensive powers, landed at Waterford. The late viceroy, lord Furnival, had, in imitation of some of his predecessors, involved himself deeply in debts; both public and private; and a parliament summoned by the earl of Ormond, soon after his arrival, in addition to subsidies granted to the king, amounting in all to 1,000 marks, made provision also for the payment of the public debts contracted by lord Furnival. In none of the proceedings relative to this lord's administration does it seem to have been sufficiently taken into account how very limited were the means placed at his disposal;—the whole of his income for the maintenance of the king's government having amounted, it appears, to little more than two thousand six hundred pounds a-year.\*

A parliament held, in the following year (1421), at Dublin, was rendered remarkable by the solemn impeachment before it of Richard O'Hedian, archbishop of Cashel, upon thirty articles of accusation brought against him by John Gese, bishop of Lismore and Waterford. The principal of these charges were, 1. That he loved none of the English nation, and was very partial to the Irish. 2. That he gave no benefice to any Englishman, and advised other bishops to follow his example. 3. That he had counterfeited the great seal and forged the king's letters patent. 4. That he designed to make himself

\* "HIBN. Johanni Domino de Furnyvall, locum-tenenti Hiberniæ pro salva custodia ejusdem a xxxo die Januar. anno secundo usque primum diem Augusti prox. sequen. per dimidium annum 1333l. 6s. 8d."—See Ellis's *Original Letters*, &c.

king of Munster. 5. That he had taken a ring from the image of St. Patrick, which had been an offering of the earl of Desmond, and made a present of it to his concubine.\*

These charges, which bear upon the face of them the marks of party spirit, were never, it is supposed, prosecuted: having originated, doubtless, in envy of the munificent and popular character of this prelate, who, besides his generous feeling towards the natives, so much complained of in these charges, was distinguished also for his zeal and bounty in fostering religious establishments; and, among other public services by which he is honourably remembered, restored, from a state of almost utter dilapidation and ruin, the ancient cathedral of St. Patrick at Cashel.

From the same parliament, a petition, praying for the reformation of the state of the land, was transmitted to the king,† through the hands of the archbishop of Armagh and Sir Christopher Preston; and the direct insight it affords into the abuses and malpractices then prevailing, opens so clearly to us the internal condition of the Pale at that period, that—in our dearth, especially of more lively historical materials—such a record is of no ordinary value.

This petition consists of nineteen articles, from which the following are selected, and given nearly as they stand in the original record. 1. Complaint is made of the various extortions, oppressions, non-payments, levies of coyne and livery, practised by the lieutenants and their deputies; and also their non-execution of the laws:—all which evils, it is added, are incurable, except by the presence of the king himself. 2. The petitioners state that all the supplies and revenues that had been granted for the purposes of warfare and the defence of the land had been hitherto applied by the king's deputies to their

\* Ware's Bishops.—Prynne, p. 818.

† Close Roll, 1 Henry VI. It appears rather doubtful whether this petition is to be referred to the last year of Henry V. or the first of his successor.



own private uses; and they pray that the king will retain in future, as he does at present, all such revenues in his own hands. 3. They require that there should be a coinage of money in Dublin, in the same manner as in England; and that a mint, with all necessary officers, should be there established. 4. Referring to the submission and homage made to Richard II. by certain of the Irish enemies, and the recognizances entered into by them, payable in the apostolic chamber, to keep their oaths of allegiance, the petitioners pray of the king to certify the same to the pope, in order that he may proceed to enforce strong measures against the offenders.\* 5. They complain of the conduct, already noticed, of the lord chancellor Merbury, in refusing to fix the great seal to the petition of the parliament; and pray that he may be required to state his reasons for such refusal. 6. Owing to the wars and the intolerable burdens of the country, the great landholders, the artificers and workmen, are daily emigrating, they complain, to England, in consequence whereof the land is left uncultivated and undefended: for this they pray some remedy. 7. They state that the late Sir John Stanley, when holding the office of lord deputy, paid little, if any, of his debts, and died enriched by acts of extortion and oppression: they therefore pray that his heirs and executors may be compelled to come into Ireland, to discharge his just debts and make good his obligations. 8. They extol, as an example worthy of imitation, the conduct of Thomas Cranley, archbishop of Dublin, who had succeeded Stanley as lord justice, and always deported himself in that office benignly and justly. 9. Of Sir John Talbot, they allege, that during the period of his government, he was guilty of numerous acts of extortion and cruelty, and paid little, if any, of his debts; and they pray that he also may be compelled to come to Ireland, to discharge his just obligations, and repair

\* Cum prece quod Rex Papam de præmissis certiores faciat, ad crucidium super eos habendum."

the consequences of his oppression. 10. Since the coronation of the present king, no commissioner, they complain, had been sent over to Ireland, as was usual in the times of his predecessors, to make inquiry into the conduct and measures of the lord deputy and other great officers: and they pray, therefore, that such a commission may be now sent. 11. The conduct of their present lord lieutenant, James earl of Ormond, is praised by them, and held up as an example; because, on entering into his office, he had made a declaration in parliament that he would observe the laws, would pay his just debts, and also, at the close of his administration, would assign over lands without any reserve, until all such debts should be fully and fairly discharged: and likewise because that, through him, the extortion of coyne and livery had been abolished. This earl was prepared, they add, to effect still further good, if possessed of the means, and they therefore pray of the king that such means should be supplied. 12. They complain that a number of illiterate persons were allowed to hold offices in the exchequer, performing the duties of them by deputy, and receiving from thence great incomes, owing to the excessive fees usually extorted from the suitors in that court. In many instances, two, and even three, places were held by one individual, and the duties of them all, of course, proportionably ill performed. For this they pray the king to grant a remedy. 13. English law students, they complain, going over from Ireland, even though born in the best part of that country, were, by a late regulation, excluded from the inns of court, in England, though in all preceding periods from the time of the conquest of Ireland, they had been admissible into these societies.

Of the remaining articles of this memorial, the seventeenth alone is of sufficient interest to be cited, wherein complaint is made, that although the statute 3 Ric. II., concerning absentee proprietors, contains an exception in favour of studious persons, it yet daily happened that Irish students, devoting their leisure

to learned pursuits, in English schools and universities, were, under colour of said statute, obstructed and annoyed.\* It was therefore prayed that a declaration of the real intention of this statute should be certified to the lord deputy and other officers of the Irish government.

During the last year of this reign, a succession of conflicts took place between the English and the natives, attended with the usual vicissitudes of their warfare on both sides. Some success having been gained by the Irish, in Ley, the lord justice invaded that country, encountered the chieftain O'Moore, and, as the chronicler describes the event, "defeated his terrible army in the Red Bog of Athy."† He then, for the four following days, burned and wasted the lands of the rebels, until they themselves came and sued for peace. About the same time, the chief O'Dempsey, notwithstanding his oath of allegiance, made an irruption into the Pale, and retook the castle of Ley from the earl of Kildare, to whom the lord justice had restored it. In reference to this act of O'Dempsey, an old historian, extending his charge to the Irish in general, remarks, that, notwithstanding their oaths and pledges, "they are no longer true than while they feel themselves the stronger;"—an accusation to which, supposing it to be well founded, we may, with but too much truth, answer, or rather retort, that, if any excuse could be offered for such perfidy, on the part of the Irish, it was to be found in the still grosser perfidy of those with whom they had to deal.

In the mean time, Mac Mahon, the chief lord of Orgiel, or

\* "Quod, quamvis statutum 3 R. II. de possessionariis absentibus exceptionem continet in favorem studiosorum, tamen studiosi Hibernici, literis in scholis et universitatibus vacantes, colore dicti statuti indes vexantur."

† Campion,—who adds also a miracle to the event:—"In the Red Bog of Athy (the sun almost lodged in the West, and miraculously standing still in his epicycle the space of three hours, till the feat was accomplished, and no pit in that moor annoying either horse or man, on his part), he vanquished O'Moore and his terrible army."

Uriel,\* had in like manner broken out in full career of devastation. But the indefatigable lord justice, after having disposed of the other insurgent chiefs, reduced Mac Mahon also to obedience; and thus closed this triumphant campaign, during which the clergy of Dublin went twice every week, in solemn procession, praying for the success of his arms.

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## CHAPTER XLI.

### HENRY VI.

**ALLIANCE BY MARRIAGE AND OTHER TIES BETWEEN THE TWO RACES.—ADOPTION BY THE ENGLISH OF THE LAWS AND USAGES OF THE NATIVES.—GREAT POWER OF THE ANGLO-IRISH LORDS.—THEIR FEUDS AMONG THEMSELVES.—THE EARL OF MARCH MADE LORD LIEUTENANT.—HIS DEATH.—SEVERE MEASURES AGAINST ABSENTEES.—ROMANTIC MARRIAGE OF THE EARL OF DESMOND—IS FORCIBLY DEPRIVED OF HIS EARLDOM AND ESTATES.—LARGE GRANT OF LANDS TO HIS SUCCESSOR.—ARTICLES OF ACCUSATION AGAINST THE EARL OF ORMOND.—HE IS APPOINTED LORD LIEUTENANT.—GRANTS AND PRIVILEGES BESTOWED UPON DESMOND.—RENEWAL OF THE CHARGES AGAINST ORMOND—IS CONTINUED AT THE HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT.—SAMPLE OF ANGLO-IRISH LEGISLATION.—RICHARD DUKE OF YORK APPOINTED VICEROY.—ORMOND COMMITTED TO THE TOWER OF LONDON—HIS INTENDED DUEL WITH THE PRIOR OF KILMAINHAM—THEIR DUEL PREVENTED BY THE INTERPOSITION OF THE KING.—RECOVERY BY THE NATIVES OF THEIR TERRITORIES.—CONSEQUENT REDUCTION OF THE ENGLISH POWER AND REVENUE.—WISE AND CONCILIATORY POLICY OF YORK—IS CALLED AWAY TO ENGLAND—TAKES REFUGE IN IRELAND AFTER HIS DEFEAT AT BLORE HEATH—AGAIN TAKES THE FIELD, ATTENDED BY VOLUNTEERS FROM IRELAND—IS DEFEATED AND SLAIN AT WAKEFIELD.**

We have already had occasion to remark, as one of the anomalies that mark the destiny of this nation, how small is the portion of Ireland's history that relates to the affairs of the Irish people themselves. Supplanted, as they were, on their own soil, by strangers and enemies, the task of dictating as

\* "Of Monaghan (says Ware), called in Irish, Uriel, Mac Mahon was the chief lord." But, according to Seward, Orgiel, or Uriel, comprised the present counties of Louth, Monaghan, and Armagh.

well their history as their laws fell early into foreign hands, and the people of the soil, the indigenous Irish, were only remembered, to be calumniated and coerced. In the course of time, however, a new race and new relationships sprang up, from the connexions, by marriage and otherwise, of the English colonists and the natives, which worked a change even more in the political than in the social condition of the country. The conquerors, yielding to these natural ties, were, in their turn, conquered by the force of the national spirit, and became, as was said in later times, even more Irish than the Irish themselves. Even English gentlewomen had begun to receive, without any repugnance, the tender addresses of the "Irish enemy;" and it appears from letters patent of the reign of Henry IV., that the fierce and formidable chief, Art Mac Morough, could boast of an English heiress for his consort.\*

The old laws and customs of the country were deeply, as we have seen, imbued with the primitive character of the people; and, if their law of Eric may be thought over-lenient to the crime of murder, and in so far indicating a too tolerant view of acts of violence, their customs of Gossipred and Fostering, on the other hand, evince a generous desire to enlarge the circle of the social affections, by adding to the ties of consanguinity those of long habit and mutual good services. Brought up in general by Irish nurses, and consorting from early childhood with their fosterbrethren, it was not to be expected that the sons of the middle class of the English should remain uninfluenced by examples so constantly acting upon them, and the force of which, through every succeeding generation, must have increased.

Such were, in fact, the effects that naturally began to unfold themselves among the descendants of the great English

\* Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. IV.—"Una cum hereditate Elizabethæ uxoris suæ de baronia de Norragh." It is right to add, however, that, in consequence of this marriage the lady's estate was seized on, as a forfeiture, by the crown.



lords; and all such ancient customs of the land as tended to facilitate the never-ceasing work of plunder and massacre, were, of course, the first and the most eagerly adopted by them. In this manner the old Irish taxes of coyne and livery, which gave a right to demand free quarters for the soldiery without any responsibility or restraint, and which, in a country where warfare was perpetual, could not be otherwise than a perpetual scourge, was first made a part of the military policy of the English by Maurice Fitz-Thomas, afterwards earl of Desmond.\*

So soon, and to such an extent were the lords of the Pale inoculated with this Irish spirit, that in the reign of Edward III., as we have seen, Nicholas Fitz-Maurice, fourth earl of Kerry, joined openly the ranks of the natives. Attempts were made, but unsuccessfully, in the course of the same reign, to dislodge this growing Anglo-Irish power. But, having taken root so early in the formation of the colony, and established the next best right of possession (though still at an immeasurable distance) to that of the natives themselves, this proud and high-spirited race succeeded in baffling all the efforts of the English government to reduce them; and, at the period we have now reached, owing to the distraction of the attention of England to other objects, had attained, in some instances, an extent of ascendancy, no less prejudicial to the dignity and interests of the crown, than it was oppressive to the people subjected to their dominion.

Of these great lords, the earl of Ormond, who held the office of lord lieutenant at the time of the accession of Henry VI., was one of the most active and powerful; and a factious feud between him and the Talbots, kept alive, as it was, and

\* "But when the English had learned it (the extortion of Coyne and Livery), they used it with more insolency, and made it more intolerable; for this oppression was not temporary or limited either to place or time; but, because there was every where a continual war, either offensive or defensive, and every lord of a country and every other made war at his pleasure, it became universal and perpetual."—*Davies*.

diffused by a multitude of adherents on both sides, continued to disturb the public councils through a great part of this reign. Soon after Henry's accession, the office of lord lieutenant was resigned by Ormond to Edward Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, who appointed as his deputy, until he should be able to assume the government in person, Edward Dantsey, bishop of Meath.\* When this prelate presented to the council the letters patent of the earl conferring his appointment, strong objections were made to the sufficiency of the commission, on the ground that the letters were sealed with the earl's private seal; and Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, who was then chancellor of the kingdom, peremptorily refused, till further advised, to acknowledge the bishop as deputy. But this captious opposition, though giving a foretaste of what was to be expected from the bold and thwarting spirit of this prelate, does not appear to have been long persisted in; as, from a subsequent record, we gather, that the council agreed to acknowledge the bishop's appointment.†

Shortly after, announcement was made, by a king's letter to archbishop Talbot, that the earl of March, with a large army, was about to proceed, with all possible despatch, to Ireland;‡ and, in the course of the year 1423, this prince landed on the Irish shores. But the flattering hope held out by his presence was of very brief duration. Whatever expectation might have been formed, from his nearness to the throne, that his administration would have proved both popular and efficient, such anticipations were soon at an end, as at the beginning of the

\* About three years after, a bill of indictment was found against this prelate, at Trim, for stealing a cup of the value of 13s. 4d. out of the church of Taveragh, in the diocese of Meath. After rather a complicated process, which may be found detailed in Ware (*History of the Bishops*), he was acquitted of this singular charge, for which it may be presumed there was not the slightest foundation, as, shortly after, he was again intrusted with the high office of lord deputy.

† The reason given for thus yielding, is "prout in concordia prædicta contineatur."

‡ "Ad Hiberniam cum magno exercitu cum omni festinatione possibili est venturus."—*Close Roll*, 2 Hen. VI.

following year he was seized with the plague, and died in his own castle at Trim.

This prince's successor in the administration (A. D. 1425) was the illustrious warrior, lord Talbot; the same whose services in this country, some years before, had received so honourable a testimony from the lords of the Pale, and who afterwards won for himself, in the French wars, the title of the English Achilles. Not quite a year had the government been in the hands of this nobleman, when it again fell to the earl of Ormond; and from that period, through the ten following years, there ensued, at intervals nearly annual, a succession of chief governors, during none of whose administrations any event much worthy of notice occurred,—with the sole exception, perhaps, of the lieutenancy of Sir Thomas Stanley, in the course of which some seasonable checks were given to the increasing incursions of the Irish borderers. Taking advantage of the distractions consequent on the king's minority, the natives (A. D. 1432), had risen in considerable numbers, and were from every side encroaching on the Pale. The lord lieutenant, however, leading against them the power of Meath and Uriel, made a great slaughter of their force, and took one of their chiefs, Moyle O'Donnell, prisoner.\*

The influx of the Irish into England continued, in both countries, to be a constant subject of complaint and legislation; and, in consequence of a petition to the king, presented by the English house of commons, representing the manifold crimes, of every description, committed by the Irish in England, it was enacted, that all persons born in Ireland should quit England within a time limited; exceptions being made in favour of beneficed clergymen, graduates in either university, persons who held lands in England, were married there, or had English parents; and even these to give security for their future good behaviour. In the present year (A. D. 1438), likewise,

\* Cox.

during the lieutenancy of Lionel lord Wells, while a second law was passed in England, obliging Irishmen to return home, there was likewise a statute made in Ireland, to prevent the passage of any more of them into England.\*

Among those powerful Anglo-Irish lords, who, by their own extortion, and the large grants of lands and liberties so recklessly lavished upon them by the crown, had been raised into so many independent counts palatine, the earl of Desmond held at this time the most prominent station.† This lord was uncle to Thomas, the sixth earl of Desmond, whose romantic marriage, and subsequent fate, show how high, in those times, were the notions entertained of noble birth. Returning late one evening from hunting, the young lord, finding himself benighted, sought shelter under the roof of one of his tenants near Abbeyfeal; and seeing, for the first time, his host's daughter, the beautiful Catherine Mac Cormac, became so enamoured of her charms, that he soon after married her. So dishonouring to the high blood of the Desmonds was this alliance considered, that it drew down upon him the anger and enmity of all his family. Friends, followers, and tenants at once abandoned him; and even assisted his uncle James, according to the old Irish custom, to expel him from his estates, and force him to surrender the earldom.‡ Thus persecuted, the unhappy young lord retired to Rouen, in Normandy, where he died in the year 1420, and was buried in a convent of friars preachers, at Paris;—the king of England, it is added, attending his funeral.

In addition to his other princely possessions, the present earl of Desmond received, at this time (A. D. 1439), a grant

\* Cox.

† Among the services by which Desmond rose into such favour, was the activity shown by him, in the first year of this reign, when, raising an army of 5000 men, in Munster, he marched against O'Connor and Meyler Bermingham, who, with a large force, had broken into the borders of the Pale.—*Pat. Roll*, 1 Hen. VI.

‡ This forcible succession, however, does not appear to have been immediately recognised by the crown, as, in a letter to Lord John Furnival, cited by Lynch (*Legat Institutions, &c.*), the new earl is merely called James of Desmond.

from Robert Fitz-Geoffry Cogan, of all his lands in Ireland; being no less than half of what was then called the kingdom of Cork;—an estate which ought to have descended by the heirs general to the Carew and Courcy families, but which the illegal conveyance from Cogan afforded to Desmond a pretence for appropriating to himself.\*

While thus this lord and a few other Anglo-Irish nobles were extending enormously their power and wealth, the king's government was fast declining as well in revenue as in influence and strength. Sir Thomas Stanley, when lord lieutenant, had brought over to England a most wretched account of the state of affairs, from the privy council, wherein, entreating that the king himself would come to Ireland, they added, that his presence would be a sovereign comfort to his people, and the surest remedy for all the evils of which they complained. So little did this state of things improve, that, a few years after, in the time of the lieutenancy of lord Wells, a parliament held in Dublin (A. D. 1442), agreed to send over Archbishop Talbot, to represent to the king the miserable condition of Ireland; and to state, in proof of it, that the public revenue of the kingdom fell short of the necessary expenditure by the annual sum of £1456.†

During a part of the period of lord Wells's lieutenancy, Ormond condescended to act as his deputy; and, during that interval, had a grant made to him of the temporalities of the see of Cashel for ten years.‡ Seeing reason to fear that this highly favoured and popular nobleman would be himself again selected to fill the office of chief governor, the party opposed to him, at the head of which was the intractable archbishop

\* Lodge.—Smith, *Hist. of Cork*, vol. i. book i. chap. 1.

† There was in England, during this reign, a still more extraordinary decrease of the hereditary revenue of the crown, till, at last, says Lingard, it "dwindled to the paltry sum of five thousand pounds."

‡ After the death of archbishop O'Hedian, the see of Cashel "was for ten years vacant, and the temporalities all that time were set to farm to James Butler, earl of Ormond."—Ware, *Bishops*.



Talbot, resolved to defeat, if possible, an appointment so utterly adverse to all their designs. With this view, in a parliament assembled at Dublin (A. D. 1441), certain "Articles" were agreed to, and messengers appointed to convey them to the king, of which the chief object was to prevent Ormond from being made lieutenant of Ireland.\*

These articles commenced with requesting the king to "ordain a mighty lord of England" to be the lieutenant;—adding, that they, the parliament, considered it most expedient to confer that office upon an English lord, because the people would more readily "favour and obey him than any man of that land's birth;" inasmuch as Englishmen "keep better justice, execute the laws, and favour more the common people than any Irishman ever did, or is ever like to do." The articles then represent how necessary it is that the lieutenant should be an active and courageous man, such as would "keep the field and make head against the king's enemies; none of which qualities," it is added, had been "seen or found in the said earl, for both he is aged, unwieldy, and unlusty to labour, and hath lost in substance all his castles, towns, and lordships that he had in Ireland. Wherefore it is not likely that he should keep, conquer, nor get any grounds to the king, that thus hath lost his own."

To these general charges against the earl are subjoined specific instances of his maladministration and abuse of power; and, among others, it is stated, that when he before governed Ireland, he "had made Irishmen, and grooms, and pages of his household, knights of the shire;† that he had allowed peers to absent themselves from parliament on the payment of

\* Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, vol. vi.

† From what is known of the methods employed for packing parliaments in those days, we may easily believe that, though much exaggerated, this charge might not have been wholly without foundation. In a letter, addressed about this time by the duchess of Norfolk to some of her husband's adherents, she represents to them, how necessary it is, "that my lord should have at this time, in the parliament, such per

large fines, which he applied to his own instead of the king's use; that he had put several persons wantonly in prison, and then made them pay large sums for their ransom." The king is reminded, in conclusion, that Ormond had been "impeached of many great treasons by the three previous lord lieutenants, which charges still remained undetermined;" and the archbishop adds, speaking in his own person, there have been also "many and divers other great things misdone by the said earl, which I may not declare because of mine order." \*

Strongly enforced as were these charges, and containing much that, with all due allowance for party malice, may have deserved reprehension if not punishment, it appears from the result, that but little importance was attached to the proceeding by the English council. For, it was at the close of the year 1441, that these articles of impeachment were laid before the king, and on the 27th of February following, the earl of Ormond was appointed lieutenant of Ireland; with the peculiar privilege, too, of absenting himself from his government for many years, without incurring the penalty of the statute of Richard II., against absentees.†

The effects of the triumph gained by Ormond over his accusers, were shared in also by his powerful friend and supporter, Desmond, on whom, already enriched and aggrandised beyond what was safe in a subject, new favours and new distinctions were now showered. It was about this time that he obtained a patent for the government and custody of the counties of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry;‡ and, not long af-

sons as belong unto him, and be of his menial servants." See, on this point, Mackintosh (*Hist. of England*, vol. ii. chap. 2.), who gets rid of the difficulty by observing, that "menial," at that period, was a word "which had scarcely any portion of its modern sense."

\* Proceedings of the Privy Council.

† Pryne, 315.

‡ These counties had been in reality possessed by the Desmonds ever since the reign of Edward II., when, says Davies, the greatest part of the freeholders "were banished out of the counties of Kerry, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, and Desmond and his kinsmen, allies and followers, which were then more Irish than English. did

ter, a privilege was accorded to him, no less remarkable in itself, than for the grounds on which it was granted. Having represented to the king the necessity he was under of directing in person the affairs of these counties, and likewise the dangers to which he was exposed in travelling to parliament, through parts of the country inhabited solely by the king's enemies he obtained permission, during his life, to absent himself from all future parliaments, sending an authorized and competent proxy in his place; and upon this licence was founded the privilege claimed by the succeeding earls of Desmond, of not entering into walled towns, nor attending any parliament except at their pleasure.\*

In the same patent which granted this whimsical exemption there was also a power given to him to purchase any lands he pleased by whatsoever service they were holden of the crown;—a licence intended, it was supposed, to screen his late illegal grant from Cogan, and which, by the lax notions it gave rise to, respecting titles and inheritances, tended to unsettle very much the rights and relations of property throughout the kingdom.

Meanwhile the dissension between Ormond and archbishop Talbot continued to occupy public attention, and, as a letter of the council expresses it, “to cause divisions and rumours among the king's people.” To Giles Thorndon, therefore, who was then treasurer of Ireland, and less closely connected, perhaps, than most of his official brethren, with either of the two contending factions, was assigned the duty of collecting and laying before the king a correct account of the state of affairs in that realm. The articles drawn up, in obedience to this order,† by Thorndon (A. D. 1442), confirm but too strongly the

enter and appropriate those lands to themselves; Desmond himself taking what scopes he liked best, for his demesnes in every county, and reserving an Irish seigniority out of the rest.”

\* Cox.—Lodge.

† Minutes of the Proceedings of the Privy Council, vol. v.

painful impression, which all other existing records of those times convey, of the strife, turbulence, and unprincipled faction which then prevailed, as well among the ruling powers of the land, as throughout the whole of its divided and distracted population. Attributing the "discord, partiality, and division," which had been so long raging, not less to one of the prevailing factions than the other, he states that, in consequence of these dissensions, the spirit of party had become so violent in the king's council, and in all his courts, that "no business, whether for the royal service, or for suit of party, was allowed due process, nor execution in law, where it touched any of the said two parties." He stated, likewise, that the officers of the exchequer durst not adopt legal measures for recovering money due to the king, from the fear of being dismissed from their offices at every new change of lord lieutenant or lord justice; and that such was also the case in all the courts of law.\*

In these articles, which are of considerable length, and contain several other instances of the effects of faction and misgovernment, no particular charge is alleged against any individual, of either party. But early in the year 1444, in consequence of a difference between the two factions respecting the appointment of a deputy treasurer, a formal complaint was exhibited by Thorndon against the earl, in a bill of fifteen articles, charging him with having appropriated part of the revenue to his own purposes, and also compromised debts due to the crown. Among the instances brought in proof of this latter charge, it is stated that an English rebel, who had been guilty of slaying Sir Richard Wellesley, in the field, having agreed with the council to pay forty marks for his pardon, the earl received this sum from him, appropriated it to his own use, and then granted the pardon for a fine of 6s. 8d.;—thus "deceivably," it is added, "making the king lose forty marks." †

\* Minutes of the Proceedings of the Privy Council, vol. v.

† *Ibid.*

Another accusation brought against him in these articles was, that he had proposed a bill to the commons in two parliaments and two great councils, declaring that "whoever complained to the king of any wrong done to him in Ireland, should forfeit all his lands and goods, unless the complaint was made under the great seal, or by an act of parliament, or great council." The object of this bill, it is added, was to benefit Ormond himself, and by the following notable contrivance:—on the lands thus forfeited becoming the property of the crown, the earl would nominally grant them to some friend of his own, who would re-grant them to Ormond and his heirs; and if, on the other hand, persons whose lands and goods were seized did not complain, the earl would be able to retain them as long as he continued lieutenant. The commons, however (adds Thorndon), knowing well the corrupt and evil intent of the lieutenant, rejected the bill, and upon the sound and constitutional grounds, that "it was treason to make a statute to prevent a man from complaining to his king." \*

Notwithstanding all these vehement and repeated attacks upon him, Ormond still continued lord lieutenant through the two following years, and on the 17th of July, 1446, was succeeded by John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who, in consideration of his great military services, was soon after advanced to the dignity of earl of Waterford† and baron of Dungarvan.‡ It ought not to be forgotten, as a worthy sample of the legislation of this period, that, in a parliament held by this earl,

\* Proceedings of the Privy Council.

† The following addition to this grant presents a melancholy picture of the state of Ireland at that period:—"together with jura regalia, wreck, &c., from Youghall to Waterford, because that country is waste, *et non ad proficuum sed perditum nostrum redundat.*"

‡ This transfer from Desmond of the barony of Dungarvan, so long the inheritance of his ancestors, was, doubtless, one of the consequences of his wilful seclusion from public life. In the following reign, however, the honour of Dungarvan was restored to the Desmond family.



at Trim, 1447, it was enacted, that "any man who does not keep his upper lip shaved, may be treated as an Irish enemy." \* Another enactment of the same parliament was, that "if an Irishman who is denizened kill or rob, he may be used as an Irish enemy, and slain on the spot."

The practice of conferring the lieutenancy of Ireland on some personage of the royal blood, though hitherto attended with but little advantage, appears to have been still a favourite experiment; and the duke of York, the lineal heir to the crown of England, though as yet his claim had remained latent, was the personage selected for that office. This prince was nephew to the last earl of March, who died in Ireland, at the commencement of this reign (A. D. 1449), and from whom he inherited the united estates of Clarence and Ulster, together with the patrimonial possessions of the family of March. The list of his titles sufficiently shows how large was the stake he possessed in that country; as, besides being earl of Ulster and Cork, he was lord of Connaught, Clare, Trim, and Meath, —thus including in his inheritance at least a third part of the kingdom. It was not, however, through any wish of his own that he had now been selected for the office of viceroy. On the contrary, recalled abruptly from France, where some years before he had succeeded the duke of Bedford as regent, it was most reluctantly he exchanged the prospects which that honourable field of enterprise opened, for the confined sphere of Irish warfare, and the yet more petty and inglorious strife of the rival factions of the English Pale.

Well aware that he had been removed from his command to make way for the duke of Somerset, his hereditary jealousy of the house of that nobleman, from whence alone he could fear competitorship for the crown, became from thenceforth increased; and, turning to account the slight thus thrown upon

\* This absurd act remained unrepealed till the second year of the reign of Charles I.

him, he resolved to secure for himself such a hold on the warm affections of the Irish, as might enable him to render them subservient to the advancement of his further purposes. He also refused to accept the office on any but high and advantageous terms, which were reduced to writing by indenture between the king and himself, and besides extending the period of his lieutenancy to ten years, and allowing him, in addition to the revenue of the crown in Ireland, supplies of treasure also from England, agreed that he might let the king's lands to farm, might place and displace all officers as he chose, might levy and wage what number of soldiers he thought fit, and appoint a deputy, and return to England at his pleasure.

The duke's predecessor, the earl of Shrewsbury, had, immediately on his return to England, accused Ormond to the king of treason, in consequence of which charge, this earl was committed to the Tower, and strictly prohibited, unless with the royal permission, from going above forty miles from London, except on a pilgrimage to Canterbury. The same serious charge had been advanced against him in a tract written upon the abuses of his government, by archbishop Talbot.\* But the most fiery of Ormond's accusers on this occasion was Thomas Fitz-Thomas, prior of Kilmainham, who having likewise impeached him of treason, the earl appealed to arms, and a day was appointed to decide their quarrel by combat. In the mean time Ormond obtained permission to remove to the neighbourhood of Smithfield, "for his breathing and more ease," and likewise in order to prepare and train himself for the fight; while the warlike prior employed the interval in learning "certain points of arms" from one Philip Trehere, a fishmonger of London, whom the king paid to instruct him.† The parties

\* Entitled "*De Abusu Regiminis Jacobi, Comitis Ormoniae, dum esset Locumtenens Hiberniae.*"—See Ware's *Writers*.

† In the Issue Roll of this year, we find payments to Philip Trehere, fishmonger, "in consideration of the pains and attendance undergone by him, at the king's especial command, in instructing the prior of Kilmainham, who lately appealed the earl of

met, it appears, on the ground (A. D. 1446), but were prevented from proceeding to extremities by the interposition of the king.\*

The duke of York was not long in discovering that his Irish revenues would afford him but a scanty supply; the English power having now shrunk within such narrow limits, that, with the exception of the four counties of the Pale, and some parts of the earldom of Ulster, on the sea-coast, the whole country was at this time possessed by the natives.† While thus disappointed of the revenues counted upon from that kingdom, he found the supplies from England likewise ill paid; and how great were the straits to which he was reduced, may be collected from a letter addressed by him to his brother, the earl of Salisbury, during a petty war he was engaged in with the chief Mac Geoghegan, and three or four other Irish lords.‡ These chiefs, it appears, in conjunction with some English rebels, had burnt down a large town, called Rathmore,—belonging to the duke, as part of his inheritance, in Meath,—together with a number of the adjoining villages, where, it is added, they had “murdered and brent both men, women, and children, withouten mercie.” After detailing these events in

Ormond of high treason, in certain points of arms.” Another item of disbursement about the same time, shows how frequently Smithfield was the scene of such conflicts. “To sir Richard Vernon, knight, for the cost of sixty men-at-arms, provided for the protection of Smithfield, during the time of the duels fought there between divers parties.”

\* Stow,—who adds, that the king interfered “at the instance of certain preachers and doctors of London.”

† Davies.

‡ Holinshed.—Another letter, without date, but supposed also to belong to the times we have reached, and purporting to be addressed by some inhabitants of the city and county of Cork, to the king’s council in Dublin, describes, in a truly Irish tone, the state of affairs in that county. Tracing the ruin of the English interests in those parts to the dissensions of the great nobles, the letter proceeds to say, “At last these English lords fell at variance among themselves, till the Irish men were stronger than they, and drove them away, and now have the whole country under them; but that the lord Roche, the lord Courcy, and the lord Barry only remain, with the least part of their ancestors’ possessions; and young Barry in there upon the king’s portion, paying his grace never a penny rent.”

his letter to Salisbury, he proceeds to say, "Unless my payment be had in all haste, to have men of war in defence and safeguard of this land, my power cannot stretch to keep it in the king's obeisance; and very necessity will compel me to come into England, to live there upon my poor livelihood. I had liever be dead than any inconvenience should fall thereunto by my default; for it shall never be chronicled nor remain in scripture (by the grace of God) that Ireland was lost by my negligence. And therefore I beseech you, right worshipful, and with all my heart entirely beloved brother, that you will hold to your hands instantly, that my payment may be had at this time in eschewing all inconveniences."

The same conscientious sense of duty which breathes so strongly throughout this letter, appears to have pervaded the whole of this amiable prince's conduct, as well in France as in Ireland; and the firm but fair spirit in which, as far as we can learn, he dealt with the natives, treating them as enemies only while they resisted, and repressing without also insulting and trampling upon them, afforded an example worthy of imitation by all succeeding chief governors. In reducing Mac Geoghegan to obedience, so well had he managed to divest the transaction of all appearance of harsh or humiliating compulsion, that the simple chief himself, on returning among his sept, boasted proudly that he "had given peace to the king's lieutenant."

Equally politic was the viceroy's conduct and deportment towards those Anglo-Irish grandees, on the skilful management of whom depended mainly the peace and well-being of the kingdom. Having a son born in the castle of Dublin,—George, afterwards duke of Clarence, known for his short stormy life and singular death,—he chose the earls of Ormond and Desmond to be sponsors for the young prince; thus connecting himself with these two powerful lords by the tie, so sacred among the Irish, of gossipred, and thereby furnishing

them with an additional motive for zeal and fidelity in his service.

But the aspect of affairs in England had now (A. D. 1450) begun to foretoken events, in the ultimate issue of which the future fortunes of the house of York were most deeply involved. The formidable insurrection that had just broken out, headed by an Irishman named John Cade, proposed for its object, as some of the conspirators confessed on the scaffold, to place Richard duke of York on the throne of England; and by the court it was even imagined that this prince had secretly encouraged Cade's rebellion, in order to sound the feelings of the people, and learn how far they were likely to support him in his pretensions to the crown. Apprised speedily of this state of affairs by some of those friends he had left to watch over his interests, and who were now of opinion that he ought to appear on the scene in person, the duke, without waiting to ask permission, left his government, and landing in England, proceeded, to the great terror of the court, towards London, having collected on his way a retinue of about 4,000 men.

The important affairs in which this prince was subsequently concerned, fall mostly within the province of English history. But as he remained to the last connected with Ireland, and still carried with him the good wishes and sympathy of her people, a few of the more important stages of his course may not irrelevantly be noticed. At the battle of St. Albans (A. D. 1455), the first of that series of sanguinary conflicts, which for thirty years after kept England torn and convulsed, the fortune of the day declared for York, and the king himself fell into his hands. Appointed twice Protector of the realm, on neither occasion does he appear to have availed himself of those opportunities of increasing and strengthening his own power, which the position attained by him presented, and of which a more ambitious or less conscientious person would not have hesitated to take advantage. Accordingly his conduct,



through the whole of this struggle, wore that appearance of irresolution and changeableness which the honest workings of a cautious and scrupulous mind would be sure, in a crisis so trying, to present.

The dispersion of the Yorkists, after their defeat at Blore Heath, and the panic and distrust which then spread through their ranks, having rendered their cause for a time hopeless, the enterprising Warwick, who had been the soul of the late confederacy, made his way back to Calais, while the duke of York fled through Wales, with his youngest son, to Ireland, and was there received with all that enthusiasm which his cause and character had excited, not only among the people of the Pale, but even in the hearts of the poor ill-treated natives themselves.

In the course of the eight years during which he had been absent from that country, a succession of deputies had been appointed by him; among whom the most conspicuous were James V., earl of Ormond (who, before his father's death, had been created earl of Wiltshire), and Thomas earl of Kildare. By most of these governments parliaments were held, of which the enactments are still on record; but confined as was now the sphere through which the power of the government of the Pale extended, the acts of its Parliament, except when illustrative of the general state of the country, are little worthy of historical notice.

By one of those anomalies not unfrequent in the relations between the two countries, at the very time when the duke was resuming his duties as viceroy, in Ireland, the parliament of England was employed in passing an act of attainder against him, his duchess, and their two sons. But the cause of the White Rose was now manifestly on the eve of triumph, having rallied around its banner, not merely the partisans of the House of York, but the great bulk of the English nation, who saw, in the persons and principles composing that party,

the best guarantee for the preservation of their own religious and political rights. Encouraged by this sound popular feeling,\* the Yorkist lords prepared for another great effort, and, notwithstanding that a strong fleet, under the duke of Exeter, was guarding the channel, Warwick ventured (A. D. 1460) to cross it from Calais, to concert measures with the duke of York, who was still at Dublin, waiting the turn of events, and (as the letter of a cotemporary describes him) "strengthened with his earls and homagers." †

In the month of July, this year, was fought the decisive battle of Northampton, in which the royalists were defeated, a number of the first nobility and gentry of that party slain, and the king himself made prisoner. The duke delayed not to take advantage of this prosperous turn in the fortunes of his cause. Hastening to London, where he made his entry with trumpets sounding, an armed retinue, and a drawn sword borne before him, he presented himself to the house of peers, and, for the first time, advanced, publicly, his claim to the crown.

After grave and frequent discussions, the peers pronounced the title of York to be certain and indefeasible; but at the same time proposed, as a compromise, to satisfy the consciences of both parties, that Henry should retain the crown for the term of his natural life, and that York and his heirs should succeed to it after Henry's death. This proposition was agreed to on both sides; and the path to the throne now seemed to lie open to him, if not already under his feet, when a desperate effort on the part of the queen, assisted by the northern barons, to assert her family's rights, in which she was aided by

\* A remarkable evidence of this public feeling is found in the articles of the men of Kent, first noticed, I believe, by Mr. Turner, whose unwearied researches in the rich mine of his country's records have enabled him to add largely to our materials of historical knowledge.—See *History of England during the Middle Ages*, vol. iii. c. 10.

† "The duke of York is at Dublin, strengthened with his earls and homagers, as ye shall see by a bill."—Fenn's *Original Letters*, let. 46.

the northern barons, led to a battle in the neighbourhood of Wakefield (A. D. 1460), in which the duke, who had under him a force far inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, was either killed in the course of the action, or taken and beheaded on the spot. Near 3,000 of his troops, with most of their leaders, fell in this hard-fought but unequal conflict, and among them were a great number of Irish, who had attended their popular viceroy into England.\*

Had this excellent prince, who was killed in the fiftieth year of his age, lived to ascend the throne, the knowledge acquired by him of the state of Ireland during his residence in that country, and the general respect entertained for his character among the inhabitants of the Pale, might have enabled him to extend his views beyond that limited circle, to spread the blessings of equal laws and good government among the natives, and adopt the best mode of inspiring them with a love of humanity and justice, by stamping the impress of those qualities upon the laws by which they were governed. As it was, so audacious and formidable had the inroads of the Irish borderers now become, that, instead of being aggressors, the proud colonists of the Pale had been reduced to the humiliating necessity of standing on the defensive; and one of the many public services rendered by the duke during his lieutenancy, was the erection of castles on the borders of Louth, Meath, and Kildare, to check the incursions of the natives.

Towards the great Anglo-Irish lords, the conduct of York had been at once liberal and politic, more especially in the instance of Ormond, who was a devoted adherent of the house of Lancaster; and yet between him and the earl of Kildare, a decided Yorkist, the duke divided equally his confidence, leaving the sword of office at one time with the earl of Ormond,

\* "Which policy of his took such effect, as he drew over with him into England the flower of all the English colonies, specially of Ulster and Meath, whereof many noblemen and gentlemen were slain with him at Wakefield."—*Davies*.

at another, with Kildare; and, when he fell in battle at Wakefield, there were slain under his banner several members of both these noble families.

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## CHAPTER XLII.

### EDWARD IV.

**REDUCED STATE OF THE ENGLISH POWER.—PREDATORY INROADS OF THE NATIVES—BLACK RENT PAID TO THE CHIEFS.—THE GERALDINES HIGH IN FAVOUR.—LAVISH GRANTS TO THE EARL OF DESMOND—HIS MUNIFICENT SPIRIT—IS SUCCEEDED IN THE GOVERNMENT BY TIPTOFT, EARL OF WORCESTER.—THIS LORD'S HOSTILITY TO DESMOND—BRINGS CHARGES AGAINST HIM OF HIGH TREASON.—DESMOND ARRESTED AND BE-HEADED.—ACT OF ATTAINDER AGAINST THE GERALDINES.—EARL OF KILDARE RESTORED BY THE KING AND MADE LORD DEPUTY.—INSTITUTION OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF ST. GEORGE.—THE HOUSE OF ORMOND AGAIN IN FAVOUR.—KILDARE REMOVED FROM THE GOVERNMENT—HIS FAMILY REGAIN THEIR ASCENDENCY.—GERALD, THE EIGHTH EARL, APPOINTED LORD DEPUTY.—MARRIAGE OF HIS SISTER WITH CON O'NEILL.—DECLINE OF THE IRISH REVENUE.**

So small was the portion of the inhabitants of Ireland by whom the authority of English law was now acknowledged (A. D. 1460), that, from the four small shires alone which constituted the territory of the Pale\* were all the lords, knights, and burgesses that composed its parliament summoned; and in no other part of the kingdom but those four shires did the king's writ run. Nor, even there, was the English law allowed

\* The designation of the English territory by the name of "the Pale," does not appear to have come into use before the beginning of this century, and the term is, in general, supposed to have been confined to the four counties of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, and Meath,—the latter including also West Meath. But, however reduced were the English limits at the period we have now reached, the Pale originally, it is clear, extended from the town of Wicklow in the south, to the point of Dunluce in the north of Ireland;—thus making Louth (as it was not unfrequently styled) the "heart" of the Pale. See Spenser (*View of the State of Ireland*), who describes the Pale as having once included Carrickfergus, Belfast, Armagh, and Carlingford, "which are now (he adds) the most outbounds and abandoned places in the English Pale, and indeed not counted of the English Pale at all; for it stretcheth now no further than Dundalk towards the north."

to come fairly into operation, as, on the borders and marches, which had at this time so much extended as to include within them half Dublin, half Meath, and a third part of Kildare, no law was in force but that which had been long since forbidden by the statute of Kilkenny, as “a lewd custom.” under the denomination of March Law.

So much had the just and generous character of York’s policy endeared him personally to the lords and gentry of the Pale, that, as we have seen, numbers of them accompanied him, on his last expedition into England; and the natives, availing themselves of the absence of these great landed lords,—as they had done once before, in the reign of Richard II.,—took forcible possession of several estates, which were never after recovered from them. It was, doubtless, in reference to some such depredations, committed, in the course of this year, on the duke’s Irish adherents, that one of the charges brought against the late king was his having written, at the instigation of divers lords about him, secret letters to some of the “Irish enemy,” inciting them to attempt the conquest of the land of Ireland.\*

But the fierce septs surrounding the Pale were sufficiently ready, without any such extraneous encouragement, to take advantage of the general confusion and distraction to which the contest for the English crown had given rise; and the wretched inhabitants of the districts bordering upon the Irish were forced to purchase a precarious exemption from their in-

\* Stow.—“*Item*: Where the king hath now no more livelode of his realm of England, but onely the land of Ireland and the town of Calais, and that no king christened hath such a land and a town without his realm, divers lords have caused his highness to write letters, under his privy seal, unto his Irish enemies, which never king of England did heretofore, whereby they may have comfort to enter into the conquest of the said land, which letters the same Irish enemies sent unto me, the said duke of York, and marvelled greatly that any such letters should be to them sent, speaking therein great shame and villainy of the said realme.”—*Articles sent from the Duke of York to the Earls, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Commons.*



roads by annual pensions to their chiefs. There is still on record a list of these disgraceful contributions, in which are given, together with the amount of the several pensions, the names of the chieftains who received them, and of the counties by which they were paid.\*

Such was the miserable state of weakness, disorganisation, and turbulence, in which Edward IV. found his kingdom of Ireland on his accession to the throne. At the time of that event (A. D. 1461), the office of lord justice was held by Thomas earl of Kildare; but, on the duke of Clarence, the king's brother,† being appointed lieutenant for life, Sir Rowland Fitz-Eustace, afterwards lord Portlester, was sent over as that prince's deputy. We have seen that the Butlers and the Geraldines—under which latter title were comprised the two noble families of Desmond and Kildare—had, in the true spirit of hereditary rivalry, fought on opposite sides in the great struggle between the two rival Roses. Among the most distinguished victims to the late triumph of the Yorkists, was James earl of Ormond, who, having been made prisoner in the bloody battle of Towton, was, in a few weeks after, beheaded; and, throughout a great part of Edward's reign, all belonging to the family of Ormond remained in disgrace. It was not among the least, indeed, of the fatalities of this ill-starred land, that the two most powerful of her native families, instead of combining their strength and influence, to promote her peace and welfare, should thus but have added the hateful consequences of their own endless feud to all the other countless evils of which their country had been made the victim.

\* Cox.—The annual sum paid to each chief was of course proportioned to his means and opportunities of doing mischief. The following items will give some notion of the whole list. "The barony of Lecale, to O'Neill of Clandeboy, per ann., 20 lib.—The county of Uriel, to O'Neill, per ann., 40 lib.—The county of Meath, to O'Connor, per ann., 60 lib. The county of Kildare, to O'Connor, per ann., 20 lib." &c. &c.

† Spenser confounds strangely this duke of Clarence with the prince Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., who married the earl of Ulster's daughter.

At present, the fortunes of the Geraldines were, of course, in the ascendant,—though destined, ere long, to undergo a disastrous eclipse. In the year 1463, the earl of Desmond succeeded lord Portlester, as deputy of the duke of Clarence; and held two parliaments in the course of his government, one at Wexford, and another at Trim (A. D. 1463), which latter passed, among other measures, the following significant enactments:—"That anybody may kill thieves or robbers, or any person going to rob or steal, having no faithful men of good name and in English apparel in their company."—"That the Irish within the Pale shall wear English habit, take English names, and swear allegiance, upon pain of forfeiture of goods." \*

By the same parliament a statute was passed, granting to Desmond the custody and defence of the castles and towns of Carlow, Ross, Dunbar's Island, and Dungarvan,† which last named barony had before been granted to the earl of Shrewsbury, but, owing to his negligence, as the statute implies, was brought once more under the authority of the Desmond family. To this favour succeeded another, in the following year, when the king granted, by letters patent, to Desmond, a large annuity chargeable on the principal seignories belonging to the crown within the Pale.‡ In the same year (1464), this earl founded the noble establishment called the College of Youghall,§ endowing it with several benefices and a considerable landed estate, which formed, in later times, a part of the immense possessions of the first earl of Cork. Shortly after, too, at the instance of this spirited nobleman, a parliament con-

\* Another of the enactments was, "That English, and Irish speaking English and living with the English, shall have an English bow and arrows, on pain of twopence."

† Stat. Roll, Chan. Dub. 3. Ed. IV.,—cited by Lynch, *Legislative Institutions*.

‡ Chief. Rememb. Roll, Dub. 13, 14 Eliz.,—referred to by Lynch, *ibid*.

§ This foundation was confirmed by his son James, anno 1472, and by Maurice, his brother, in 1496. In the charter of foundation the patron is styled earl of Desmond, lord of Decies, lord of Imokilly, lord of the regalities and liberties of the county of Kerry, and patron of this institution.—Smith, *Hist. of Cork*, book i. chap. iii.

vened by him at Drogheda, founded a university in that town, with privileges similar to those enjoyed by the university of Oxford.\*

Thus distinguished, as well by the royal favour, as by that influence and popularity among the natives which his Irish birth and munificent spirit were sure to win for him, the good fortune of this powerful lord might seem secure from all reverse. But the very prosperity of his lot formed also its peril; and the designs of his enemies, which had been held in check as long as he continued to be lord deputy, were resumed with fresh vigour and venom on the arrival of his successor (A. D. 1467), the celebrated lord Worcester, who, in addition to the natural cruelty of his character,† came strongly prepossessed, it is supposed, with the suspicions and jealousies then commonly entertained towards the great Anglo-Irish lords.‡ It was, indeed, natural, as we have before had occasion to remark, that the high official personages sent over from England should regard with jealousy the dominion exercised by those lords of Irish birth, whose hold on the hearts of their fellow-countrymen lent them a power such as mere official rank could never attain. In the instance of Desmond, too, this suspicious or envious feeling found more than ordinary ground for its workings;—the rare combination, in this lord's position, of immense wealth, royal patronage, and popular favour, having justified in many respects the epithet bestowed upon him of the “great” earl of Desmond.

In order to account for the ease and dispatch with which so

\* Pat. Roll, 5 Ed. IV.—“This university not being endowed with sufficient revenues, the scheme did not take effect.”—Mason, *Hist. of St. Patrick's Cathedral*.

† For frightful proofs of the truth of this charge against him, see Stow, p. 422.

‡ For Worcester's severity, in the instance of Desmond, another motive has been suggested:—“Lord Tiptoft was interested in the lordships of Inchiquin, Youghall, and other extensive estates which lay within, or were now considered as part of, the seignories, of the Desmond family; and which, while their power and influence prevailed with the natives, his lordship, like his ancestors, could derive no benefit from.”—Lynch (*Legislative Institutions*), who refers to Chief Rememb. Roll, Dub. 7 Ric. II. & 43 Ed. III.

towering a structure of station was laid low, it has been said that he had provoked the vengeance of the queen by advising Edward not to marry her ; \* a secret disclosed, it is added, in the course of some slight altercation between her and the king, by his saying pettishly, that "had he taken cousin Desmond's advice, her spirit would have been more humble." It is also stated that the queen, to make sure of her revenge, obtained by stealth the privy seal, and affixed it herself to the order for his execution. But these stories rest on mere idle rumour ; and it appears clearly, even from the scanty evidence extant on the subject, that by no other crimes than those of being too Irish and too popular, did Desmond draw upon himself the persecution of which he so rapidly fell the victim.

We have seen that, by the memorable statute of Kilkenny, the customs of gossipred and fostering, together with the intermarriages of the English among the Irish, were declared to be high treason. On this statute the accusations now brought against Desmond were founded ; the charge of "alliance with the Irish" being made an additional and prominent article in the impeachment, though, for a length of time, so much had the law relaxed its rigour with regard to this offence, that it was not unusual, as we have seen, to grant licences to the English, on the borders, empowering them to treat, traffic, and form alliances with the natives. In the south, where this earl's estates lay, the laws against intercourse or alliance with the Irish had long fallen into disuse ; and it was chiefly the connections formed by this family with some of the leading Irish chiefs that had hitherto enabled the successive earls of Desmond to uphold the king's authority in the greater part of Munster.

By none, however, of these considerations were the bitter enemies of the Geraldine race induced to forego their stern

\* "He despised the king's marriage with so mean a subject as the lady Elizabeth Grey, and often said she was a tailor's widow."—*Coar.*

and factious purpose; and one of the most rancorous of the earl's foes was William Sherwood, bishop of Meath, by whose instigation it appears, at the time when Desmond was deputy, nine of this lord's men had been slain in Fingall. In a parliament held at Drogheda by the earl of Worcester (A. D. 1467), it was enacted that Thomas earl of Desmond, as well for alliances, fostering and alterage with the king's enemies, as for furnishing them with horses, harness, and arms, and also supporting them against the king's subjects, be attainted of treason; and that whoever hath any of his goods or lands, and doth not discover them to the deputy within fourteen days, shall be attainted of felony. Unprepared, as it would seem, for so rigorous a measure, Desmond was arrested by order of the lord deputy, and, on the 5th day of February, 1468, was beheaded at Drogheda.

At the same time with this ill-fated lord, the earl of Kildare and Edward Plunket had also been attainted. But as soon as Worcester, having thus accomplished what is supposed to have been the main object of his mission, returned into England, the earl of Kildare was not only pardoned and restored in blood by parliament, but also appointed to the government of Ireland as deputy of the duke of Clarence. It was during this lord's administration that, in consequence of a doubt having arisen whether the act of 6 Richard II., "*de Raptoribus*," was of force in Ireland, it was declared, in a parliament held at Drogheda, that not only the statute in question, but all other English statutes made before that time, were binding in Ireland.\*

With a view to the better defence of the English territory, it was enacted, in a subsequent parliament, held at Naas, in 1472, that "every merchant should bring twenty shillings' worth of bows and arrows into Ireland, for every twenty

\* See sir John Maynard's "*Answer to a Book*," &c.—*Hibernic*. p. 96.



pounds' worth of other goods he imported from England." \* It having been found, however, that in the present reduced state of the English colony, some measures of a more than ordinary cast were called for, in order to recruit and support the spirit of their small community, a fraternity of arms, under the title of the Brothers of St. George, was at this time constituted, consisting of thirteen persons, of the highest rank and most approved loyalty, selected from the four cantons of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth. To the captain of this military brotherhood, who was to be elected annually, on St. George's day, was assigned a guard of 120 archers on horseback, 40 other horsemen, and 40 pages; and of these 200 men, consisted the whole of the standing forces then maintained by the English government in Ireland.†

Had the natives but known their own strength, or rather, had they been capable of that spirit of union and concert by which alone the strength of a people is rendered effective, the whole military force of the Pale could not have stood before them a single hour. But divided, as the native Irish were, into septs, each calling itself a "nation," and all more suspicious and jealous of each other than of the common foe, it was hardly possible that, among a people so circumstanced, a public spirit could arise, or that any prospect, however promising, of victory over their masters, could make them relinquish for it the old hereditary habit of discord among themselves. That their English rulers, though now so much weakened, did not the less confidently presume on their victim's patience under injustice, may be inferred from a law passed at this time (A. D. 1475), in a parliament held by William Sherwood, bishop of Meath, enacting that, "any Englishman, injured by a native not amenable to law, might reprise himself on the whole sept and nation."

\* Cox.

† Davies,—who adds, "And as they were natives of the kingdom, so the kingdom itself did pay their wages, without expecting any treasure from England."

The adherence of the Ormond family to the fortunes of Henry VI. had drawn down upon John, the sixth earl, the penalty of attainder, and consigned, during the early part of this reign, all the other members of that noble house, to obscurity and disgrace. By a statute, however, made in the sixteenth year of Edward IV. (A. D. 1476), the act of attainder against John earl of Ormond was repealed, and that lord restored to his "lands, name, and dignity, as by title of his ancestors." So successful was he, too, in recommending himself to Edward, by his knowledge of languages and other courtly accomplishments, that the king pronounced him to be the "goodliest knight he had ever beheld, and the finest gentleman in Europe;" adding that, "if good breeding, nurture, and liberal quailities were lost in the world, they might all be found in John earl of Ormond." \*

Encouraged by the favour thus shown to the head of their house, the faction of the Butlers again appeared with refreshed force, while, for a time, the Geraldines sunk into disfavour. It was not long, however, before the influence of the house of Kildare regained all its former ascendancy. In 1478, the same year in which the earl Thomas died, his son Gerald, who succeeded him, was appointed lord deputy of Ireland, and held that office, at different intervals, through the three following reigns. In one of the parliaments held by him at this period, it was enacted, that "the Pale should hold no correspondence with the Irish;" while, at the same time, his own family was affording examples of the fated and natural tendency of the two races to come together, in the marriage of his sister to the head of the great northern sept of the O'Neills.† It was,

\* Carte's Ormond, *Introduct.* This earl, who was unmarried and left no issue, undertook, from pious motives, a journey to Jerusalem, and died in the Holy Land.

† The sept, or nation, of the O'Neills of Ulster, was one of the five bloods, or lineages, of the Irish, who were by special grace enfranchised, and enabled to share in the benefits of English law.—See the case cited by Davies, where the plaintiff pleads, "quod ipse est de quinque sanguinibus." The four other "bloods" thus privileged,

indeed, in the same parliament (A. D. 1480) that forbade so peremptorily all communication with the Irish, that the special act was passed for the naturalisation of Con O'Neill, on the occasion of his marriage with one of the lord deputy's sisters.\*

On the death of the ill-fated duke of Clarence, the office of lieutenant of Ireland was conferred by Edward upon his second son, Richard duke of York; and it was as deputy of this infant prince that the earl of Kildare now held the reins of his government (A. D. 1478–83). To so low an ebb, however, was the Irish revenue at this time reduced, that a force of 80 archers on horseback, and 40 of another description of horsemen, called "spears," constituted the whole of the military establishment that could be afforded for that realm's defence: and lest the sum even of £600, annually, required for the maintenance of this small troop, might prove too onerous to the country, it was provided that, should Ireland be unable to pay it, the sum was to be sent thither from England.†

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## CHAPTER XLIII.

### EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III.

THE GERALDINES STILL IN AUTHORITY.—PARLIAMENTS HELD AT DUBLIN.—ENACTMENT OF ONE OF THESE PARLIAMENTS.—REIGN OF RICHARD III. TERMINATED BY THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH.

DURING the nominal reign of the fifth Edward (A. D. 1483), and the short usurpation of Richard III., the condition of Ire-

were the O'Melaghins of Meath, the O'Connors of Connaught, the O'Brians of Thomond, and the Mac Moroughs of Leinster. From the above instance, however, of Kildare's son-in-law, it would appear that this general grant of naturalisation was not always deemed sufficient.

\* The eldest daughter of the late earl, Eleanor, was married to Henry Mac Ower O'Neill, chief of his name, by whom she was mother of Con (More) O'Neill, who married her niece, daughter to Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare.—*Lodge*.

† Cox.

land remained unimproved and unchanged. Throughout this brief and bloody period, the power of the Pale was almost entirely in the hands of the Geraldines,—the earl of Kildare performing the functions of lord deputy, while his brother, Sir Thomas of Laccagh, was lord chancellor of the kingdom. In a parliament held at Dublin, by the earl of Kildare, an act was passed which, for its unusually peaceful purport, may deserve to be remembered. It was enacted, “that the mayor and bailiffs of Waterford might go in pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella in Spain, leaving sufficient deputies to govern that city in their absence.” By another act of this parliament, the corporation and men of the town of Ross were authorised to “reprise themselves against robbers.”\* Such are the only incidents worthy of any notice that occur in our scanty records of this reign, which was brought to a close, by the battle of Bosworth, on the 22d of August, 1485.

\* “In other words,” says sir William Betham, “might rob the innocent to indemnify themselves for having been previously plundered.”—See *Origin and History of the Early Parliaments of Ireland*,—the latest and not least valuable of this indefatigable antiquarian’s labours.

## CHAPTER XLIV

## HENRY VII.

**POLICY OF HENRY RESPECTING HIS CLAIMS TO THE CROWN.—STRENGTH OF THE YORK PARTY IN IRELAND.—KILDARE SUSPECTED BY THE KING.—HENRY'S CRUELTY TOWARDS THE YOUNG EARL OF WARWICK.—THIS CONDUCT THE SOURCE OF ALL THE SUBSEQUENT PLOTS.—ARRIVAL OF SIMNEL IN DUBLIN.—GENERAL ADOPTION OF HIS CAUSE IN IRELAND.—IS PROCLAIMED KING.—MOVEMENT IN HIS FAVOUR BY THE ENGLISH LORDS, LINCOLN AND LOVELL—THEIR ARRIVAL IN DUBLIN WITH A BODY OF GERMAN AUXILIARIES.—HENRY ENDEAVOURS TO REMOVE THE DELUSION—IS SUCCESSFUL IN ENGLAND, BUT FAILS IN IRELAND.—INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE FORCES OF THE PALE.—ARE ENTIRELY DEFEATED BY THE KING'S ARMY AT STOKE.—SIMNEL MADE PRISONER, AND TRANSFERRED TO THE ROYAL KITCHEN.—THE KING REWARDS THE LOYALTY OF WATERFORD—CONSENTS TO PARDON KILDARE AND THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN.—OPPORTUNITY LOST OF CURBING THE POWER OF THE ANGLO-IRISH LORDS.—PROCEEDINGS OF EDGECOMBE'S COMMISSION.—HENRY SUMMONS THE GREAT LORDS OF THE PALE TO GREENWICH.—MURDER OF THE NINTH EARL OF DESMOND.—WARS OF HIS SUCCESSOR WITH THE IRISH.—APPEARANCE OF ANOTHER IMPOSTOR, PERKIN WARBECK—PRETENDS TO BE RICHARD DUKE OF YORK.—THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY THE CONTRIVER OF THIS PLOT.—THE KING OF FRANCE INVITES WARBECK TO HIS COURT—FROM THENCE HE PROCEEDS TO FLANDERS—IS RECEIVED BY THE DUCHESS AS HER NEPHEW.—THE EARL OF KILDARE IN DISGRACE.—SIR EDWARD POYNINGS MADE LORD DEPUTY.—EXPEDITION OF POYNINGS INTO ULSTER.—KILDARE SUSPECTED OF CONSPIRING WITH THE IRISH ENEMY.—POYNINGS SUMMONS PARLIAMENT—MEMORABLE STATUTE WHICH BEARS HIS NAME.—OTHER ENACTMENTS OF THIS PARLIAMENT.—WARBECK REPAIRS TO THE COURT OF SCOTLAND—IS RECEIVED WITH ROYAL HONOURS—MARRIES THE DAUGHTER OF THE EARL OF HUNTLEY.—VISIT OF O'DONNELL TO THE SCOTTISH COURT.—THE EARL OF KILDARE ARRESTED, AND SENT PRISONER TO ENGLAND—SUCCEEDS IN REFUTING THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM—IS MADE LORD LIEUTENANT.—WARBECK AGAIN TRIES HIS FORTUNE IN IRELAND—IS JOINED BY THE EARL OF DESMOND.—THEIR UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION AGAINST WATERFORD.—WARBECK FLIES TO CORNWALL.—IS EXECUTED FOR TREASON AT TYBURN.—WARFARE AMONG THE IRISH.—MILITARY SUCCESS OF KILDARE.—CONFEDERACY AMONG THE GREAT CHIEFS.—BATTLE OF KNOCTUADH.—SIGNAL DEFEAT OF THE IRISH.**

ONE of the most serious of the many evils attending that fierce hereditary feud, so long maintained between the two families from which England was, in those times, furnished with rulers, was, that it rendered each successive monarch little more than the crowned chief of a particular faction,—ruling as the champion rather of a portion of his people, than as the acknow-



ledged and paternal sovereign of all. On the accession, however, of Henry VII., the prospects of the country were, in this respect, much improved; that prince having been furnished, by a train of circumstances, with so many and such plausible titles to the crown, as enabled him to trust to their collective weight without risking the enforcement of them in detail, or arousing unnecessarily the spirit of party, by putting forth claims whose strength and safety lay in their silence.

Thus, his marriage with a princess of the house of York, if assumed as the foundation of his right to the crown, would have been viewed with jealousy by his own Lancastrian followers; while, on the other hand, the pretensions founded by him upon his descent from John of Gaunt, would have offended the proud, and now mortified Yorkists; and the only remaining ground left, that of the right of conquest, could not but awaken, he knew, the unwelcome recollection, that it was over Englishmen the boasted conquest had been obtained.\* With a forbearance, therefore, in which coolness of temper had at least as much share as good sense, he refrained from advancing more than was absolutely necessary, any distinct claim to the succession; and leaving his rights, such as they were, to their own silent influence, was content, in the entail of the crown, with the vague declaration that "the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king."

This moderate policy may, with the less hesitation, be ascribed to cautious and calculating motives, inasmuch as the enmity of the king to the Yorkists continued to be as strong and revengeful as ever. That he was capable, however, of sacrificing this feeling to views of prudence and expediency, appears sufficiently from his conduct towards Ireland. For though, on his accession, he found, in that kingdom, all the

\* This ground of his claim was just intimated by him, in his first speech to the commons, but, almost in the same breath, skilfully softened away.—See Lingard, chap. 26.

great offices filled by partisans of the house of York, he yet not only confirmed all these Yorkists in their several stations, but, by a stretch of confidence and delicacy of which he afterwards felt the imprudence, forbore from adding any of the Lancastrian party to the council, lest he might be supposed to distrust the loyalty of the Irish government, or regard any of its members with insulting suspicion or fear.\*

While Henry, thus shaping his course to the state of affairs in Ireland, took pains to conciliate the favour of the party then most powerful, neither was he forgetful of the few who had always been staunch to his family's cause; and among these stood pre-eminent the noble family of Ormond. Thomas Butler, the seventh earl, declared a traitor in the first year of Edward IV., was now (A. D. 1485), by an act of the Irish parliament, restored to "honour and estate," and became distinguished for public services, both military and diplomatic.†

But the growing strength of the York faction in Ireland began now seriously to arrest the monarch's attention. The popular government of the duke of York was still fondly remembered in that country, and the cause of the family to which their favourite prince belonged had been espoused with the utmost ardour by the great bulk of the English settlers. The implied sanction, therefore, lately given to the ascendancy of their party by the king, was hailed at the time with a warmth of joy and gratitude, which but fostered, as it proved, the seeds of future presumption and excess.

Having already had reason to suspect that Kildare was planning some mischief, the king wrote to him in 1486 to

\* Ware's *Annals*.

† *History of the Life of Ormond*.—"The attainder of 1 Edward IV. being reversed, Thomas earl of Ormonde took possession of all the estate which his eldest brother had enjoyed in England; and was made by Henry VII. one of the privy council of England. He was one of the richest subjects in the king's dominions, having, after his brother James's death, found in his house, at the Black Friars in London, about 40,000*l.* sterling in money, besides plate, all which he carried over with him into Ireland."—*Carte, Introduci*

command his presence immediately in England, assigning as a pretext for this urgency, that he wished to advise with him concerning the peace of his Irish realm. But the earl, suspecting, doubtless, the real intent of this order, submitted the case to the parliament then assembled in Dublin, and procured letters to the king from the spiritual and temporal peers, representing that affairs requiring the lord deputy's presence were about to be discussed in parliament, and praying that, for a short time, he might be excused from obeying the royal command. Among the names of the clergy who subscribed these letters, is found that of Octavian de Palatio, archbishop of Armagh; a prelate, whose subsequent conduct removes the suspicion of his having been actuated in this step by party feelings. The secular subscribers to the letters were Robert Preston, viscount Gormanstown, and the six most ancient of our barons, Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Trimleston, and Dunsany.\*

It might not unreasonably have been expected by Henry, that the favourable circumstances under which he had commenced his reign, and more especially the reconciliation of the two rival houses, which seemed to have been accomplished by his marriage, would assure to him an easy and uncontested career. But the events and prospects now gradually unfolding themselves must have disabused him of any such flattering hope; and the chief source of much of the odium now gathering round him, as well as of those plots by which his throne was afterwards threatened, may be found in the impression produced, at the outset of his reign, by the odious harshness of his conduct towards the young Edward Plantagenet, son of the late duke of Clarence.

This prince, whom Edward IV. had created earl of Warwick,—the title borne by his grandfather,—had been treated at first, by Richard III., as heir apparent to the crown; but

\* Ware's *Annals*.

afterwards, fearing to find in him a rival, he kept the young prince a close prisoner in the castle of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire. This youth, at the time of Henry's accession, had just reached his fifteenth year; and so selfishly blind was the new monarch to every other consideration but that of seizing the prize which victory had allotted to him, that, although the contingency of this youth's right to the crown was still so remote as not to be calculated on while any of the posterity of Edward IV. remained alive, he had him removed from his prison in Yorkshire to the Tower, there to pine in hopeless captivity, and with the fate of his murdered cousins for ever before his eyes.

While thus the story of this young prince was so much calculated to awaken pity for himself, and indignation against his oppressor, the great importance attached by Henry to his safe custody could not but render him an object of interest and speculation to the disaffected. What the king regarded with fear, the rebel would as naturally look to with hope; nor is it to be wondered at, that to persons in search of some tolerable frame-work for a conspiracy, a device connected with this youth's fate should, for want of a better, have suggested itself.

The birth of a son, at this time, to the king, by diminishing the chance of a change in the succession, but furnished the conspirators with a new motive for activity; and, in order to profit by the strong feeling in favour of the Yorkists, that prevailed in Ireland, Dublin was the place selected for the opening of this strange plot.\* Early in the year 1486, there landed in that city a priest of Oxford, named Richard Simons, attended by his ward, Lambert Simnel, a boy of about eleven years of age,† the son of an Oxford tradesman. This youth

\* Remarking that the king had been "a little improvident in the matter of Ireland," lord Bacon adds, "since he knew the strong bent of that country towards the house of York, and that it was a ticklish and unsettled state, more easy to receive distempers and mutations than England was."

† Lingard.—According to some authorities, fifteen years of age.

he presented to the lord deputy, and the other lords of the council, as Edward earl of Warwick, son to George duke of Clarence.

To attempt to personate a living prince, so near at hand as to be easily confronted with the impostor, was a contrivance, it must be owned, as daring and difficult as it was clumsy. Nothing appears, however, to have been wanting, that careful rehearsal and consummate acting could accomplish, to render the scheme consistent and plausible. The youth himself, who, we are told, was handsome and of noble demeanour,\* well became the lofty station which he assumed; and, having been tutored well in his story, gave such an account of his past adventures, as coincided with all that his hearers had known or learned on the subject themselves. The scheme was instantly and completely successful. The earl of Kildare, far less from credulity, it is clear, than from the bias of party spirit, gave in at once, and without any reserve, to the fraud; and his example was immediately followed by almost the whole of the people of the Pale, who, admitting at once, without further inquiry, the young pretender's title, proclaimed him by the style of Edward VI., king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

Amidst this general defection, the citizens of Waterford remained still firm in their allegiance to Henry; the family of the Butlers, pledged hereditarily to the house of York, continued likewise faithful; while almost the only ecclesiastics who refused to bow before the impostor, were the foreign archbishop of Armagh, Octavian de Palatio,† and the bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory.

\* "He was," says Bacon, a comely youth and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect."

† In a letter written by this prelate to pope Innocent VIII., he thus describes the effects of the fraud: "The clergy and secular are all distracted at this present with a king and no king,—some saying he is the son of Edward earl of Warwick, others saying he is an impostor. But our brother of Canterbury hath satisfied me of the truth."



Though, ostensibly, Simons the priest was the only person engaged in the scheme of palming Simnel on the Irish as Warwick, it seems generally to be supposed that this plot, as well as all others during this reign, had originated at the court of the duchess of Burgundy, third sister of Edward IV.,—"the chief end of whose life," we are told, "was to see the majesty royal of England once more replaced in her house."\* No sooner was it known in England that the Irish had declared in favour of the pretended Warwick, than the nephew of this princess, the earl of Lincoln,† who was then in his attendance on Henry, and had received marks of his confidence, took suddenly his departure, and repaired to the court of his aunt, whither Lord Lovel also had lately betaken himself, after a short and feeble attempt at insurrection. The object of this suspicious movement did not long remain a mystery. It appeared that Lincoln had gone to consult with the duchess of Burgundy and Lord Lovell as to the most prompt and efficient mode of assisting the cause of the young pretender;‡ and the fruit of their counsels was seen in the landing of a force of 2,000 German troops at Dublin, under the command of a veteran officer, Martin Swartz, and accompanied by the two English earls, Lincoln and Lovell.§

Meanwhile, with the hope of correcting the dangerous impression already produced by the impostor, the king gave orders that the real earl of Warwick should be conducted, in the sight of all London, from the Tower to St. Paul's. He also took this prince along with him to the palace of Shene, where noblemen, attached to the York family, and well acquainted with his person, daily visited and conversed with him. This open trial of the question satisfied the people of Eng-

\* Bacon.

† This nobleman, who was the nephew of Richard III., had been declared, by that monarch, heir apparent to the crown.

‡ Hall's *Chronicle*.

§ Bacon. Wre. Hall.

land ; but the Irish, remote from such means of inquiry, and embarked too heartily in the general cause to be at all particular as to its grounds, not only persisted in their adherence to Simnel, but retorted on Henry the charge of imposture, maintaining *his* Warwick to be the counterfeit, and their “lad,” as they familiarly styled him, the real Plantagenet.

In this state of infatuation, the joint effects of weak credulity and faction, were almost the whole of the people of the Pale, at the time when Swartz and his Germans landed at Dublin. It may be conceived, therefore, to what a height their spirits were elevated by this reinforcement, as well as by the sanction derived to their enterprise from the high rank of the two English lords who accompanied it. The earl of Lincoln, though fully aware of the imposture, having often conversed with the real Warwick at Shene, recommended that Simnel should be crowned ; and accordingly this ceremony was performed by John Payne, bishop of Meath, in the cathedral called Christ Church. The boy was crowned with a diadem borrowed, for the occasion, from a statue of the Virgin, in St. Mary’s Abbey ; and was carried in triumph from the church to the castle of Dublin, on the shoulders of a gigantic man, called Great Darcy of Platten.\*

Emboldened by this success, the Anglo-Irish leaders extended still further their views ; and, presuming the mass of the English people to be quite as ripe for revolt as themselves, resolved on the bold and hazardous step of an immediate invasion of England. No time was lost in putting this fool-hardy project in execution ; the earl of Lincoln was intrusted with the command of the armament ; and so great was the zeal with which all classes and conditions joined in the enterprise, that the lord Thomas Fitz Gerald, the brother of the earl of Kildare, resigned the high office of lord chancellor in order to accompany the expedition.

\* Cox.

About the beginning of the month of June, the force destined for this object, consisting of the 2,000 German auxiliaries, and "a great multitude," says the chronicler, of Irish, set sail from Dublin, and with a fair wind reached in safety the Pile of Foudray, in the southern extremity of Furness. There landing, they encamped at Swartmoor, where being joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, the friend of Lord Lovell, they directed their march through the county of York. The hope held out to them of a rising in their favour, by the Yorkists of the northern counties, proved to be utterly groundless; though of all that could be done for them by the slowness and ignorance of the enemy, they appear to have had the full advantage; for, such was the confusion and mismanagement of the king's army, that, between Nottingham and Newark, it actually lost its way, and was forced to wait for guides.\* Had such a mishap befallen the Irish and German invaders, it would not have been remarkable.

Growing impatient, at length, of a delay which brought no sign or promise of additional strength, Lincoln boldly pushed forward his force, and coming in conflict, at Stoke, with the vanguard of Henry's army, under the earl of Oxford, commenced the short but sanguinary action which finally decided the fate of the mock monarch of Ireland. So great was the advantage of strength on the royalists' side, that but a third part of the king's force was engaged in the action; while of the 8,000 men that formed the invading army, one half was left dead on the field. The Germans fought with the cool courage of veterans; while the soldiers of the Pale, though armed but with Irish darts and skeins, and therefore unable to stand the shock of heavy cavalry, displayed bravery worthy of a more rational cause.† Among the slain were almost all the

\* Lingard.

† "Of the other syde, the Iryshemen, although they foughte hardely and stucke to it valyauntly, yet because they were, after the manners of theyr countrey, almost naked, without harneys or armure, they were stryken downe and slayne lyke dull and

chief leaders of the expedition, the earl of Lincoln, Lord Thomas and Maurice Fitz Gerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Martin Swartz. Lord Lovell, as appears from the journal of the herald who witnessed the conflict,\* was seen to escape from the field of battle, but no further tidings were ever heard of him.

The fate of Simnel, who, together with his tutor, fell into the hands of the victorious party, formed such a contrast to his short pageant of royalty, as chequers the story of this sanguinary struggle with about an equal mixture of the painful and the ludicrous. Seeing no further harm to be apprehended from this weak tool of faction, before whom the lords and prelates of Ireland had so lately bowed in homage, the king, after granting him full pardon, made him a turnspit in the royal kitchen, and, not long after, raised him to the rank of a falconer.

Though faction and vulgar ambition were doubtless the source of most of the mischief by which, in this farcical conspiracy, the lords of the Pale had disgraced themselves, it can as little be questioned, that a great portion of the community, having been taught, by the example and language of their superiors, to regard Simnel as their rightful prince, might have adopted with perfect sincerity such a persuasion, and felt, accordingly, an earnest zeal in his service. That this feeling continued to be cherished by his followers in Dublin, for some months after his defeat and fall, may be collected from a letter addressed to the citizens of Waterford by Henry,† “concern-

brute beastes, whose deathe and destruccyon was a great discouragyng and abasement to the residue of the company.”—*Hall*.

\* Leland, *Coll.* iv. 214., cited by Lingard. “Not forgetting the grete malice that the lady Margaréte of Bourgoigne bereth contynuelly against us, as she shewed lately in sending hider a fayned boye, surmising him to have been the son of the duc of Clarence, and caused him to bee accompanied with Th’ earl of Lincoln, the lord Lovel, and with a grete multitude of Irishemen and of Almaines, whoes end, blessed bee God, was as ye knowe wele.”—Henry VII. to Sir Gilbert Talbot, *Ellis's Original Letters*.

† Ryland, *Hist. of Waterford*.

ing the treasons of the city of Dublin," wherein he complains that, "contrary to the duty of their allegiance, they will not yet know their seditious opinions, but unto this day uphold and maintain the same presumptuously." As a means of punishing this contumacy, he commands the citizens of Waterford to seize on the ships, goods, and merchandise of the rebels of Dublin, and "to employ the same unto the behoof and commonweal of our said city of Waterford."

Severe mention is likewise made in this royal letter of "our rebel," as the king styles him, the earl of Kildare. But this lord, though conscious of the daring enormity of his offence, was also too sensible of the extent and strength of his own power, to despair of regaining his former hold on the royal favour. In conjunction, therefore, with other great lords of the Pale, he despatched emissaries to Henry, acknowledging, in the most contrite manner, their common transgressions, and humbly imploring his pardon.

Perceiving that the storm which had threatened so seriously from that quarter had now blown over, and knowing it was only by the power and influence of Kildare and a few other great lords that the Irish chieftains could be kept in awe, Henry preferred the dangerous experiment of pardoning that powerful nobleman, to the still more serious danger, as he deemed it, of driving him into new and confirmed hostility. With a policy, therefore, which only the anomalous position of Ireland could account for, he retained him still in the office of chief governor;—still confided to his hands the trust which he had just so openly and treasonably betrayed.\*

The clemency thus shown to offenders in the higher ranks, encouraged the lower class of rebels to try also their chance of pardon; and the citizens of Dublin, who had viewed with jealousy the favours bestowed by the king upon Waterford,—as if they themselves could rationally expect to enjoy at once

\* Ware's *Annals*.



the privileges of rebellion and the rewards of loyalty,—now endeavoured to recover their lost ground; and, addressing a petition, with the view of exculpating themselves, to the throne, charged the whole blame of the late revolt upon the lord deputy and the clergy. “We were daunted,” say they, “to see, not only your chief governor, whom your highness made ruler over us, to bend or bow to that idol whom they have made us to obey, but also our father of Dublin, and most of the clergy of the nation, excepting the reverend father his grace Octavian, archbishop of Armagh. We, therefore, humbly crave your highness’s clemency towards your poor subjects of Dublin, the metropolis of your highness’s realm of Ireland.” This crouching effort, on the part of the citizens, to remove from themselves the odium and ridicule of the late proceedings, does not appear to have been in any way noticed or acknowledged by the king.

No juncture, perhaps, had occurred, from the time of the conquest of Ireland by the English, of which a firm and foresighted policy might so advantageously have availed itself, for the great object of completing by the law, a work which the sword had left so mangled and imperfect, as that now afforded to the English monarch by the humbled condition to which the great lords of the Pale were reduced. So much had the attention of most of his predecessors been drawn away by foreign wars and domestic feuds from a due watchfulness over the course of Irish affairs, that the concerns of that kingdom were, in general, abandoned, without any really efficient check, to the selfish and factious administration of one or other of those great Anglo-Irish families, who, according to the ascendancy of their several parties, were, each in turn, the real rulers of the realm.

Nor was it only from their position as subaltern masters, that the Anglo-Irish lords derived their powers of mischief; they had likewise inherited, from their mixed descent, a com-

bination of qualities and habits such as was in itself sufficient to account for much of the evils of which they were the authors. For while, on the one hand, their prejudice in favour of the land of their birth led them to adopt all its rudest laws and usages, and even to oppose themselves to change or improvement, as an insult, their English blood, on the other hand, showed itself in their retention of the tone and policy of conquerors; in their reliance, for the safety of their power, rather on the arms of the nation they had sprung from, than on the social and loyal affections of those among whom they were born, and in their reserving to themselves, as a trophy of English supremacy, a monopoly of all the advantages and protection of English law.

In their late factious revolt in favour of Simnel, the leading lords of the Pale had hazarded a more than ordinary defiance of the royal authority; the very government itself having set the new and monstrous example of official high treason and vice-regal revolt. But their discomfiture and humiliation had been complete; nor could the crown have found a more favourable occasion to wrest the rule of that realm from the hands of its selfish oligarchy, to remove the barrier so long interposed between the native race and the throne, and thus, by extending to all, as a right, that legal protection which was now but the privilege of a few, to make the law, rather than the sword, the means of converting the Irish enemies into subjects.

Such appears not, however, to have been the view taken by Henry of this important crisis; which is the more unaccountable, as it was the very policy pursued so boldly and successfully by him in England. There, also, had he found, on his accession, an aristocracy of petty kings, alike domineering over the people and dictating to the throne. But, by breaking down this unruly power, he had given to the crown its due stability and weight, and at the same time removed the pressure of so many small tyrannies from the people. Very different

was the line now adopted by him, as deliberately, doubtless, but less wisely, with regard to Ireland. Instead of availing himself of the present reduced state of the Anglo-Irish satraps, to curtail, at least, if not to crush, their powers of mischief, and thus clear the ground for future reforms, he still retained, as we have seen, in full, undiminished authority, all the chief authors of the late daring revolt; and the only remedial step taken by him was the appointment, in 1488, of Sir Richard Edgecomb, a gentleman high in his confidence, and the controller of his household, to proceed to Ireland, with a guard of 500 men, there to receive new oaths of allegiance from the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, and, after binding them by law to the observance of their oaths, to grant them the royal pardon.

The progress and acts of this special commission have been recorded with much minuteness.\* At Kinsale, Sir Richard, determining not to land, received the homage of Thomas, lord Barry, on board his ship; but, on the following day, at the earnest entreaty of James, lord Courcy, he made his entry into the town, where, in the chancel of St. Melteoc's† church, Courcy did homage for his barony, and all the inhabitants of the town, following his example, took the oath of fidelity, and entered into recognizances.

From thence Sir Richard sailed for Waterford, where he was honourably entertained by the inhabitants, and returned them thanks, in the king's name, for their city's constancy and faithfulness. Understanding that he was the bearer of the royal pardon for the earl of Kildare, a nobleman, who had been always, they said, their "utter enemy," on account of their loyalty to the English crown, they prayed of Sir Richard to sue, in their behalf, to the king, that if ever Kildare should

\* Voyage of Sir Richard Edgecomb into Ireland—for which see Harris's *Hiberniœ*.

† "This is, I dare say, the St. Multos, whose name the parish church of Kinsale bears."—Lanigan *Ecclesiast. Hist. of Ireland*.

again be lord of that land, their city might be exempt from his jurisdiction, as well as from that "of all other Irish lords that should bear any rule in that land for evermore, and should hold immediately of the king and his heirs, and of such lords of England, as shall fortune hereafter to have the rule of Ireland,—and of none others."

Very different was the scene prepared for him in Dublin, where, arriving on the 5th of July, he found the mayor and citizens waiting, in the guise of suppliants, to receive him, at the abbey gate of the Friars Preachers, by whom, during his stay, he was to be lodged and entertained. Kildare himself, who then happened to be absent on a pilgrimage, returned to Dublin at the end of about seven days, when, by his desire, an interview took place between him and Sir Richard, at the abbey of St. Thomas,\* in the west suburbs of the city; the king's commissioner being conducted thither by the bishop of Meath, one of the most active of the supporters of Simnel, by the baron of Slane, and several other high personages. Sir Richard then openly, in the great chamber, delivered the king's letter to the earl,—“not without some show,” it is added, “of bitterness,”—and a parley was held between them on the subject of the commission, which ended unsatisfactorily,—Kildare returning to his seat at Maynooth, and Sir Richard to the Friars Preachers.

At length, after various consultations, both in Dublin and at Maynooth, the earl did homage, in the presence of the royal commissioner, in the great chamber of the abbey of St. Thomas; and, being afterwards absolved of his excommunication, while mass was sung, took the oath of allegiance,† and bound himself in recognizances to the due observance of it. Sir Richard then hung around Kildare's neck a golden chain

\* Founded in that part of Dublin now called Thomas Court.

† The earl's oath was taken solemnly, on the holy Host, before the altar; and Edgecomb suspected, it is clear, some intended evasion of this rite, as he insisted that “a chaplain of his own should consecrate the Host.”

which the king had sent him, as an earnest of his favour; after which, the earl and the commissioner, attended by all the bishops and lords, went into the church of the monastery, “and in the choir thereof, the archbishop of Dublin began *Te Deum*, and the choir, with the organs, sung it up solemnly; and at that time all the bells in the church rung.” When these ceremonies were all ended, Sir Richard entertained the earl and the other lords at a great feast in the abbey of the Friars Preachers.\*

To this general, and, in some respects, indiscreet extension of clemency, there were but two exceptions; namely, James Keating, the turbulent prior of Kilmainham,† and Thomas Plunket, chief justice of the common pleas, who, of all the authors and fomenters of the late revolt, had been the most active and mischievous. Through the intercession of Kildare and others of the nobility, Plunket was pardoned; but the life of Keating having been, for the thirty years he was prior of Kilmainham, one constant course of outrage, rapine and fraud, he was excluded from the benefits of pardon, and also dispossessed of the office of constable of the castle of Dublin, which he had for several years violently usurped.

Having thus finished his task with the only act of vigour and justice by which this very unmeaning mission appears to have been signalized, Edgecomb, escorted by the archbishop of Dublin, the chief justice, Bermingham, and the recorder of Dublin, proceeded, on the 30th of July, to Dalkey; and, after more than a week of vain efforts to leave the Irish coast, the wind being strong and adverse, succeeded, at length, in getting to sea, and reached the port of Fowey.‡

Though Henry, acting on the dictates of a judgment seldom clouded either by feeling or temper, had deemed it pru-

\* Ware's *Annals*.

† For a full account of this prior's rapacious and violent proceedings, see Archdall, *Monast. Hib.* p. 249.

‡ Edgecomb's *Voyage, Hibernica*



dent, notwithstanding their late flagrant treason, to leave still in the hands of Kildare and his fellow delinquents, all the highest offices of the state, he yet failed not to keep a strict watch on their movements; and seeing reason, doubtless, to apprehend from them some new scheme in favour of the house of York, he summoned the greater number of the lords temporal of that kingdom to repair to him in England (A. D. 1489). In consequence of this, the earl of Kildare, the viscounts Buttevant and Fermoy, and the lords of Athenry, Kinsale, Gormanstown, Delvin, Howth, Slane, Killeen, Trimleston, and Dunsany, waited upon the king at Greenwich.

Whatever reprehension they might naturally have expected from the lips of their offended sovereign, such was by no means the tone adopted towards them by the calm and calculating Henry. Instead of bringing against these lords their past delinquencies,—an account closed, as he felt, by the royal pardon,—he wisely contented himself with warning them against any repetition of such conduct; and with reference to their choice of a creature like Simnel to be their sovereign, told them, with bitter sarcasm, that “if their king were to continue absent from them, they would, at length, crown apes.” Shortly after, he invited them to a splendid banquet, where a still more significant satire on their folly was presented to them in the person of Lambert Simnel himself, who had been exalted, for that day, from the region of the kitchen, to wait on his late noble subjects at table.\*

During the stay of these lords at Greenwich, they accompanied the king in a solemn procession to the church; and, when they took leave of him to return to Ireland, were dismissed with marks of the royal favour, among which was a gift to the baron of Howth of 300 pieces of gold.†

While thus the leaders of the small colony of the Pale—

\* Hall's *Chronicle*. Ware's *Annals*.

† Ware's *Annals*, ad ann. 1489.

from whence, almost solely, in these times, are furnished the materials of what is called Irish history—were indulging, as usual, in the two alternate extremes of treason and abject loyalty, the native septs, who still held possession of by far the greater and more fertile portion of the island, continued, unmindful of the presence of the foreigner, to make war only among themselves; and appeared to forget that they had any enemies in the country but each other. There were a few, indeed, among the great Anglo-Irish lords, who, by long mixture of blood, by their extensive possessions, and, even still more, by their flattering adoption of the laws and usages of the land, had gained a station in the hearts of the natives, little less home-felt and familiar than that of their own native chiefs. Of this description had been, through several generations, the earls of Desmond; the ninth earl of which family was, in the third year of this reign, murdered by one of his own servants in his house at Rathkeal, in the county of Limerick. Among the crimes charged against this lord's father, and for which he was executed, as we have seen, at Drogheda, alliance with the Irish was one of the most prominent; and yet—so feeble are all laws against which nature enters her protest—the very son of that lord, James, the late earl, was not deterred by his father's tragic fate from choosing for his wife a lady of the land, the daughter of O'Brian, chief of Thomond.

Soon after the departure of the king's commissioner, Kil-dare had been called to suppress an outbreak of the Mac Geohigans, in a small territory belonging to the chief of that sept, called Moy-Cashel. There, having taken and destroyed the castle of Beleragh, the king's troops dispersed themselves over the whole district, and after destroying all the villages and farms, returned to their quarters loaded with spoil. There was also much fighting, in the course of this year, between the new earl of Desmond, the tenth of that title, and the Irish

chiefs in his neighbourhood. This lord, who, from a defect in his limbs, had been nicknamed the *Lame*, soon acquired, by his feats in the field, the title of the *Warlike*; \* and, following the example of his noble progenitors, lived almost entirely on his own princely domains, among the native septs,—making wars and treaties with them at pleasure, and continuing in his ways and habits all the barbaric grandeur of the ancient Irish chief. In perfect consistency with this character, he appears to have passed his whole life in constant warfare with his neighbours; having qualified himself, if it may be so expressed, for this state of mutual hostility, by becoming one of themselves. In a victory gained by him over Morough O'Carrol, prince of Ely, that chief was slain in the course of the conflict, together with his brother Maol Mury; and, in another great battle fought by Desmond, Mac Carty, the rightful prince of Desmond, was vanquished and slain.

About the same time, the great chieftain, O'Neill, having committed some acts of aggression upon a neighbouring lord, O'Donnell, animosities arose between their two septs, which continued to rage for some months; till at length they were interrupted by the murder of O'Neill by his own brother. The fierce struggle between these two chiefs is said to have commenced by a correspondence truly laconic:—"Send me tribute, or else——," was the brief mandate of O'Neill; "I owe you no tribute, and if——," was the significant answer of O'Donnell.†

The plot of which Simnel was made the instrument having proved so signal a failure, it would seem hardly conceivable that, in but a few years after, some of the very same personages who had been concerned in this abortive scheme, should have brought forward another contrivance of nearly the same pattern; and moreover, that Ireland, or rather the seat of the English power in that island, should have been again chosen,

\* Lodge.

† Cox.

on no very flattering estimate of its honesty or discernment, to be the opening scene of the imposture. Of this plot, as well as of the former, the ever-restless duchess of Burgundy was the prime mover ;\* and the personage whom she now (A. D. 1490) prepared to bring forward was no other than Richard duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., who had made his escape, as she pretended, from the Tower, when his elder brother was murdered.

In her choice of the personage to be represented, she showed, on the present occasion, far more judgment than on the former, since to Richard, were he still living, the crown really belonged ; whereas the young Warwick could not have succeeded as long as any of the descendants of Edward IV. were alive. The individual she had chosen to personate her royal nephew, and who bore some resemblance to him, it is said, in his person and features, was an accomplished young Fleming, named Peter Osbeck, though generally called Perkin Warbeck ; and, from the time it must have taken to educate him for the new character he was about to assume, it is clear that the indefatigable duchess must have begun to lay the foundation of this second bold imposture almost immediately after the failure of the first.

Having succeeded, as she hoped, in making of this youth an instrument aptly suited to her views, she deemed it prudent to wait a more favourable time for the development of her plot ; and with the view, meanwhile, of keeping Warbeck concealed, as well as of diverting attention from Flanders, as the birth-place of the plot, she sent him privately, under the care

\* "The lady Margaret of Burgundy," says Bacon, "whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the king."—According to Henry's account of the plot, there had been two other subjects of personation thought of, before Richard duke of York was adopted. "Another fayned lad," he says, "called Perkin Warbeck, born at Tournay in Picardy, at his first into Ireland, called himself the bastard son of king Richard ; after that the son of the said duc of Clarence ; and now the second son of our fadre king Edward thijth, whom God assoile."—*Ellis's Original Letters.*

of lady Brampton, into Portugal. Whether any rumours had yet reached Henry of this new plot of the intriguing duchess, does not very clearly appear; but that he had grounds, at this time, for suspecting the earl of Kildare of some embryo mischief, may be taken for granted, from his sudden dismissal of that powerful lord from the office of deputy. He also, at the same time (A. D. 1492), removed from the post of high treasurer, which had been held by him for above thirty-eight years, Kildare's father-in-law, Fitz-Eustace, baron of Portlester. In place of Kildare, the archbishop of Dublin, Walter Fitz-Symons, was made lord deputy; while, with ominous warning for the Geraldines, Sir James Ormond, natural son of the late earl,—who had died on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land,—was appointed high treasurer in the place of lord Portlester.

It was now seen of what potent efficacy had been the mere name of Kildare in keeping the Irish, around the Pale, in a state of subjection and peace; for no sooner was his removal from the government known, than they rose in tumultuous revolt, and laid waste and burnt the English borders.

In this condition were the affairs of Ireland, and the English monarch had just embarked in a war with France, when the duchess of Burgundy, timing most skilfully her enterprise, sent orders to Perkin to sail without delay for Ireland; and such ready dupes, or instruments, did her scheme find in that country, that the mere announcement of the arrival at Cork of an ordinary merchant vessel from Lisbon, with a youth on board, richly attired, who called himself Richard duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., appears to have been sufficient to rouse into activity the ever-ready elements of Anglo-Irish faction.

A merchant of Cork, named John Water, who had been lately mayor of that city, took up warmly the young pretender's cause, and enlisted the citizens in his favour. There were also letters despatched to Kildare, and his kinsman Desmond,



entreating them, as champions of the York cause, to extend to this youth their sanction and aid; but how far either of those lords embarked, at this time, in his wild enterprise, we have no means of ascertaining. The great success, however, of the plot in Cork had bestowed on it a stamp which secured its currency elsewhere; and the news of the event had no sooner reached France, than the king, perceiving what use might be made of such an instrument, in the present critical state of his relations with England, sent off messengers in haste to Cork, to invite Warbeck to his court, and assure him of welcome and protection.

The reception the pretender had experienced from Henry's factious subjects was outdone in pomp, though not in cordiality, by that which awaited him at the court of Henry's enemy;—where, treated with all the forms due to the lofty rank assumed by him, he was lodged in splendid apartments, and had a guard of honour appointed to attend him, of which the sieur de Concessault, a Scotsman by descent, was the commander. This stroke of policy was followed quickly by the intended effect. Fearing the influence of such an example on his own subjects, the English monarch consented readily to more equal terms of peace with France; and the tool, Warbeck, having served the purpose for which his mock honours were granted, found himself consigned to uncereemonious neglect. Having some reason also to fear that he would be delivered up to Henry, he withdrew himself privately from the court of France, and fled into Flanders. There, with well-feigned wonder and triumph, the scheming duchess received him as her nephew, then for the first time seen by her; presented him, as such, to her assembled court; appointed a guard for his person of thirty halberdiers, “clad,” as the chronicler tells us, “in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue;” \* and

\* Hall. Bacon.

bestowed upon him the appellation of "the White Rose of England."

The triumph of the party that had succeeded to authority in Ireland, was still fully maintained. In a parliament held at Dublin, by the present deputy, archbishop Fitz-Symons, some inquisitions that had been found against him, through the instigation of lord Portlester, were declared to be null and void; while, at the same time, lord Portlester himself was called to account for his long mismanagement of the public revenues, and ordered, on pain of imprisonment and forfeiture, to pay all the arrears due by him into the exchequer.

Towards the end of this year, Fitz-Symons was succeeded in the government by Sir Robert Preston, first viscount of Gormanston, who immediately summoned several of the nobles and chief gentlemen of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, and Meath, to assemble at Trim, and take into consideration the state of the kingdom. Among the "articles for the peace of the realm," subscribed by them, there is one deserving of notice, as showing that the right of making war, as well with each other as with the natives, was sometimes assumed, in defiance of law, by the lawgivers of the Pale themselves:—"No man," says the article, "must make war without the consent of the king's deputy." \*

The late lord deputy, archbishop Fitz-Symons, having been sent for by Henry, in the autumn of this year, to give him information of the state of affairs in Ireland, Kildare, who had learned that his adversaries at court were busy in defaming his character, sailed also immediately for England, with the view of clearing himself to the king. But the party opposed to him were no less alert in their movements; and the lord deputy Gormanston, leaving the government in the hands of his son, followed the earl to England, and there, with the

assistance of Sir James Ormond and the archbishop,\* succeeded, for the time, so well in thwarting the views of Kildare, that this lord's justification was rejected, and himself sent back in disgrace to Dublin.

The effect produced by the landing of Warbeck in Ireland, not merely as regarded that country itself, but as viewed in its possible influence on other nations, had led Henry to consider more seriously the state of his Irish dominions; and the step now taken by him, however inadequate to the actual exigencies of the case, may be regarded as the first real effort of the English government in Ireland to curb that spirit of provincial despotism which it had itself let loose and fostered. Of all the means of oppression and mischief placed at the disposal of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, their packed and irresponsible parliament was certainly not the least efficient. A few rich and mighty lords combined in themselves the whole weight of the body; and of these, the petty parliament of the four shires was always the obsequious instrument. According, therefore, as the Butlers or the Geraldines happened to be uppermost, so were the justice and favour of the crown dealt out; while, by both factions equally, the subjects of the Pale were harassed with forays and exactions, and the hapless natives themselves hunted, like wild beasts, into their coverts.

The person selected to carry into effect the important reforms the king now meditated, and also to trace out and punish the lurking abettors of Warbeck, was Sir Edward Poynings, a knight of the garter and privy councillor, in whom the king placed much confidence. There went likewise with him, to form his council, several eminent English lawyers; and he

\* Of this prelate, who was in great favour with Henry, the following anecdote is told by Stanihurst:—"Being present when an oration was made in praise of the king, he was asked by his majesty, at the close of the speech, what he found most material in it. The archbishop replied, 'If it pleaseth your highness, it pleaseth me. I find no fault, save only that he flattered your majesty too much.'—"Now, in good faith," said the king, "our father of Dublin, we were minded to find the same fault ourselves."—*De Rebus Hib.*

was attended by a small force amounting to about a thousand men. Finding, on his arrival (A. D. 1494), that some of the most active abettors of Warbeck had escaped into Ulster, and were there protected by the native Irish, he deemed it most politic to begin by punishing these delinquents, so as to strike terror into the disaffected, before he addressed himself to those measures of reform which had been the chief object of his coming. Uniting with his own forces such as could be collected for him within the Pale, he directed his march towards Ulster, attended by Sir James Ormond, and, notwithstanding all that had lately occurred, by the earl of Kildare.

Such influence, indeed, had this lord acquired over the minds of the natives, that, whether as a sanction or a terror, his name was indispensable to the full success of every dealing with them, whether of negotiation or of warfare; and this ascendancy over them he owed not more to his reputation for warlike deeds, than to the pride they took in him as their born countryman, and also as connected, by family alliances, with some of the most popular of their own national chiefs. He appears himself, likewise, to have gone far beyond most of his brother lords in adopting the manners, usages, and tone of thinking of the native Irish; and how trying and equivocal was the position in which his relationship with both races sometimes placed him, is strikingly shown by all that arose out of his expedition, at this time, under Poynings, into Ulster. O'Hanlon and Mac Genis, the leaders of the Irish there collected, retired, as usual, on the approach of the enemy, into their bogs and forests; and all that was left, therefore, for Poynings to resort to, was the equally usual procedure of burning and laying waste the whole of the lands of the two chiefs. Strong suspicions arose that Kildare, from a feeling of revenge for his late treatment, had formed a plot, in concert with O'Hanlon, for the assassination of the lord deputy; and, still further to corroborate this suspicion, intelligence arrived, that

James Fitz Gerald, the earl's brother, had suddenly seized on the castle of Catherlough, and strengthened it with a garrison. This ominous news compelled Sir Edward to hasten his return. Making what terms he could with O'Hanlon and Mac Genis, and binding them both, by oaths and hostages, to observe the peace, he immediately marched his army to Catherlough, and, after a siege of ten days, obtained possession of the castle.

In the month of November this year, was held that memorable parliament at Drogheda, which enacted the statute called, after the name of the lord deputy, Poynings' Act. The provision made by this particular enactment was, that no parliament should, for the future, be holden in Ireland until the chief governor and council had first certified to the king, under the great seal of that land, "as well the causes and considerations as the acts they designed to pass, and till the same should be approved by the king and council." This noted statute was meant as a preventive of some of those evils and inconveniences which could not but arise from the existence of a separate legislature in Ireland, independent of, and irresponsible to, that of England, and therefore liable, in the hands of a factious aristocracy, to be made the instrument of mere selfish rapacity and revenge. The mischiefs inseparable from the nature of a body so constituted, were shown, in their most flagrant form, during the contests between the Yorkists and Lancastrians; and very recently, as we have seen, the gross mockery had been exhibited of a parliament summoned to sanction the claims of the wretched impostor, Lambert Simnel.\*

It was also enacted in this present parliament, that all the statutes made lately in England, concerning or belonging to

\* In describing the state of public feeling, with respect to Warbeck, on his first appearance, Hall says, "In Ireland there be two kind of men; one soft, gentle, civil, and courteous; . . . the other kind is clean contrary from this, for they be wild, rusticall, foolish, fierce, and for their unmannerly behavior and rude passions are called wild and savage Irishmen. To these wild colts," he adds, "Perkin shewed hym selfe first."



the public weal, should be thenceforth good and effectual in Ireland.

Among several other acts, passed at this time, of an inferior, but still important character, there was one annulling a prescription claimed by rebels and traitors, in Ireland, by reason of an act, passed during the lieutenancy of the duke of York, ordaining that Ireland should be a sanctuary for foreigners, and that it should be treason to disturb any refugees in that country, by any writ, letters missive, or other such authority, from England. This dangerous exemption had been granted by Richard duke of York,\* when engaged in rebellion against Henry VI., for the purpose of encouraging his friends to repair to him in Ireland; and the abettors of Simnel and Warbeck had pleaded it in excuse of their late treason. It was, accordingly, now repealed, and all receivers and maintainers of traitors were declared guilty of treason.

One of the abuses, proved by these statutes to be then prevalent, was the practice, among the great lords, of keeping crowds of retainers; an abuse carried also, at this period, to a dangerous extent in England. The power assumed, too, by the lords of the Pale, of making war or peace, as they pleased, was likewise prohibited; and to stir up the "Irishry" against the people of the Pale, or make war upon the chief governor, was declared high treason. The renowned statutes of Kilkenny were revived and confirmed by this parliament, with the exception only of that which prohibited the use of the Irish language;—a law long rendered inoperative by the general prevalence of the native tongue throughout all the English settlements.† The defence of the marches being an object of

\* Cox.

† There occur some striking remarks in Spenser (*View of the State of Ireland*), on the great strength of national character evinced by the Irish in thus forcing the native language upon the victor. "For it hath ever been," he says, "the use of the conqueror to despise the language of the conquered, and to force him by all means to learn his. So did the Romans always use, insomuch that there is almost no nation in the world but is sprinkled with their language. It were good, therefore, meseems, to

great importance, it was made felony to permit any enemies or rebels to pass them; all proprietors of march lands were obliged to reside there themselves, or leave, when absent, sufficient deputies, on pain of losing their estates; and all persons near the marches, between sixteen and sixty years of age, were to be ready to repair, on warning, in suitable array, to their defence.

Doomed to suffer by the peculiar oppressions of both countries, Ireland was harassed not only by her own ancient exaction, coyne and livery, but also by the English mode of extortion, purveyance; and against both these heavy grievances one of the acts of Poynings' parliament was directed. The general use of bows and arrows was, as usual, enjoined, and the wild war-cries adopted by some of the great English families, in imitation of the natives, were strictly forbidden, as watchwords of faction, and provocatives of riot.\*

As the chief object of most of the enactments of this parliament was to break down, or at least reduce, the enormous power of the lords of the Pale, a measure was again, at this time, brought forward, which had been already, more than once, suspended over them; and an act for the resumption, with some few exceptions, of all the grants made by the crown since the last days of the reign of king Edward II., was passed in this parliament. With the same view, it was held to be necessary to make an example of the earl of Kildare; and, although the charges against him appear to have rested upon little more than suspicion, he was by an act of this parliament attainted for high treason; and his brother James and several other Geraldines were also declared traitors. Such,

search out the original cause of this evil, . . . for I think it very strange, that the English being so many, and the Irish so few, as they then were left, the fewer should draw the more into their use."

\* The war-cry of the Butlers was *Butler-aboe*, meaning, according to Ware, the cause of the Butlers. The earl of Kildare's cry was, *Crom-aboe*,—from a small castle, says the same authority, called *Crom*, belonging to that family. See, for the cries of the other great lords and chiefs, Ware, *Antiq.* chap. 21.

with the addition of a law enacting that "the lords of Ireland should wear in parliament the same sort of robes as were worn by the English lords in the parliament of England," were the whole of the statutes passed at Drogheda, under the government of Sir Edward Poynings.

These laws, when first enacted, extended no further than the narrow limits of the Pale; but, according as the authority of the crown increased, their effect and influence gained ground, until at length they came to be in force over the entire kingdom.

In the "great treaty of commerce" signed, at this time, between England and the Netherlands, a provision was, at Henry's desire, inserted, expressly stipulating that the duchess of Burgundy should not be permitted to aid or harbour the king's rebels, under pain of losing her domains. As Warbeck, therefore, against whom this article was levelled, could no longer remain in Flanders, he set sail once more for Ireland,\* hoping to enlist the people of that country in his cause. Finding, however, in this his second attempt, but little support or encouragement, he set sail from Cork to Scotland, in 1495, having been recommended to James IV., then ruler of that kingdom, not only by the duchess of Burgundy, but in private letters from the king of France, and from Maximilian the emperor.

Once more, therefore, do we find this phantom of the historic scene assuming the semblance of royalty, and moving about among kings and princes as their acknowledged equal. Having been announced by the duchess to James as "the prince of England," that monarch received him with royal

\* This second visit of the impostor, by order of Margaret, to Ireland, is thus quaintly recorded by Bernard Andreas, the poet laureate and historiographer of Henry VII.:—"Innone illum revocante, in Flandriam profectus est. Post in Hyberniam coronationis gratia prospero vento delatus, magnam barbar. um illius insulæ partem suis callidissimis subornavit tractationibus."—Cited by Ellis, from a MS. in the British Museum.

honours, at the palace of Stirling, addressing him publicly as "cousin." Whether James really believed in Warbeck's story, it is not easy to discover. But that, early in the course of the plot, he had been engaged in secret correspondence with the duchess of Burgundy, and made himself, on one occasion, the medium of communication between her and Ireland, appears curiously from the Scottish records.\* Whatever his secret opinion or knowledge on the subject may have been, his whole conduct implied a belief in the truth of Warbeck's claims; and he now did not hesitate to bestow on him the hand of the fair Catherine Gordon, a lady of remarkable beauty, the daughter of the earl of Huntley, and grand-daughter of James I.

About this time, Hugh O'Donnell, the chief of Tyrconnel, returned from a visit to the Scottish court, whither he had gone, it is supposed, to consult with king James on matters relating to the cause and fortunes of Perkin Warbeck. But, out of the precincts of the English Pale, little interest appears to have been taken in this adventurer; and it is far more probable that the object of O'Donnell's visit to Scotland, where he was received by the king with all due honour and state,† was to ask for aid for himself in the warfare he was then engaged in with a brother chieftain, O'Connor of Connaught. On his return, a great battle was fought between them, in

\* It is generally believed, that Warbeck's connection with James commenced shortly before his arrival at this time in Scotland; but Mr. Tytler, in his able and valuable work (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. chap. 8.), has shown that this monarch had long held secret communication both with the duchess of Burgundy and with Warbeck, and, in more than one instance, had been made the medium of their correspondence with Ireland. So early as the year 1491, the following entry, it appears, is found in the Treasurer's Books:—"Given, at the king's command, to an Englishman called Edward Ormond, that brought letters forth of Ireland fra king Edward's son, and the earl of Desmond, ix lb."

† "He was received by the king," says Tytler, "with great state and distinction,"—in proof of which the following items from the Treasurer's Accounts are given.—"Item, passing with letters in the east and southlandis, for the receiving of great Odonnel, x shillings. Item, to master Alexr Schawe's expenses, passing from the town of Air to Edinburgh, for the cupboard, and remaining there upon the king's elothing, to the receiving of Odonnel, xx shillings."

which O'Donnell was the victor; and, immediately after, he laid siege to the castle of Sligo. But, on the arrival of Ulick Burke, lord of Clanricarde, with a large army, O'Donnell hastily withdrew.

In consequence of his having been attainted by Poyning's parliament, the earl of Kildare had been sent in custody to England, where he still remained a prisoner; and so deeply did his lady, the countess, feel this event, that it was the cause, we are told, of her death. One of the charges urged against him was, that he had sacrilegiously burnt down the church of Cashel (A. D. 1496); and the success of the defence made by him, when examined, respecting this outrage, in the royal presence, shows, if true, that the monarch's relish for Irish simplicity and humour was somewhat more awake than his sense of dignity or of justice. Confessing the fact of his having burned down the church, Kildare pleaded, as his excuse, that "he thought the archbishop was in it;" which, being said with an odd bluntness peculiar to this lord, had the effect of at once amusing and prepossessing the king in his favour;—such natural frankness appearing incompatible with the finesse and intrigue attributed to Kildare.

Henry had advised him, on the first hearing of his case, to provide himself with good counsel, adding, that his cause, he feared, would require it. "I will then choose," said the earl, "the best counsel in England." "And who is that?" asked Henry. "Marry, the king himself," replied Kildare. "Whereat," says the chronicler, "the king laughed." So much, however, did all this simplicity of manner win upon the royal mind, that, when the counsel against Kildare, in concluding his charge, said vehemently, that "not all Ireland could govern this man," the king replied, "Then is he the fittest man to govern all Ireland."

The earl's cause accordingly triumphed; the chief O'Hanlon, with whom it was asserted he had conspired against the



lord deputy, came forward to clear him upon oath; and he was not only restored by the king to honour and estate, but, by letters patent, of the 6th of August this year, made lord lieutenant of Ireland. The king thought it prudent to retain, as a hostage for Kildare's fidelity, his eldest son Gerald. But, whatever suspicion had hitherto fallen on this lord's loyalty, no such reproach appears to have attended him during the remainder of his long career; nor could he, at all events, be charged as deficient in that most essential evidence of loyalty—incessant warfare against the Irish. He had but a short time, indeed, received the sword from his predecessor, when he set out on an expedition against O'Brian of Thomond, and took by assault the castle of Feyback, belonging to Finnin Mac Namara. He afterwards stormed and destroyed the castle of Ballynetty, as well as some other fortified places, and returned in triumph to Dublin.

The flattering prospects opened to Warbeck by the zealous part the Scottish monarch had taken in his behalf having now entirely vanished, the unfortunate adventurer, whom James to the last had continued to treat with all the respect due to his assumed rank, resolved to try once more his fortune in Ireland; and a vessel and a guard of thirty horse having been provided for him by his generous protector, he sailed (A. D. 1497), accompanied by his beautiful consort, for Cork. There he was joined, soon after his landing, by the earl of Desmond, with a force of 2,400 men; and, as Waterford was then the stronghold of loyalty, they marched directly against that city, and prepared to invest it. A fleet, at the same time, was ordered to Passage, consisting of eleven ships, to make an attack from the river, and also to land an additional body of troops.

For eleven days, the besieged citizens continued to defend themselves with unflinching spirit; and, at length, becoming in their turn assailants, they attacked the enemy in their own

quarters, till they compelled them to raise the siege. Having taken, in one of their sallies, a considerable number of prisoners, they carried them all to the market-place, and cutting off their heads, left them stuck on high stakes, as memorials of their victory. On another occasion, the cannon planted on Reginald's Tower having battered in the side of one of the enemy's ships, the whole of the crew, we are told, perished.\* Discouraged by all these losses, Desmond found himself compelled to raise the siege; while Warbeck, embarking at Passage, made his way back to Cork, and from thence sailed to Cornwall, being closely pursued by four ships that had been sent from Waterford to apprehend him.

The only further connection with Ireland that remains to be noticed in this adventurer's fate, was the closing scene of his strange life, which took place in the year 1499; when, having been condemned as guilty of treason, he was executed at Tyburn, and, with him, suffered the first who espoused his adventurous cause, John Waters, mayor of Cork. His other Irish abettor, the earl of Desmond, was far more fortunate in his fate. Notwithstanding the overt and daring part he had taken in this youth's behalf, the king, with that clemency which, throughout his reign, he had so many opportunities of evincing, freely pardoned him all his offences, and even received him into favour.

The petty warfare in which Kildare became now involved

\* Leland. Lodge. Smith (*Natural and Civil History of Waterford*, p. 124). Tuckey (*Cork Remembrancer*, ad ann. 1497).

In deference to those and other Irish authorities, the above particulars of this alleged siege are given. But a letter addressed, this year, by the king himself to Sir Gilbert Talbot, contains a statement so wholly at variance with the received account of Desmond's proceedings, as to bring into suspicion not merely the details, but the fact itself of this siege of Waterford having ever occurred. Henry thus writes:—"Trusty and well beloved, we grete you wele, signifying unto you that wher as Perkin Warbek and his wif were lately sette ful porely to the see by the king of Scottes, and afre that landed within our land of Irland in the wylde Irissherie, where he had be taken by our cousins Th' erls of Kildare and of Desmond, if he and his said wif had not secretly stolen away."—*Ellis's Original Letters*, vol. i. letter 14.

with some of the northern chiefs, and which raged at intervals through the two or three following years, partook too much of the clannish character of the feuds of the Irish themselves, to be narrated at any length as matter of history. In consequence of the unnatural murder of Con O'Neill, by his brother Henry, some years back, the territory of Tyrone had been divided between Henry and Daniel O'Neill; and, in the present year, Henry himself was barbarously assassinated (A. D. 1498) by Tirlogh and Con, the sons of his murdered brother. This act produced a fresh explosion of violence among the whole family; and Kildare, in abetting Tirlogh, was actuated, doubtless, by feelings of relationship no less than by policy, as Tirlogh was his own nephew. Being now joined by O'Donnell, Mac Guire, and other friends of his kinsman, he laid siege to Dungannon, the chief seat of the O'Neills, and taking the castles, both of that town and of Omagh, compelled Neal Mac Art O'Neill, the opponent of his nephew, to submit and give hostages. Shortly after his return from this expedition, the earl marched to Cork, and, placing there a strong garrison, exacted similar terms of submission from that city and from Kinsale.

In like manner, through the two or three following years, we find this indefatigable veteran carrying triumphantly, through different parts of the kingdom, the terror of the English name and arms. In the course of an expedition into Connaught (A. D. 1499), he took and garrisoned the castles of Athleague, Roscommon, Tulsk, and Castlereagh; and again marching into Ulster, at the instance probably of his nephew, seized the castle of Kinard, and made Tirlogh governor of it.

But all this active course of aggression could not fail, in the end, to awaken a proportionate spirit of resistance; and the native chiefs, finding how unable they were to cope separately with Kildare, resolved to try, at last, the experiment of confederating among themselves. Ulick Burke, lord of Clan-

ricarde, called commonly Mac William,—the head of a powerful sept of “degenerate English,”—was the principal leader of this league, in which were joined also O'Brian of Thomond, Mac Namara, Melrony O'Carrol, and other chieftains; forming, with their united forces, as it is said, the most powerful native army that had been seen in Ireland since the conquest.

Duly sensible of the responsibility which this unusual effort of the Irish imposed upon him, Kildare collected together all the forces he was able to muster; and being accompanied by all the great Anglo-Irish lords, as well as by the mayor of Dublin, with a band of armed men, the bishop of Ardagh, and one or two native chiefs, he advanced the royal standard against the rebels. At the hill of Knoc-tuadh,\* about seven miles from Galway, the two armies encountered (A. D. 1504); and after an obstinate conflict, the result of which was for some time doubtful, the victory fell to the earl of Kildare, and the Irish were defeated and routed with great slaughter; their loss being variously estimated at two, four, and even nine thousand men; while, by a sort of miracle, it is said, not a single Englishman in Kildare's army was even hurt. Among the prisoners were the two sons of Ulick of Clanricarde; and the towns of Galway and Athenry surrendered to the victor.†

It would appear, from some Irish annals of this period, that in private pique and family differences, between Kildare and the lord of Clanricarde, lay the real source of the hostility that led to this sanguinary battle. But, whatever may have originally provoked the warfare, its triumphant result was of the utmost consequence to the interests of the crown and of

\* Meaning, “the Mount of Axes.”

† Of this battle Sir John Davies says, “Though the lords and gentlemen of the Pale joined the famous battle of Knocktow, in Connaught, wherein Mac William, with 4000 of the Irish, were slain, yet was not this journey made by warrant from the king, or upon his charge (as it is expressed in the Book of Howth), but only upon a private quarrel of the earl of Kildare: so loosely were the martial affairs of Ireland carried, during the reign of king Henry the seventh.”

the English colony; as the power of the natives to combine successfully against their oppressors had now, to a certain extent, been tried, and had utterly failed; and the natural consequence was, an increased confidence in their own strength, on the part of the settlers, with a proportionate decline in the spirit and self-reliance of the Irish. So pleased was the king with his deputy's services on this occasion, that, on receiving the account of the victory, he created him a knight of the garter.

During the remainder of this monarch's reign, there occurred no event of any great interest or importance; except that, in spite of all the suspicion attached occasionally to Kildare, we find him, in the last year of this reign (A. D. 1504), at the head of the government, as he had been in the first.



## CHAPTER XLV.

HENRY VIII.

**EARL OF KILDARE CONTINUED CHIEF GOVERNOR—HIS DEATH—IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON GERALD.—MILITARY EXPLOITS OF THIS EARL—IS SUMMONED TO ENGLAND ON CHARGES OF MALADMINISTRATION.—EARL OF SURREY LORD LIEUTENANT.—SECRET DESIGNS AGAINST KILDARE—HIS RECEPTION IN ENGLAND.—VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS OF DESMOND—FEUD BETWEEN HIM AND THE EARL OF ORMOND.—JUDICIOUS POLICY OF SURREY—HIS VIEWS SECONDED BY THE KING—DESPAIRS OF THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND.—ORMOND APPOINTED LORD DEPUTY—IS SUPPLANTED BY KILDARE.—TREASONABLE PRACTICES OF DESMOND.—KILDARE AGAIN SUMMONED TO ENGLAND —IS COMMITTED TO THE TOWER.—ORMOND DISPOSSESSED OF HIS TITLE, AND CREATED EARL OF OSSORY.—LORD DELVIN THE NEW LORD DEPUTY—IS TREACHEROUSLY SEIZED AND KEPT PRISONER BY O'CONNOR.—SURREY'S OPINIONS RESPECTING IRELAND.—POPULARITY AND TRIUMPH OF KILDARE—IS SENT AS ADVISER TO THE NEW LORD DEPUTY, SKEFFINGTON—SUPPLANTS HIM, AND RESUMES THE GOVERNMENT.—COMBINATION AGAINST HIM—IS AGAIN SUMMONED TO ENGLAND—COMMITTS THE GOVERNMENT TO HIS SON LORD THOMAS.—OFFICIAL REPORTS ON THE STATE OF IRELAND.—REBELLION OF LORD THOMAS FITZ GERALD.—DUBLIN CASTLE BESIEGED.—BARBAROUS MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP ALLEN.—LORD THOMAS INVADERS THE TERRITORY OF THE EARL OF OSSORY—ENTERS INTO A TRUCE WITH THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN—IS EXCOMMUNICATED.—DEATH OF KILDARE IN THE TOWER.—WARFARE THROUGHOUT IRELAND.—LORD THOMAS NEGOTIATES FOR AID FROM FOREIGN POWERS.—SIEGE OF MAYNOOTH BY THE LORD DEPUTY.—SURRENDER OF THE CASTLE.—LORD THOMAS TAKES REFUGE WITH O'BRIAN.—THREATENED INVASION OF THE PALE.—ACTIVE SERVICES OF OSSORY AND HIS SON.—LOYAL CONDUCT OF THE NORTHERN CHIEFS.—INEFFICIENCY OF THE LORD DEPUTY.—FAMILY FEUDS AMONG THE NATIVES.—COLLUSIVE CHARACTER OF THE WARFARE ON BOTH SIDES.—WASTE AND RUIN OF THE COUNTRY.—ARRIVAL OF LORD LEONARD GRAY.—SUBMISSION OF O'CONNOR.—LORD THOMAS SURRENDERS IN HOPE OF PARDON—IS CONVEYED PRISONER TO ENGLAND.—LORD LEONARD APPOINTED LORD DEPUTY.—DESTRUCTION OF O'BRIAN'S BRIDGE.—LORD THOMAS AND HIS FIVE UNCLES EXECUTED TOGETHER AT TYBURN.—EXPEDITION OF THE LORD DEPUTY INTO OFFALEY.—EXPULSION FROM THENCE OF O'CONNOR.—THAT TERRITORY BESTOWED ON THE CHIEF'S BROTHER CAHIR.—SUBSEQUENT CONDUCT OF THE BROTHERS.—SINGULAR PARLEY BETWEEN THE LORD DEPUTY AND O'CONNOR.—YOUNG GERALD FITZ GERALD, THE YOUNGER BROTHER OF LORD THOMAS—HIS JOURNEY WITH HIS MOTHER, LADY ELEANOR, TO O'DONNELL'S COUNTRY—LEAGUE IN HIS BEHALF AMONG THE NORTHERN CHIEFS—HIS CAUSE ESPOUSED BY THE EARL OF DESMOND.—MARRIAGE OF LADY ELEANOR TO O'DONNELL.—RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES BEGINNING TO MIX WITH IRISH STRIFE.—FEARS OF CONCERT BETWEEN THE CHIEFS AND THE SCOTTISH MONARCH.—FORMIDABLE LEAGUE BETWEEN O'BRIAN AND DESMOND.—EXPEDITION OF THE LORD DEPUTY**

INTO MUNSTER.—GERALDINE LORDS COMPELLED TO PROFFER ALLEGIANCE.—DES  
MOND DEFIES THE LORD DEPUTY'S POWER.—ESCAPE OF YOUNG GERALD INTO FRANCE  
—HIS SUBSEQUENT ADVENTURES.

DURING the first years of the reign of this prince, the affairs of Ireland attracted but little of his attention or interest. The earl of Kildare was still retained at the head of the government; and all the other public functionaries were left undisturbed in their several offices. The veteran lord justice, during the few remaining years of his life, continued to be engaged in constant warfare with the natives; and, invading successively Munster and Ulster, obtained, in both provinces, his usual meed of success; though opposed vigorously, in Munster, by a large confederate force, under the joint command of James, eldest son of the earl of Desmond, Tirlogh O'Brian, lord of Thomond, and Mac William, a chief of the sept of the Burkes.

But the termination of this remarkable man's career was now at hand. Resolving to invade Ely O'Carrol, the country of the chieftains of Ely, he marched, at the head of a large army, towards that territory; but, being taken ill on his way, at Athy, he was from thence removed to Kildare, where, in the month of September, 1513, he died, and was buried in St. Mary's chapel, in the choir of Christ Church, Dublin.\* On the earl's decease, the council nominated his son Gerald lord justice, and the king afterwards made him, by patent, lord deputy.

Inheriting much of the vigour and daring of the late lord, Gerald lost no time in following his example; and, beginning with O'Moore, of Ley, who had bid defiance to his authority, invaded that chieftain's territory, and drove him into his woods. He then attacked the country of Hugh O'Reilly, stormed and rased the castle of Cavan (A. D. 1514), and, having slain

\* Lodge,—who says, his death was caused “by a shot he had received a little before, from the O'Mores of Leix.”

O'Reilly himself, and many of his followers, chased the rest into their inaccessible fastnesses, and burned and ravaged their country. The various achievements of this kind performed by the new lord deputy, in the course of the three or four following years, being wholly devoid of any of those associations or incidents that awaken historical interest, cannot be too succinctly related. In the course of an inroad into Imaly, in the county of Wicklow (A. D. 1516), he slew Shane O'Toole, a chieftain of that mountainous district, and sent his head to the mayor of Dublin. Advancing his standard then into Ely O'Carrol, he was joined in his invasion of that territory by several noblemen of Munster and Leinster, of English extraction, among whom were Piers Butler, earl of Ormond, and James, the eldest son of the earl of Desmond. Assisted by the forces of these lords, he laid siege to the castle of Limevan, which, after being defended for the space of a week, was deserted by the garrison, and, shortly after, demolished by Kildare. Thus successful, he pushed on rapidly to Clonmel, the inhabitants of which, being taken by surprise, immediately surrendered to him the town; and he returned from his rapid expedition loaded with trophies and spoil.\*

A similar course of success attended his arms the following year in Ulster, when, marching into Lecale, he took by storm the fortified castle of Dundrum, from whence the English had been expelled by the natives; and then, attacking Phelim Macgenis, obtained an easy victory over him, making the chief himself prisoner, and putting to death a number of his followers. From thence, continuing his course into Tyrone, he took and burnt the castle of Dungannon, and spread the horrors of fire and war through the whole of that territory.†

The little attention paid to Ireland during the first years of Henry's reign, left to a bold and self-willed ruler like Kildare so wide a range of power, and, still worse, of exemption

\* Cox. *Ware's Annals*.

† *Ibid*.

from responsibility, as could not fail to be grossly presumed upon and abused. Of the great lords of the Pale in general, we have more than once had occasion to observe, that, while so unmanageable as subjects, they were no less rash and oppressive as rulers; nor do the instances of earl Gerald and his warlike father form any exception to this general remark,—brute force being the sole instrument of their policy, and conquest, not pacification, their leading object. The very qualities, indeed, that rendered them popular among the natives, were such as unfitted them to be useful or civilising leaders. They were loved for their leaning to the old lawless customs of the land; and having, by marriage, become connected with some of the principal Irish lords, were regarded, in general, rather as chiefs of a great leading sept, than as acknowledged rulers of the whole kingdom.

Another evil attending the position of an Anglo-Irish chief governor was, the jealousy naturally felt of his great influence over his fellow-countrymen, by those functionaries of English birth who found their own authority cast into the shade, and by a power the most offensive to their prejudices and pride. Some secret schemes, arising out of such feelings, had been found by Kildare, in the year 1518, to be actively at work for his ruin; but, by a prompt and bold vindication of himself to the king, he succeeded, for a time, in baffling the design. In the following year (A. D. 1519), however, his adversaries, reinforced by the aid of Wolsey, who had now reached the full meridian of his unparalleled power, returned openly to the attack, and so far succeeded in their hostile purpose, as to cause Kildare to be summoned to England to answer charges against him for maladministration.\* Appointing, by the royal

\* In a letter (A. D. 1520) from the king to the lord lieutenant and council, frequent reference is made to the charges against Kildare:—"Shewing furthermore suche conspiracye, as by meanes of the erle of Kildare his servauntes, is daylie there made with the Irishe rebelles ayeinst you."—"As touching the sedicious practices, conspiracies, and subtile driftes of the erle of Kildare, his servauntes, ayders and assisters"—*State Papers*, II.

permission, a knight belonging to his own family, Sir Thomas Fitz Gerald, of Laccagh, to act as deputy during his absence, the earl hastened over to England, with the view of clearing himself from the serious charges alleged against him.\*

In the mean time, attention had been drawn, though as usual, reluctantly, to the condition of Ireland; and, by Wolsey's advice, who deemed it most politic to appoint to the government of that kingdom some English nobleman wholly unconnected with any of its parties or factions, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, the son of the lord who won the great victory of Flodden Field,† was sent thither, in 1520, as lord lieutenant, taking with him only 100 of the king's guard, and 1000 horse and foot. In appointing Surrey to this office, the cardinal is supposed to have accomplished the double object, both of mortifying the man he hated, by depriving Kildare of his government, and removing a rival he dreaded, by sending Surrey to fill his place.

One of the first tasks to which the new lord lieutenant applied himself, was that of endeavouring to collect from the servants and Irish followers of Kildare such loose accusations against him, such half truths mixed with fiction, as might, when artfully put together, assume the semblance of proof. A letter alleged to have been addressed by him to O'Carrol, one of the bravest and most refractory of the Irish chiefs, was, in particular, the object of the lieutenant's inquiry; as in that letter, according to the account he had received of it, the earl had said to his correspondent, "Keep good peace to the Englishmen in Ireland until an English deputy come there. But when any English deputy shall come thither, then do your best to make war upon the English."‡

\* Ware's *Annals*.

† Pedigree of Howard.—See *Hist. and Antiq. of the Castle and Town of Arundel*, by the Rev. M. A. Tierney. Dr. Lingard, by a slight oversight, makes the hero of Flodden and the lord lieutenant of Ireland the same person.

‡ "Except," he adds, "such as bee towards me, whom ye know wele your self."



To bring home to Kildare by any evidence, however procured, the charge of having written such a letter, no pains were spared on either side of the Channel; and even Surrey gave in so far to the cruel and treacherous policy by which the counsels of his royal master were too often marked, as to suggest that the earl's secretary, William Delahide, the person in whom he most confided, should be sent to the Tower, and there tortured, to force him to give evidence respecting this letter.\*

While, in Ireland, these schemes for his ruin were secretly ripening, Kildare, unconscious, apparently, of his danger, was waiting, in England, the decision of Wolsey, to whom the charges against him had been referred by the king; nor, in the mean time, were there any indications in the manner of his reception at the English court,—notwithstanding the angry tone in which Henry speaks of him in his letters to Surrey,†—from which it could be concluded that he was at all in disgrace. On the contrary, at the celebrated interview which took place between Henry and the French monarch, on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, we find Kildare among the train of distinguished noblemen who composed, on that occasion, the splendid retinue of the English king. He was also paying, at this time, his addresses to the lady Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the marquis of Dorset, to whom he was afterwards married; and Surrey adverts, in one of his letters, to the rumor current in Ireland of a projected marriage between Kildare and “a kinswoman of the king,” as well as to the alarm felt among the English lest he should be again sent to assume the government.‡

The spirit of the natives had been, in the mean time, kept in check by the earl of Surrey; and the only chieftain of any

\* Surrey to Wolsey, *S. P.* VII.

† “As touching the sedicious practices, conspiracies, and subtile driftes of the earle of Kildare, his servauntes, ayders, and assisters.”—Henry VIII. to the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, *S. P.* II.

‡ State Papers, VII.

great mark who had resisted his authority, was Con O'Neill, lord of Tyrone. The lord lieutenant, however, compelled this chief to take refuge in his fastnesses, and at length reduced him to obedience.

With that reckless defiance of all laws, save those of their own fierce will, which so much characterised the noble house of Desmond, the present earl of this title had, not only without the leave of the lord lieutenant, but in direct opposition to his orders, invaded the territory of Cormac Oge and Mac Arthy Reagh, two Irish lords of great power.\* These chiefs, however, having formed a league with Sir Thomas Desmond the deadly foe of the earl, advanced to meet the aggressors, and a conflict ensued, in which Cormac's party were completely victorious. The earl's kinsman, Sir John Fitz Gerald, was slain on the field, and Sir John of Desmond, and others of the Geraldines, wounded and made prisoners; while the loss of troops, on their side, is calculated at eighteen banners of galloglasses, and twenty-four banners of horsemen.†

This signal defeat of the earl of Desmond, however well-merited, was regarded by Surrey as fraught with mischief to the English; for, as the victorious party were mostly natives, this brilliant success, he feared, would lead them and others of their fellow-countrymen to feel more confidence in their own prowess, and rate less highly the strength and spirit of the English. There was also reason, he thought, to apprehend that Desmond, with a view to repair his disaster, would seek alliance with some of the more powerful Irish captains, and, by the sacrifice of a part of his possessions, secure the means of obtaining revenge.

Between this lord and the earl of Ormond there had prevailed, for some time, dissensions, in which the old feud of

\* State Papers, VII.

† Under every banner of galloglasses there were generally eighty men, and from twenty to fifty under every banner of horsemen.

their families, during the wars of the two Roses, was, in another shape, revived; the earl of Ormond being a staunch friend to the English interests, while Desmond, from the mixed relationship in which he stood to the two races, combining the aristocracy of the one with the chieftaincy of the other, was alternately trusted and suspected by both parties, and, according as it chanced, was friend or traitor to each, in their turns. By the judicious and amicable management of Surrey, a reconciliation was effected between these two lords; and, at the same time, Cormac Oge and Mac Carthy Reagh bound themselves by pledges to keep peace towards the earl of Desmond. In the account which Surrey himself has given of this transaction, we find the following eulogium on these two Irish chiefs: "They are two wise men; and I found them more conformable to order than some Englishmen here."\* In the same discriminating spirit he suggests that power should be delegated to him to confer the order of knighthood on such of the Irish captains as should appear to him worthy of such a distinction; and the king, in adopting his suggestion, thus creditably extends and improves upon it:—"We grant that ye not only make O'Neal and such lords of the Irishrie as ye shall think good, knights, but also to give unto the said O'Neal a collar of gold of our livery."†

Throughout the remaining period of Surrey's administration, so far were the efforts made by him for the pacification of the kingdom from being attended with any success, that even the faint dawnings of order and peace, that had seemed for a while to arise from the policy pursued by him, were all again clouded and lost; and the settled conclusion to which, as he himself states, his personal knowledge of the country had led him, was, that by conquest alone could the Irish be ever reduced to order or peace; and that to conquer them would, for

\* Surrey to Wolsey, *S. P. XIII.*

† Henry VIII. to Surrey, *S. P. XII.*

reasons forcibly stated by him, be difficult, if not wholly impossible.\* He was himself, indeed, sufficiently versed in the warfare of the Irish, to enable him to judge on this point,—having been engaged in constant struggles, during his lieutenancy, with the O'Carrols, the O'Moores, the O'Connors, and the Connells; and in the course of a late expedition against these chiefs, one of the bravest of his officers, Sir Edward Plunket, lord of Dunsany, fell on the field. Having, for some time, earnestly entreated of the king to release him from his arduous and hopeless charge, and being, moreover, seriously indisposed with a sort of dysentery, then prevalent in Ireland, Surrey was permitted to vacate his office, towards the close of the year 1521; and Sir Piers Butler,† his intimate friend and adviser, was appointed lord deputy in his place.

The sudden loss to the inhabitants of the Pale, of a leader so thoroughly possessed of their confidence, was felt the more seriously from his likewise taking away with him the whole of the forces that had accompanied him from England. At the same time the Scots of the Isles continued to menace invasion; being in league—especially those called the Irish Scots—with certain chiefs of the north of Ireland; and signs of disaffection had already appeared among some of the great native lords. In this state of things, the council of Ireland addressed a petition to Wolsey, in 1522, praying that, as a means of awing both Scots and Irish, the king would send five or six of his ships to scour the seas between the two countries.‡

\* "It is not to be dowted, that whensoever the Irishmen shall know that your grace extendith a conquest, they woll all combyne to gyders, and withstonde the same to the best off their poure."—Surrey to Henry VIII., *S. P. XX.*

† Eighth earl of Ormond; but described by the king in a letter written about this time, as "pretending himself to be erle of Ormond." In consequence of the earnest wish of Sir Thomas Boleyn to possess the title of Ormond, the king had made instances to Sir Piers Butler to surrender to Boleyn that earldom; and, after some hesitation, Butler complied with the royal request, and, in lieu of his ancient and rightful title, was created, in the following year, earl of Ossory.

‡ State Papers, XXIX.

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The mutual hatred that had so long subsisted between Kildare and Ormond, was by no means abated by the marriage of the latter with Kildare's sister, and broke out with refreshed virulence on the appointment of Ormond to be lord deputy, when one of the first uses of his acquired power was to demolish several castles belonging to his adversary. With the view of composing this unseemly strife, commissioners were sent by the king from England, to make inquiry into the grounds of their variance, to hear the complaints and answers of both parties, and frame articles of peace upon which both could agree. It has been asserted of these commissioners, that they were influenced by partial feelings towards Kildare, having been chosen at the instance of his father-in-law, the marquis of Dorset. Whatever grounds there may be for this notion, it is certain, so favourable to Kildare was the report of the commissioners, that, in a few days after, the earl of Ormond was removed from the government (A. D. 1524), and his triumphant rival appointed deputy in his stead. The only result, indeed, hitherto, of all the intrigues against this extraordinary man, had been but to prove to the court the extent of his power, and show them how ill they could do without him.

After taking the oath customary on such an appointment, the new lord deputy, attended by his kinsman, Con O'Neill, who carried before him the sword of state, proceeded to the abbey of St. Thomas, and there entertained the nobles and commissioners at a splendid banquet.\*

But this prosperous aspect of Kildare's fortunes was not left long undisturbed. His kinsman, Desmond, who was looking to bolder objects than mere party triumphs, had, in the year 1523, entered into a treaty with the French king, who was then contemplating an invasion of Ireland.† By this

\* Ware's *Annals*.

† Francis, says Duchesne (*Hist. d'Angleterre*), "fit alliance au mois de Juin, avec Jacques comte de Desmond, prince Irlandois, qui lui promit, entre autres choses,



compact Desmond bound himself to join that monarch's army, on its landing, with a force of 400 horsemen and 10,000 infantry; and never to lay down his arms until he had conquered a portion of the island for himself, and the remainder for Sir Richard de la Pole, who, through his marriage with Margaret, the daughter of George duke of Clarence, was representative of the royal house of York. But this strange alliance, which could only have been resorted to by Francis, as a means of dividing and distracting the English force, appears to have been never again thought of by him; and Desmond was left to bear all the opprobrium of his treason, without reaping any of its expected rewards. Orders were issued to the lord deputy to arrest him, and Kildare marched into Munster for that purpose. But, whether suspicious of some such design, or apprised of it, secretly, as was thought, by the deputy himself, Desmond contrived to elude pursuit; nor could all the efforts of James Butler, and the other enemies of the Geraldines, succeed in effecting his arrest.\*

Joining his forces shortly after with those of his kinsman Con O'Neill, Kildare proceeded to attack O'Donnell, the chief of Tyrconnel; but on learning that Hugh O'Neill, the claimant against Con, had risen in Tyrone, they concluded a truce with O'Donnell, and, turning their arms against O'Neill, entirely defeated that chief and slew him.

Meanwhile, it was rumoured that the lord deputy had written to invite his kinsman Desmond to a private interview, and had also engaged the O'Byrnes, a sept of Wicklow, in that lord's service. Every new instance of Kildare's influence over the natives was assumed by the English as a new ground for

qu'aussi tost qu'il envoyé des forces dedans l'Irlande, il guerrieroit à personne, et à ses despens, le roy Henry, non seulement pour conquerir en son profit la partie d'Irlande qu'il tenoit, horsmis l'un des ports et chasteaux de Quinque salle, Kore, ou Brudal, qui demeureroit au roi François, pour la conservation de ses navires, mais aussi," &c. &c. The castles whose names are here so successfully disguised were those of Kinsale, Cork, and Youghall.

\* Archbishop Inge to Wolsey, *S. P. XLIV.*

suspecting and persecuting him ; and as proofs were said to be forthcoming of his disloyal correspondence with Desmond, he was now summoned over to England (A. D. 1526) to answer an impeachment on this and other charges. The chief accusations against him were,—1. That he had not, according to the king's orders, apprehended the earl of Desmond. 2. That he had formed alliance with several of the king's Irish enemies. 3. That he had caused certain loyal subjects to be hanged for no other reason but that they were dependants on the family of the Butlers. 4. That he had confederated with O'Neill, Connor, and other Irish lords, to invade the territories of the earl of Ormond, then lord deputy.\*

From Wolsey, who had always been his enemy, no mercy could be expected by Kildare. He was immediately committed to the Tower, and, according to some accounts, condemned to suffer death. But no faith is to be placed in this statement. Some form of trial must necessarily have preceded his condemnation ; and of such an event no record exists. After lying, for some time, in prison, he was at length released by the interposition of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, who, together with the marquis of Dorset, Kildare's father-in-law, and several other persons of high station, became sureties for his future faith and allegiance.

Kildare, on departing for England, had left as his deputy a kinsman of his own, James Fitz Gerald, of Leixlip, who, being suspected, however, of shaping his policy too much with a view to his noble relative's interests, was, in a short time, removed from the government, and Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, was made lord deputy in his place.

It might have been supposed that the absence in England of those two great rivals, Kildare and Ormond—the latter of whom had been lately deprived of this title and created earl of Ossory—would have left to lord Delvin a comparatively

\* Ware's *Annals*.

smooth and unembarrassed tenure of power. But such was by no means the case; for there soon arose out of the absence of these two noblemen a greater danger than ever could result from their presence; as both the Irish and English rebels, presuming on the want of any strong hand to control them, were preparing on all sides to rise in open revolt; and a daring act committed by O'Connor, chief of Offaley, in 1528, had set such an example of bold and lawless defiance, as spread consternation throughout the whole Pale.

To this O'Connor, as well as to the other chiefs bordering upon the Pale, it had long been a custom of the English settlers, as unwise as it was degrading, to pay annual pensions, or tributes, as a means of buying off their hostility, and securing exemption from their inroads.\* In consequence, however, of some depredations committed by the present chief of Offaley, his wages, or Black Rent, as it was called, had been, of late, withheld; and, on his remonstrating against this act, a parley was appointed to be held between him and the vice-deputy, at a castle belonging to Sir William Darcy, called Rathyn. It became soon, however, apparent, that peaceful parley was by no means the object of O'Connor; for, immediately on the meeting taking place, a party of his followers, whom he had posted in ambush, sallied out upon the lord deputy, and, after killing and wounding several of his attendants, made that lord himself prisoner.†

This daring act of treachery excited alarm throughout the whole English settlement; and the council of Ireland, reluctantly availing themselves of the popularity of the name of Kildare, chose his brother, Sir Thomas Fitz Gerald, to fill the

\* A still worse and more recreant practice had become frequent at this period, which is thus described in a letter from Norfolk to Wolsey:—"The most part of the marchers upon Irishe men, perceyving not how to be defended, have so patysed (practised) with the Irishe men next adjoyning to them, that the seide Irishe men do come thorow them, and do hurt to others within them, and they take no hurt."—*S. P. LI.*

† The Council of Ireland to Wolsey, *S. P. XLV.*

imprisoned deputy's place. Meanwhile, efforts were made, but wholly in vain, to prevail upon O'Connor to give lord Delvin his liberty; and a letter is extant, from lord Butler to archbishop Inge,\* giving an account of his passing a night under O'Connor's roof, and obtaining, with difficulty, a short interview with the noble prisoner, during which the chieftain and his two brothers insisted on being present. In order to guard, too, against any secrets that might pass between them, the two friends were compelled to speak openly and in Irish. It was strongly suspected that in all these violent proceedings O'Connor was secretly abetted by Kildare, to one of whose daughters the chief was married.†

Nor was it only between the settlers and the natives that the game of strife was thus, as usual, in full play. The feuds of the English among themselves were no less bitterly carried on; and not only did Desmond and Ossory still maintain their mutual strife, but the family of the latter lord were divided into fierce factions among themselves; and both Edmund Butler, archbishop of Cashel, the natural son of lord Ossory, and Sir James Butler, another of this lord's kinsmen, were among the most staunch and vehement abettors of the earl of Desmond.‡

Among those personages of high station, to whom, in the usual rapid succession, the administration of the government of Ireland was deputed, during this reign, there appears to have been none in whom the condition, both present and future, of that country, had inspired so earnest, and, according to the lights of his time, intelligent an interest, as in the worthy duke of Norfolk, who, when earl of Surrey, was lord lieutenant, as we have seen, of that kingdom, and retained ever after the strong hold he had gained on the affections of the Anglo-

\* State Papers, XLVII.

† O'Connor married lady Mary Fitz Gerald, Kildare's daughter by his first wife.

‡ State Papers, LIII.

Irish, as well as his own earnest desire to promote among them good government and peace.

As the opinions of so active and trusty a public officer, respecting a state of affairs with which he was himself personally conversant, cannot fail to possess considerable interest, a few remarks, which occur in his letters and official papers, may here be appropriately noticed. It was Surrey's opinion, as expressed by himself in a letter to Wolsey, that "this land (Ireland) will never be brought to due obeisance, but only with compulsion and conquest;"\* and he adds, "most humbly I beseech your grace, that, if the king's pleasure be not to go thorough with the conquest of this land, which would be a marvellous charge, no longer to suffer me to waste his grace's treasure here." In reference to this opinion, the king, in writing to his lieutenant, desires him to state "by what means and ways that land could be reduced to obedience and good order;" and it is observable that Surrey's answer, while professing to comply with the royal command, dwells far more on the obstacles in the way of such an enterprise, than on any means he is able to suggest for its accomplishment. Among the difficulties which he foresees in his scheme, that of stocking the land anew with inhabitants, after the destruction of its whole indigenous race,—for on nothing less does this military speculator seem to calculate,—appears to strike him as the most puzzling. At the very time, too, when the English monarch and his minister were thus coolly inquiring into the means of exterminating the Irish, it appears from a statement in one of Surrey's letters that there were then "but few English inhabitants in the four shires of the Pale."†

With all his bias against the natives in general, the noble lieutenant could yet do justice to individual Irishmen. We have seen how favourable was his opinion of the two great

\* State Papers, XV.

† Surrey to King Henry VIII., & P. XX.



chiefs, Cormac Oge and Mac Arthy Reagh; and, in speaking of the readiness of these lords to hold their lands from the king, he adds, "I know divers other Irishmen of like mind." Even when removed from the government of Ireland, Surrey was frequently applied to by the lords of the Irish council, either for his advice in particular emergencies, or the exertion of his interest and influence with the king.

In the month of June, this year, the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, was appointed lieutenant of Ireland; and, shortly after (A. D. 1530), Sir William Skeffington, the new lord deputy, arrived in Dublin, accompanied by the earl of Kildare. A solemn procession of the mayor and citizens came to meet them, on the green of St. Mary's abbey; and the sight of the popular favourite, Kildare, returning once more, triumphant over his enemies, excited among all classes the liveliest feelings of joy.

It is a proof, indeed, how powerful was, even then, the Irish party,—for such Kildare's may fairly be called,—that, though having against him the crown, the ministers, and most of the English nobility of both countries, he yet thus triumphed over them all; and, by the mere force of the will of the Irish, was restored to his high station. He had been charged openly, by his rival Ossory, with offences amounting to high treason. Not only was the treacherous seizure of the lord deputy alleged to have been planned between him and his son-in-law, O'Connor, but also a general rising of the natives, for the extirpation of the English Pale,\* was said in like manner to have been concerted by him, to follow that daring outrage. Under such enormous charges, had he been sustained by the favour of the court or the minister, the impunity with

\* "After the taking of the baron of Delvyn, tretowrously, by the erle of Kildare's son in lawe Oconour, all the Irishry determyned to have joyned in ayd with the said Oconour, for the distruction of your English Pale, through the practise of the said Erle, trustyng that your grace therby wolbe moved to relese him of his duress, and to send him to rule here agayn \"—Ossory to King Henry VIII., *S. P. XLIX.*

which he continued to defy his accusers would not have been so remarkable. But this was by no means Kildare's case: in the eyes of an autocrat, like Henry, so blunt and self-willed a servant was not likely to make himself acceptable; nor would the cardinal, who is known to have hated the whole race of the Geraldines, see reason to exempt from the range of this feeling the too popular and ungovernable Kildare.

No stronger evidence, indeed, is wanting, of the resistless force of this lord's Irish popularity, than the fact that Wolsey, though sure of being supported by all the first English and Anglo-Irish nobles, yet did not venture, during the two or three years of Kildare's detention in England, to deprive him of his office of lord deputy;—being apprehensive, as he himself states, that such an act of authority would, at that crisis, be attended with serious danger; and that, if the earl's "kinsfolks, the O'Connors, and other such wild Irish lords," should learn that he was actually deprived of his office, they would, "for revenge thereof, overrun the whole English bounds and Pale." \* He therefore recommends, as the only expedient for keeping them quiet, that they should be still left in the hope of their favourite's return; adding, as a further advantage of this policy, the restraint it would impose on Kildare himself, who being, as lord deputy, responsible for the peace of the kingdom, would endeavour to prevent any such outbreaks, on the part of his adherents, as might furnish fresh grounds for his own impeachment and disgrace.

Even Norfolk, though boasting the blood of the hero of Flodden in his veins, and likewise acquainted, by personal experience, with Irish warfare, was hardly less anxious than Wolsey himself to avoid provoking that people into resistance; and, in one of his letters to the cardinal, after remarking that "the Irishmen were never so strong as now," he admits that the only remedy which appears to him feasible is, either to

\* Wolsey to Vannes, *S. P.* XLIX.

send thither Kildare himself, or, at least, to continue his brother James in the government.

The sort of compromise that would naturally arise out of this balance of difficulties, has been seen in the appointment of Sir William Skeffington to be lord deputy, attended by Kildare, as, professedly, his adviser, but, in reality, his powerful rival, and destined successor.\* An invasion of O'Moore's territory, then called Leix, or Ley, to punish that chief, for some acts of hostility, was the first achievement of the new lord deputy; and shortly after (A. D. 1531), accompanied by Kildare, he made an inroad into Ulster, where, having taken and demolished the castle of Kinard, they laid waste the neighbouring districts, and returned laden with spoil.

But, while thus, apparently, acting in concert, these rival leaders were every day becoming more rancorous towards each other; and both, eager to preoccupy the king on the subject of their differences, sent off letters and messengers to England charged with mutual criminations. At length, impatient of thus bandying reproaches, and confident in his own personal influence, Kildare set sail for England, in 1532, and there pleaded his suit so successfully, that he caused Skeffington to be removed from the government, and himself appointed in his place.

Received in Dublin with acclamations, on his return, and presuming too sanguinely on the new turn of his fortunes, Kildare now threw himself, without any reserve, into Irish alliances and connections; gave one of his daughters in marriage to O'Connor, of Offaley, and the other to Ferganany O'Carrol,—both of these chiefs obstinate enemies of the crown of England;†—and, falling with his army on the county of Kilkenny, burned and wasted the lands of his rival, the earl

\* According to Ossory, Kildare's object, at this time, was to "compell the Irishe to combynde and confedre with him, having noo regard to the kinge's deputie, and to make all the land beleve the deputie is sent but oonly to bee an instrument to him."

† Ware's *Annals*.

of Ossory. About the same time, Con O'Neill, at his instigation, joined with him and his brother James in an invasion of the county of Louth, where, having burned down the English villages, they ravaged and depopulated the country, and drove away all the cattle.

Another petty war, of the same description, in which the lord deputy, about this time, engaged, was attended with consequences that threatened danger to his life. In the course of a violent feud which had broken out in the family of his son-in-law, O'Carrol, the castle of Bir, belonging to this chief, had been seized by the adverse party; and Kildare undertook (A. D. 1533), on the side of his kinsman, to lay siege to and recover the castle. But, while directing, in person, an attack upon it, he received a bullet-shot in the side,\* from the serious effects of which he never after, it is said, entirely recovered.

While the lord deputy pursued thus fearlessly his usual self-willed course, he was surrounded by watchful enemies, who lost no opportunity of reporting to the king exaggerated accounts of all that was eccentric in his conduct; and among the most bitter of these spies was his old enemy Ossory, who, being in correspondence with Cromwell, then rising fast in the king's favour, enjoyed thus a channel through which his charges could be levelled with sure effect. The son of this earl, lord James Butler, had, on Kildare's appointment to the government, received the staff of lord high treasurer, as some counterbalance to the deputy's power; and, accordingly, though nephew to Kildare, he employed all the means in his power, as well by intrigue as openly and officially, to embarrass the course of his kinsman's government. Sir William Skeffington, having been supplanted by the present lord deputy, was another of his most unforgiving opponents; and the Irish council, in sending John Alen, the master of the rolls, to represent to the king the dan-

\* "My lord of Kildare was shott with a hand gon thorow the syde, under the ribbes, and so lyeth in great danger,"—Walter Cowley to Cromwell. S. P. LXII.

gers and grievances of Ireland, were supposed at the same time to have privately instructed him to lay serious charges of misgovernment against Kildare.

To maintain his ground against so powerful a combination, unsupported, as he was, by any of the great English families, appeared hardly possible; and yet that some desperate attempt at resistance was at one time meditated by him, is rendered highly probable by his having recently furnished his castles and fastnesses—more especially those of Maynooth and Ley—with guns, pikes, and ammunition, out of the royal stores.\* The general prevalence, too, of a belief, in Ireland, that he would defy any order recalling him from his government, is shown by a passage in a letter from Ossory to Cromwell:—"Men think here," says the writer, "that all the parchment and wax in England will not bring Kildare thither again."†

This experiment, however, was now about to be tried. In consequence of the many public, and, still more, the private, complaints made of his government, the lord deputy was summoned, about the close of this year, to repair to England, and answer the charges alleged against him. Though far from manifesting, as had been apprehended, any disposition to resist this order, the earl procrastinated his departure; sent his countess before him into England, in the hope that her influence might avert the royal displeasure; and at length, with an unwillingness that seemed to foretoken the dark fate which hung over him and his noble house, sailed for England in the spring of the year 1534, leaving, as vice-deputy, his son, lord Thomas Fitz Gerald, a youth who had scarcely reached his one-and-twentieth year.

In the instructions given to Alen by the council of Ireland, empowering him to inform the king of the state of his Irish dominions, we find some facts alleged which are worthy

\* Ware's *Annals*. Cox.

† Instructions to Cromwell, *S. P.* LIX.



of special notice. It appears, so narrowed at this time was the extent of the English authority, that, as the instructions express it, "neither the English order, tongue, nor habit, was used, nor the king's laws obeyed, above twenty miles in compass;"\* and the council declare it to be their opinion, that, unless the laws be duly executed, the "little place," meaning the Pale, "which is now obedient," will be reduced to the same condition as the remainder of the kingdom.

Among the causes assigned for this rapid decay of the land, that to which the council attributes the most influence was the practice adopted, of late, among the English, of taking Irish tenants. Hence the race, they say, of English husbandmen had declined, and instead of a retinue of respectable yeomen who lived under their lord's roof, there was now substituted a rabble of horsemen and kerns, supported by exaction from the king's subjects. The other abuses by which they account for the decline of English power, are,—1. The liberties and royalties enjoyed by a few absolute lords. 2. The black rents and tributes extorted by the Irish. 3. The frequent change of deputies, and the appointment to that office of native lords. 4. The negligent keeping of the king's records, to the great injury of the royal revenues and rights. 5. The alienation of the crown lands, by which the king's revenue had been rendered insufficient for the defence of the realm.

A report was transmitted, apparently about the same time, to Cromwell, which, even allowing for all deduction from the weight of its statements on account of the party spirit so evidently pervading it, presents a most frightful picture of the general state of the kingdom. To Kildare, and the "allegiance" borne towards him, almost superseding the loyalty due to the crown itself,† the writers attribute most of the

\* Instructions to John Alen, *S. P.* LXIII.

† The sort of fascination, made up of dread and affection, by which all classes were

wrongs and enormities of which they complain. Among other instances adduced of the daring spirit of the Irish, the report mentions, that Edmund Oge O'Brian, who had never ceased for nearly a year to make active war upon the Englishrie, had, within the last five weeks, made forcible entry, by night, into the castle of Dublin, and carried away from thence prisoners and plunder;—an act which had filled the citizens of Dublin with such dismay, that they nightly kept watch in the fear of a repetition of his visit.

The occupation by the Scots of a great part of Ulster, thereby encroaching on the king's inheritance, is another of the evils complained of by the authors of this report; and, they add, so fast was the number of these intruders increasing, that fears were entertained, lest, with the aid of the rebellious Irish, they would succeed in dislodging the king from his seignory in that province. Complaints are also made of the increasing encroachments of the O'Brians, owing to a bridge lately built by them over the Shannon, whereby they had already "in a manner subdued all the English thereto joining, and specially the country of Limerick." It is added that, "unless that bridge be in haste laid prostrate," the O'Brians may be expected, before long, to encroach still further upon the territory of the English.

In reference to the opinions of such persons as set but slight value on the possession of Ireland, and spoke of the rudeness and want of civilisation among the people, the report advances the following just and liberal remark:—"As to their surmise of the bruteness of the people, and the incivilitie of them; no doubt, if there were justice used among them, they

held in thrall by Kildare, is thus described in this report:—"If the said counsaile were present here, I would not faile to say before them, in tyme and place, if the caas so required, that they be partely corrupted with affection toward the erle of Kildare, and partely in soche cōreade of him, that either they will not or dare not do any thing that should be displeasante to him."—*State Papers*, I. XIV

would be found as civil, wise, politic, and active as any other nation." \*

In another report on the state of Ireland,† drawn up subsequently, as it appears, to that just noticed, and addressed to the king himself, there occur some curious insights into the actual condition of the country. So powerful, it is stated, had the great Anglo-Irish lords now become, that in none of those shires where the earls of Kildare, Desmond, or Ossory "held dominion," could offences committed by the king's subjects be taken cognisance of, nor any measures adopted to seize the offenders, without permission from the lord to whom such seignory or palatinate belonged; so that, as the report expresses it, "your grace must make petition to every of the said earls, for leave to invade your own subjects." The earl of Desmond alone, and his kinsmen, possessed, for their share, the counties of Kerry, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford; from none of which shires did the king derive "a single groat of yearly profit or revenues," nor in any one of them were his laws observed or executed; though, as the report adds, a period had been, when those same shires "were as obedient to his laws as Middlesex is now."

Of the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, which the earl of Ossory had under his dominion, much the same account is given, with the addition, that the wretched people of those shires were harassed and oppressed by exactions of coyne and livery; and the county of Wexford, which was held, with similar rights and royalties, by the earl of Shrewsbury, lay, in the same manner, out of the reach of the king's laws, and was equally unproductive to the royal revenue.

Among other charges brought in this report against the three great Anglo-Irish earls, it is stated that, availing themselves

\* State Papers, LXIV.

† Articleis and Instructions to our Soweraine Lord the King for his Lande of Ireland, *S. P.* LXIX.

of the old Irish custom, called coshery, which entitled the chief lord, or dynast, to exact from his tenants provisions and lodging for himself and his retinue, they used "to come, with a great multitude of people, to monasteries and gentlemen's houses, and there continue two days and two nights, taking meat and drink at their pleasure;" while, at the same time, their horses and servants were quartered upon the poor farmers of the neighbourhood, and nothing paid for their entertainment. In this manner, it is added, these lords were accustomed to pass more than half the year, making use of other people's houses, and sparing their own.

The conclusion drawn by the framers of this curious document, from the various facts they had collected, is, that though popular opinion attributes to the "wild Irish lords and captains the destruction of the land of Ireland, it is not they only, but the treason, rebellion, extortion, and wilful war of the afore-said earls and other English lords," that are to be held answerable for all this ruin; and, in counselling the king as to the means to be adopted for the cure of these evils, they say, pointedly, "When your grace has reformed your earls, English lords, and others your subjects, then proceed to the reformation of your Irish rebels."

At the time of the framing of this report, Kildare's son, the young lord Thomas, had just entered on his office of vice-deputy; and a strong anxiety is expressed by the writers, that some deputy of English birth, and appointed for life, or, at least, for a term of years, should be sent to Ireland without delay, as the deputy left by Kildare is "taken to be young and wilful, and mostly, to this time, ordered by light counsel."

However amiable may have been the natural qualities of this young lord,—and he is represented, in general, as brave, open, and generous,—the scenes of violence among which he had been brought up, and the examples of ambition, family

pride, and uncontrolled self-will, which his own ill-fated race supplied, formed but an ominous preparation for the grave duties now so rashly assigned to him. In addition to the perils arising from his own utter inexperience, he was surrounded by watchful enemies, full of hatred to him and his race; and the opportunity which alone they wanted for the indulgence of this rancorous feeling, their ingenuity was, of course, not slow in creating. A report was spread by them that the earl of Kildare had been beheaded in the Tower, and that lord Thomas and all his uncles were menaced with the same fate.\* Too readily trusting to this rumour, the young lord, at the head of a guard of 140 armed horsemen, rode through the city of Dublin to Dame's Gate, and, crossing the river, proceeded to St. Mary's Abbey, where the council, according to appointment, waited his coming. There, surrounded by armed followers, who had crowded with him into the council chamber, the youth solemnly renounced his allegiance to the English monarch, and proceeded to deliver up the sword and robes of state.

In vain did Cromer, the lord chancellor, who had been indebted to Kildare for his promotion to that dignity, implore of him, with tears, to revoke his purpose, and still retain the sword of state. The young Geraldine stood unmoved; while, just at that moment, there burst forth from the midst of his excited followers, the voice of an Irish bard, or rhymer, chanting the praises of the "silken lord,"—for so lord Thomas, from the richness of his caparisons, was styled,—and calling passionately upon him to revenge his father's death. From that moment, all further parley was at an end; the youth cast from him the sword of state, and, rushing forth at the head of his wild followers entered upon that rash and ill-concerted struggle, which ended in the ruin of himself and of almost the whole of his kindred.†

The first step taken by the council was to send orders to

\* Stanthurst, ap. Holinshed.

† Ibid.



the mayor to arrest lord Thomas; but, as the city had been lately much depopulated by a plague then raging in town and country, the public authorities feared to venture upon such a step; and archbishop Allen, chief baron Finglas, and one or two other personages, obnoxious to the Geraldines, retired for safety to the castle. In this almost defenceless state of Dublin, the O'Tooles and other mountain septs of Wicklow, taking advantage of the weakness of the inhabitants, overran and despoiled the rich territory of Fingal. But this aggression was not left wholly unresisted; for, on seeing the granary of their city thus insolently plundered, such of the inhabitants as were able to bear arms sallied out to intercept the prey. Being overpowered, however, with numbers, they were driven back, and many of their small force slain.\*

Though, from the city, thus weakened by pestilence and the sword, no effective effort was to be expected, the castle, under the command of its constable, Sir John White, gave promise of a lengthened resistance; and as the possession of such a post was an object of importance to Fitz Gerald, he announced to the citizens, now panic-struck with their late defeat, that if they would permit him to enter the town, and lay siege to the castle, both themselves and their properties should be left uninjured. This proposal was referred by the citizens to the constable, who, after some conferences with them, agreed that, in consideration of their helpless condition, the demand should be complied with; only stipulating that he should first be supplied with men and provisions sufficient to enable him to stand a siege.†

It may well be conceived that, by all those personages who had taken refuge, together with the archbishop, in the castle, the prospect of a siege which might end in delivering them up to the rebels was viewed with horror and dismay; and Allen,‡

\* Stanthurst.

† Ibid.

‡ This prelate was the compiler of that venerable volume, the *Black Book of Christ Church*, and also of the *Repertorium Viride*, which is likewise still extant.

who, more than any, had reason to dread the hate of the Geraldines, having resolved to make his escape to England, embarked at night on board a vessel which was then lying near Dame's Gate. But, whether through accident or design, the ship was stranded near Clontarf, and the unfortunate archbishop, falling into the hands of the rebels at a small village called Artane, whither he had fled for shelter, was there in the most brutal manner put to death;—lord Thomas himself standing by, during the murder, and in so far authorising the base and cold-blooded crime. There were likewise present, it appears, his two uncles, Sir John and Oliver Fitz Gerald.

Leaving a part of his force to lay siege to the castle, the young lord hastened with the main body of his numerous followers to invade the country of the earl of Ossory. But this active and watchful officer had already, in anticipation of his movement, occupied, with a large force suddenly raised, the counties of Catherlough and Kildare; and the taking by storm, after a siege of five days, an old manor-house on the Slaney, belonging to the Ormond family, was the sole result of this first trial of the young Geraldine's strength. With the hope of prevailing upon Ossory to join his standard, he despatched messengers to that powerful lord, offering to divide with him equally the kingdom of Ireland, if he would withdraw his allegiance from the king. To this proposition Ossory answered, that "even were his country all laid waste, his castles won or prostrate, and himself an exile, he would yet to the last persevere in duty to his king." \*

A material change had meanwhile taken place in the state of affairs in Dublin. Owing to an alleged infraction of faith on the part of the force admitted to lay siege to the castle, that permission was suddenly withdrawn by the citizens; their gates were immediately closed upon the rebels, and almost all found within the walls were arrested as traitors.†

\* Ossory to W. Cowley, *S. P.* XCIII.

† Stanihurst.

When the news of this unprosperous turn of affairs reached lord Thomas, he was about to proceed, assisted by the forces of O'Connor, O'Moore, and other chiefs, to invade the county of Kilkenny; while the earl of Desmond, with similar hostile views, was threatening an irruption into Tipperary. When lord Thomas, therefore, anxious to recover the ground he had lost in Dublin, and, above all, to obtain possession of the ordnance of the castle,\* proposed a truce for a short time, to Ossory, that lord, whose immediate object was to oppose his entire force to the inroad of Desmond, readily assented to the arrangement. This point having been gained, Fitz Gerald directed his march to Dublin. But so fully prepared did he find the inhabitants for resistance,—their spirits having been cheered by an encouraging message from the king,—that both in an assault made by him on the castle from Ship Street, and also an attempt to enter the city by Newgate, he was entirely foiled by the skill and bravery of the townsmen.

Among his army were a number of inhabitants of the Pale, on whom, as compulsory followers of his standard, the citizens counted as secretly friends to their cause. In this cheering hope they were further confirmed, on finding that the arrows shot over the walls were most of them without heads, and that some even conveyed letters giving information of the besiegers' designs. These encouraging circumstances led them to resolve upon a sally; and, having given out from the walls that new succours had arrived from England, they rushed forth, through fire and flame, on the ranks of the enemy, who, judging from this boldness that the rumoured reinforcements had actually arrived, immediately fled, leaving one hundred of their galloglasses slain, and most of their cannon in the hands of the citizens. Fitz Gerald himself lay hid all night at the

\* "The rebell hath in effecte consumed all his shoot; and, except he wynneth the castell of Dublin, he is destitute of shoote, which is a gret comforte and advantage for the kinge's army."—J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* LXXVII.

Friary in Francis Street,\* and from thence escaped, at break of day, to his camp.

In addition to this serious check, he also learned that the earl of Ossory was overrunning, with a large force, the counties of Catherlough and Kildare, and forcibly dislodging from their lands and homes the adherents of the Geraldines in that quarter. He was therefore readily disposed to enter into a truce with the citizens, and the following were the terms proposed by him:—1. That they should release such of his men as they had taken prisoners. 2. That the city should pay him £1,000 in money, and £500 in wares. 3. That they should furnish him with ammunition and artillery. 4. That they should procure the king's pardon both for him and his followers, and moreover obtain for him the deputation of the government of Ireland for life.†

To the first of these propositions—which, considering the defeat the noble negotiator had just sustained, was not a little unconscionable—the citizens answered, that, if he would restore to them their children, they would most readily give him back his men. This natural retort had reference to an outrage committed by Fitz Gerald, in his late march upon Dublin, when, meeting on his way, as he approached the town, a number of children, belonging to the better class of citizens, who had been removed, in consequence of the plague, into the country, he took them all prisoners, and, as appears from this answer, still continued to keep them confined.

To the second and third articles it was significantly answered, that, so impoverished were they by his rebellions, they could spare neither money nor wares; and that if he purposed, as he said, to return to his allegiance, he would have no need of ammunition or artillery. They also added, that, instead of artillery to be employed against his prince, he ought rather to have asked for parchment whereon to ingross his own pardon.‡

\* Stanihurst. Harris, *Hist. of Dublin*.

† Stanihurst.

‡ Ibid.

Such is the account, as transmitted from historian to historian, of the leading particulars of this memorable siege, as well as of the parley that followed;—the latter terminating we are told, in the acceptance of the terms of the citizens by lord Thomas. There are good grounds, however, for distrusting most of these generally received details; and all we can learn from official records is, that the armistice was to last for six days; that the citizens, in the event of their failing to obtain for Fitz Gerald the king's pardon, and the office of deputy for his life, were, on a certain day, to deliver up to him the city; and that three of the most eminent of their body should be given as hostages for the performance of this agreement.\*

It was about this time that the sentence of excommunication, in its most vengeful and tremendous form, was issued against lord Thomas, and his uncles John and Oliver, for the cruel murder of Allen, archbishop of Dublin.† A copy of this tremendous curse was transmitted, we are told, to the lieutenant of the Tower, for the cruel purpose of being shown to Kildare, who was then confined there a prisoner. But the wretched earl was probably spared the infliction of this pang; as it appears that, on receiving the first intelligence of his son's rebellion, he was so struck to the heart with the news, being already afflicted with palsy, that his death followed soon after.

The new lord deputy, Sir William Skeffington, who landed at Dublin soon after the truce concluded with lord Thomas, was in so infirm a state of health on his arrival, as to be un-

\* State Papers, LXXVIII.

† State Papers, LXXXI. The following extract will give some notion of the awful violence of this curse:—"We invoke, and call in vengeance against the said Thomas, and every of the persons aforesaid, the celestial place of heaven, with all the multitude of the angels, that they be accursed before them, and in their sight, as spirits condemned; and the devil to stand and be, in all their doings, on their right hand; and all their acts to be sinful, and not acceptable before God, . . . that God Almighty may rain upon them the flames of fire and sulphur to their eternal vengeance; and that they may clothe themselves with the maledictions and high curse, as they daily clothe themselves with their garments."



able, for some time, to take the field; and not only himself, but almost the whole of his army and officers, lay, for a considerable time, shut up and inactive, within the walls of Dublin and Drogheda.\* Meanwhile, there raged throughout the whole kingdom a confused medley of petty warfare, in which, from the consanguinity of the Geraldine families with both of the rival races, the rebel camp was filled with a motley array of English and Irish; while, on the royal side, the greater number of the northern chieftains had ranged themselves under the flag of loyalty and the English.

Presuming upon Skeffington's inactivity, the "traitor," as Fitz Gerald was commonly styled, accompanied by a force of not more than 100 horsemen and about 300 kerns and galloglasses, traversed daringly the territories of the Pale,—now presenting himself before Trim, from whence, having burned down a great part of the town, he carried away numbers of cattle; now laying siege to Dunboyne, within but a few miles of Dublin, and, after a defence prolonged for some days by the inhabitants, who had in vain applied to head-quarters for succour, entirely burning and destroying the town. This outrage, committed within a few miles of the seat of government, the lord deputy suffered to pass without any punishment, and even entered into a truce with the young rebel,—“which, as meseemeth,” adds a contemporary writer, “was nothing honourable.”

Small and precarious as were his resources, Fitz Gerald's cause now assumed an appearance of success, which, though dependent for its chance of continuance on the mere pleasure of the government, was sufficiently specious to deceive himself and all the more sanguine of his followers. Presuming on this confident feeling, he declared openly his intention to burn down Trim, Athboy, the Howan, Naas, and other corporate towns, lest the English should plant garrisons or establish store-houses for provisions in those places. With the same

\* J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* LXXXII.

view, and by the advice of his chief ally, O'Moore, he threatened to raze to the ground his own garrisons in Kildare, lest, as he said, "Englishmen should have any profit of them." \*

We have already seen, in the course of this reign, an earl of Desmond applying for aid to foreign powers; † and now, again, in lord Thomas Fitz Gerald, we find another heir of a great Anglo-Irish family turning his eyes to foreign shores with a like hostile feeling towards England. He had already, with this view, appointed the official of Meath, who was one of the divines that formed his council, to embark at Sligo, in a Spanish ship, for Spain, and thence proceed to Rome; taking along with him a number of old muniments and precedents, for the purpose of proving that the English king held Ireland of the see of Rome. He was also instructed to request of the emperor and the bishop of Rome to assist lord Thomas in defence of the faith against the king of England; in return for which he would solemnly pledge himself to hold of those powers the realm of Ireland, and to pay tribute for it yearly. ‡

While the hopes of Fitz Gerald's adherents were kept alive by this prospect of foreign aid, his own garrisons at Maynooth, Portlester, Rathangan, Lea, and other places, afforded him the means, if properly managed, of maintaining his ground till such aid from abroad should arrive; and all his substance,

\* J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P. LXXXII.*

† Earl James, the eleventh earl, who twice engaged in a treaty with foreign powers against Henry VIII.,—in 1523 with the king of France, and in 1528 with the emperor. His uncle Thomas, the twelfth earl, who succeeded him, at an advanced age, in the year 1529, was strongly suspected of also holding a treasonous intercourse with the emperor. "This instant day," says the writer of a letter among the State Papers, "report is made by the viker of Dongarvan, that themprour hath sent ce-tain letters unto therle of Desmound, by the same chapleyn or embassadour, that was sent unto James, the late erle; and the common bruyt is that his practice is to wyn the Geryltnes and the Breenes, and that themprour entendeth shortly to send an army to invade the citees and townes by the see coostes of this land."—Wise to Crumwell, *S. P. LXXIV.*

‡ J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P. LXXXII.*

wealth, and most of his ordnance, had been removed by him into the castle of Lea. He counted but few of the great chiefs among his supporters; and even of these there were some now threatening to withdraw their aid, while all the chief Irish lords of the north, with the exception only of O'Neill, had written letters to the lord deputy, proffering their allegiance.\* Even that restless sept, the O'Tooles of Wicklow, who, according to some accounts, had fought against the citizens during the late siege of Dublin, were now ranged on the loyal side. Among those, too, really opposed to lord Thomas, were a great number that had not yet openly declared themselves, through a fear that his rebellion would be ultimately pardoned, as had been those of his father, grandfather, and others of his ancestors, and that all who had opposed him would be left helplessly exposed to his vengeance.†

In this state of the public mind, Sir William Skeffington, who was now sufficiently recovered in health to take the field at the head of his army, laid siege in 1535 to the castle of Maynooth, which Fitz Gerald had just put into a state of defence. So strongly, indeed, had he fortified it, both with men and ordnance, that, if we may credit Sir William's boastful account of the siege, nothing equal to it in strength had been seen in Ireland since the English first held dominion in the land.‡

In the full hope that this powerful castle would, if attacked, be able to hold out until his return, lord Thomas had hastened to inspect the state of his five other strongholds, Rathangan, Catherlough, Portlester, Lea, and Athy; and then proceeded, with the view of collecting fresh partisans, into Connaught.

\* "Meny letters have bene sent from the Irisshe men to my lord deputie of ther good myndes toward the kynge's grace; notwithstanding the borderers, as Oconer, Oraillie, and other, have much robbed the countrie seth oure landyng. There is not oon of them but that will take his advantage, when he seeth his time, albeit now they withdrawe them selfes from the traytor."—Brabazon to Crumwell, *S. P. LXXXIII.*

† J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P. LXXXII.*

‡ The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Henry VIII., *S. P. LXXXVII.*

He had been led, however, to count too confidently, as well upon the strength of the fortress of Maynooth, as on the continued delay and inaction of the lord deputy, who, now conscious that loss of character, as well as of time, was to be retrieved by him, left Dublin on the 13th of March, and on the following day commenced the siege of Maynooth.\*

After repeated attacks, day and night, during the space of nine days, a breach was at last opened into the base-court of the castle, through which, on the following day, after a grand assault, the besiegers entered, slaying about sixty of the ward of the castle, and losing but a yeoman of the king's guard, together with six others killed in the assault.† This important position having been thus gained, the castle itself, after a short resistance, surrendered; there being then within its walls the dean of Kildare, the captain of the garrison, Christopher Paris, together with Donagh O'Dogan, master of the ordnance, Sir Simon Walsh, priest, and Nicholas Wafer, one of those servants of the earl of Kildare who waylaid and murdered archbishop Alen. These, with some archers and gunners, amounting to the number of about thirty-seven, were all taken prisoners, and their lives spared until the lord deputy and his council should have inquired into and pronounced judgment upon their offences.‡

On the Thursday following, the prisoners were examined, and their several depositions taken; and in the afternoon of the same day, being arraigned before the provost marshal and the captains, they were, on their own confession, condemned to die. Twenty-five of their number were beheaded in front of

\* "Maynooth was accounted," says Lodge, "for the abundance of its furniture one of the richest houses under the crown of England."

† By all our historians, the surrender of Maynooth to Sir William Skeffington is attributed to the treachery of the governor of the castle, Christopher Paris. But neither for this charge, nor for any of the anecdotes grafted upon it, does there appear to be any foundation in our official records. Of this, indeed, as well as of many other such tales foisted into our history, the source may obviously be traced to the dull inventions of Stanihurst.

‡ State Papers, LXXXVII.

the castle, while one was hanged; and the heads of all the chief persons were immediately placed on the castle turrets. Among other intelligence obtained from the prisoners, it was deposed by a priest, not named, in whom Fitz Gerald placed much confidence, that the emperor had promised to send him 10,000 men by the first day of May, and that the Scottish monarch had also engaged to furnish the rebels with aid.\*

In the mean time, lord Thomas, having, with the help of his relative, O'Connor, succeeded in collecting a considerable army in Connaught, was hastening with his force to the relief of Maynooth, when the gloomy news of the fate of that garrison reached him, and, spreading rapidly from thence to his partisans, throughout the kingdom, struck such a damp at once into the spirit of his cause, as it never after entirely recovered. The large tumultuary force he had collected now daily dwindled away; till, at length, when compelled to seek for refuge in O'Brian's country, a small train of gentlemen, yeomen, and priests, to the number of about sixteen, formed the whole of his escort. His first intention had been to sail from thence to Spain, to solicit assistance from the emperor. But this plan he afterwards abandoned; and, sending as his envoys to the imperial court, Sir James de la Hyde and a priest named Walsh, resolved to await the chance of events; his hope being that he should find himself able, with the aid of foreign or Scottish auxiliaries, to take the field in the ensuing midsummer; when, by a combined movement, in which O'Connor, O'Neill, and Manus O'Donnell were expected to join, the English Pale was to be invaded.†

Of all these schemes, still as they arose, full information was conveyed to the lord deputy and council by Neil Connelagh, Mac Guire, the lord O'Donnell, Claneboy, and other Ulster chiefs enlisted in the English interests, and all as ready

\* State Papers, LXXXVII.

† Skeffington to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* XCII.



to assist in quelling their rebellious countrymen in the field as they had been to denounce them in the council. On this occasion, too,—as on all others where active and honest zeal was called for,—the loyal services of the earl of Ossory and his son, the lord treasurer, were promptly and effectively forthcoming. Already had they managed to detach from the league now formed among the captains, one of the most daring and active of their number, O'Moore, of Ley;—hoping through his means to hold in check some of the less friendly of the chiefs, and more especially Fitz Gerald's ally and relative, O'Connor.

Among the measures suggested by Ossory to the government, it was strongly recommended by him that there should be a resumption of all grants of the king's revenues and customs, more particularly of those to privileged places; and likewise that the act called, in general, Poynings' Law, should, during the parliament about to assemble, be suspended.\*

Had the powers of the state been now wielded with even a moderate degree of vigour and skill, the young Geraldine's rebellion, instead of being suffered to protract its struggle for more than a year, might have been crushed in a few weeks after its first outbreak. But, besides the inaction of the lord deputy himself, owing to his continued state of ill-health, he also embarrassed frequently, by his interference, the measures and counsels of those who acted for him; and, had we no other clue to his character than his own official letters, the inflated pomp of their tone, compared with the meagreness of the results they have to communicate, would mark sufficiently the order of minds to which he belonged.†

To meet the dangers that menaced the kingdom, there had

\* "Wherefor it shulde be best, in my minde, that the acte that restrayneth to holde parliament without certyficat into Englande, be put in suspence during this Parliament."—Ossory to W. Cowley, *S. P.* XCIII.

† "The deputie followith the counsall of suche as have nether strength, activitie, practise, or yit good will to further the kinges most necessary affaires."—*Ibid.*

been, at an early period of his deputyship, a general call for the appointment of a marshal of the army; and, in the spring of this year, Sir John Saintelow had been appointed to that office. He does not appear, however, to have taken much part in the warfare that followed; the chief services in which were performed by the earl of Ossory and his son, lord James, as we find duly acknowledged in the grant made to them, two years after, when the ancient title of their family, Ormond, was restored.

The address of Ossory, in drawing away from the rebel standard the brave and powerful chief, O'Moore, had deprived the Geraldines of their best prop and hope. The same experiment was tried in other quarters, and with no less success;—the prevalence of factions among the Irish, in the very interior of their homes and families, rendering such quick changes of party frequent and familiar. In this very rebellion, the instances of different members of the same family fighting on opposite sides, were by no means uncommon. Thus, while the great O'Brian, as he was styled, espoused warmly the cause of lord Thomas, his eldest son, joining the followers of the earl of Ossory, took the field against his own father and all his kindred. In the same manner, Cahir O'Connor, the brother of the chief who adhered longest to the cause of Fitz Gerald, agreed to fight during this war on the side of the English, on condition that he should have, "at the king's wages," 12 horsemen and 160 kern.\*

One further instance may here be added, as well of the inveteracy of private dissension among the people, as of the fatal advantage taken of it by their rulers. Some movements in Munster, at the beginning of this year, having shown a disposition, on the part of the Mac Carthys and Geraldines, to take up arms in favour of lord Thomas, the earl of Ossory hastened to the scene of this gathering revolt, and going among

\* Aylmer and Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* XCVIII.

the Geraldines, "sowed such strife between them," to use his own language, "that they continued long after full of war and debate, the one destroying the other." \*

While thus, in the south and west, internal division and treachery were busily sapping the strength of Fitz Gerald's friends, all the great captains of the north, with but one or two exceptions, took their stand firmly on the side of the government; and the lord deputy, in announcing to the king his intention speedily to march into O'Connor's country, mentions, as the chiefs to whose services he looks forward, O'Donnell, Mac Guire, Neill Connelagh, O'Reilly, Neill Mor, Hugh Roe, Mac Mahon, the O'Hanlons, and several others.† Such being the immense superiority on the side of the government, it was not to be expected that the young "traitor," with his few and precarious allies, should be able to maintain any longer the struggle. It was only by the connivance, indeed, of some of those opposed to him, that he had been enabled to continue his resistance, or escape falling into the hands of the English. In the course of an incursion, under the lord treasurer, into Offaley, in which he was attended by the leading gentry of Kildare, as well as by O'Moore of Ley, this chief, while skirmishing with the rebels, forbore from killing any of lord Thomas's troops, and aimed at those only belonging to his brother chieftain and rival, O'Connor. Many of the rebels, also, on being made prisoners, met in the royal ranks with sympathising Geraldines, by whom they were assisted to escape; and lord Thomas himself, in the course of these skirmishes, fell, more than once, into the hands of the king's troops, and was again let go by them.‡

\* Ossory to W. Cowley, *S. P.* XCIII. Lord Leonard Gray, in one of his letters, speaks even more bitterly of the contentious spirit of this Anglo-Irish sept:—"As for neues," he says, "we have none worthe writing synes the date of our other letters; but the bastarde Geraldynes, by the permission of God, be killing one another."—Gray and Brabazon to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXVIII.

† Skeffington to Henry VIII., *S. P.* XCVII.

‡ Aylmer and Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* XCVIII.

A war thus collusively carried on was not likely very soon to terminate. But a far more prompt and decisive policy was now about to be adopted; and the arrival in Ireland of lord Leonard Gray, an officer of high military character, was viewed as the prelude to his succeeding Skeffington in the office of lord deputy.

However little there may have been of actual fighting between the two parties, the work of ravage and devastation, which has formed, at all times, a main branch of Irish warfare, was maintained, by both, with the usual ruinous efficiency; and a paper, drawn up after a short absence from Ireland, by chief justice Aylmer, and the master of the rolls, John Alen, expresses their surprise at the frightful change they found in the condition of the country; no less than six of the eight baronies that formed the county of Kildare having been burnt and depopulated, while part of Meath had undergone the same doom; and, but for the lord treasurer, who lay at Naas, with a portion of the army, the remainder of Kildare and the county of Dublin would have been laid waste to the city gates.\* When, together with all this, it is taken into account that the plague was then raging through the country, the picture of the misery that must have everywhere prevailed is rendered complete.

Among other ruins that marked the course of the spirit of havoc then abroad, were the prostrate walls of the noble castle of Powerscourt, erected by the late earl of Kildare.†

No time was lost, on the arrival of lord Leonard, in preparing a force for the invasion of Offaley, in which district, and the continued alliance of its hardy chief, now lay Fitz Gerald's sole hope. Provided with victuals for twenty-one

\* Aylmer and Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* XCVIII.

† "The Thoiles entered by tradymment into Powers Courte, oon of the fairist garrysons in this countrie (the buylding wherof cost the oolde erle of Kildare and the inhabifauntis of the countie of Dublin 4 or 5,000 markis, for the defence of the said Thooles and the Birnes), and prostrated the same down to the grounde."—*Ibid.*

days, the army mustered, as had been appointed, at Naas ; and was now but waiting for the lord deputy to place himself at its head. But Sir William Skeffington was still lying ill and helpless, at Maynooth ; where, to add to the dreariness of his position, all the country around the castle had been laid desolate to the very gates. Still, unwilling that any but himself should enjoy the credit of leading the enterprise, he continued to procrastinate, from day to day, keeping lord Leonard's force, as well as his own, consuming idly in the field their stock of provisions ; while lord James Butler also, at the head of 120 horsemen and 500 foot, and the Irish allies, O'Moore and Cahir O'Connor, were all, in like manner, with their respective forces, kept waiting the lord deputy's recovery.\*

Among other important projects, delayed or frustrated by the same cause, are mentioned the expedition for the destruction of O'Brian's bridge,—an object considered to be of great importance,—the taking of the town of Dungarvan, and the subjection or reformation of the O'Brians and Geraldines of Munster.†

Finding himself, at length, sufficiently recovered to be able to venture on the expedition, Skeffington marched his army to Offaley, and entered the borders of that country ; whereupon, O'Connor, to whom there remained now no other alternative than either to submit, or to be utterly ruined, came in and surrendered himself to the lord deputy. Deprived thus of his only efficient ally, lord Thomas saw that all further struggle was hopeless. He therefore, in a letter to lord Leonard, which shows of what weak materials such firebrands may be composed, entreated that lord to be his intercessor with the king, and to obtain for him "his pardon, his life, and lands." ‡ He

\* Aylmer and Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* XCVIII.

† Ossory to W. Cowley, *S. P.* C.

‡ Lord Thomas Fitzgerald to Lord Leonard Gray, *S. P.* CL



was accordingly admitted to a parley, and confessing humbly his heinous offences towards the king, gave himself up into the hands of lord Leonard and the council, to be disposed of according to the royal pleasure. In communicating these terms to the king, the council added, from themselves, an humble prayer, that, in consideration of "the words of comfort spoken to lord Thomas, to allure him to yield himself up," the royal clemency might be extended towards him, "more especially as regarded his life." \*

In the month of August, this year, the ill-fated young lord was sent prisoner to England; and such was the importance attached to the security of his person, that lord Leonard Gray was specially appointed to conduct him to England and deliver him safe into the hands of the king. But, however welcome to offended majesty was such a victim, the hopes of mercy held out to Fitz Gerald not only damped, but considerably embarrassed, the royal triumph.† His five uncles, too, though all obnoxious, and some of them known to have been as deeply involved in the rebellion as himself, were still left at large. About the beginning, however, of the following year, these five brethren surrendered themselves to the lord Gray, and were by him sent prisoners to England, where, together with their ill-fated nephew, to whom hopes of pardon had been so delusively held out, they were all executed at Tyburn.

Notwithstanding this sweeping vengeance of the law, there were still left in Ireland direct representatives of the house of Kildare; for the late earl's second wife, lady Elizabeth Gray, the daughter of the marquis of Dorset, had borne him two sons, the eldest of whom, Gerald, was, at the time of lord Thomas's death, about twelve or thirteen years of age. He

\* The Council of Ireland to King Henry VIII., *S. P. CIII.*

† "The doyng wherof (the apprehension of Thomas Fitzgerald) albeit We accept it thankfully, yet, if he had been apprehended after such sorte as was convenable to his deservynges, the same had been moche more thankfull and better to our contentacion."—King Henry VIII. to Skeffington, *S. P. CVI.*

was then in O'Brian's country, under the care of James de la Hyde; while the second son, Edward, had been conveyed, in some mysterious manner, to his mother, the countess of Kildare, then at Beaumanoir, in Leicestershire.\* As Gerald, the elder brother, had been declared publicly an enemy, those interested in his safety, whether as relatives or partisans, had him removed from place to place as security and secrecy required; and, after remaining some time among the Geraldines, in O'Brian's country, he was from thence secretly conveyed to his aunt, lady Eleanor, the widow of the late chief of South Munster, Mac Carthy Reagh, and then residing in that territory.

The destruction of O'Brian's bridge, an object considered, as we have seen, to be of great importance, and which had been more than once unsuccessfully attempted, was at this time effected by a force under the joint command of the lord deputy, the earl of Ossory, and his son, lord James Butler. The consequence attached by the higher authorities to this enterprise may be judged not only from the rank of the commanders conducting it, but also from the complaints made by Butler, in his account of the expedition, that neither the baron of Delvin nor the baron of Slane was present, and that few of the English Pale had lent their aid. The treachery of the Irish, however, to each other,—that unfailing resource of their enemies,—stood in stead of more honourable means; and the chief's son, Donough O'Brian, was the ready traitor, in this emergency, both to his family's and his country's interest.† The possession of the castle of Carrigogunnel—an ancient place of great strength in the neighbourhood of Limerick, which had been in the hands of one or other of the O'Brians for more than 200 years—was the prime object of Donough's

\* Countess of Kildare to Crumwell, *S. P.* CXXXVII.

† Donough O'Brian had married Hellen, youngest daughter of Piers, earl of Ormon

ambition; and lord Leonard Gray, now lord deputy, having agreed to deliver this castle into his custody, he, in return, lent his aid in the present aggression on his father's territory. Pointing out a by-road to the bridge, entirely unknown before to the English, he thus saved them the delay and difficulty of carrying their ordnance across the river, and enabled them more readily to bring all their force to the attack.\*

This bridge was protected, at each end, by a castle of "hewn marble,"—both castles built in the water, at some distance from the land, and both well defended by gunners, galloglasses, and horsemen. The lord deputy began by attacking the larger of these two garrisons; but finding that his ordnance took no effect, he caused that part of the river between the land and the castle to be filled up with fagots or fascines; and gaining thus a footing for his scaling-ladders, found himself enabled to take possession of both the castles and the bridge, and with the loss of only two gunners in the assault. The whole of the structure was then broken down and destroyed; and of such moment to the peace of the Pale was this feat considered, that we find the lord deputy, a few months after, referring to the destruction of O'Brian's bridge, as a service worthy of being classed along with that other great act of his administration, the seizure of Fitz Gerald and his five uncles.†

About the beginning of the month of February this year (A. D. 1536), a rumour had reached Ireland that lord Thomas and his five kinsmen were about to return thither immediately. So often had former earls of Kildare been known to triumph over their enemies, and such was the spell the Irish connected with the name of Fitz Gerald, that it was not till the news arrived of the frightful executions at Tyburn, which took

\* The Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXI.

† "I have seen men, for less interprises than the apprehension of Thomas Fitzgerald, and, afterwards, the taking of all his fyve uncles and the braking of O'Brene's bridge, highly advanced."—Gray to Crumwell, *S. P.*

place, as already has been mentioned, on the 3d of this month, that the hope was surrendered by them, of seeing their favourites return safe and triumphant. It must have aggravated, too, the bitterness of their feeling, did they know that the ill-fated young lord himself was not allowed, during his confinement, the commonest necessities of life; but, "bare-footed and bare-legged," as a melancholy letter of his own describes his condition, was indebted to the charity of his fellow-prisoners for the few tattered garments that covered him.\*

One of the principal events of this year (A. D. 1537) was the expedition, or "hosting," of the lord deputy into Offaley, and his expulsion from thence of Brian O'Connor. This powerful chief, though one of the most active of Fitz Gerald's supporters, had, on his submission at the close of the rebellion, been suffered to remain in possession of his territory. As he still, however, according to English authorities, continued to violate every pledge of peace he had given, the lord deputy prepared to invade his country. Attended by the barons of Delvin and Slane, and the lord Killeen, who had all joined him with their respective forces at Rathwere, he marched from thence through the territories of O'Mulmoy, O'Mulloghlin, and Mac Geoghegan, compelling these captains to abandon the cause of O'Connor, and even to join with the ranks of the invaders against him. Entering on the borders of Offaley, they took by storm the castle of Brakland, and delivered it into the hands of the chief's brother, Cahir O'Connor, who, following the unnatural example of Donough O'Brian and others, had leagued himself with his family's enemies.†

\* "I never had eny mony, sins I cam into pryson, but a nobull, nor I have had nothyr hosyn, dublet, nor shoys, nor shyrt, but on; nor eny othyr garment, but a syngyll fryse gowne, for a velve furryd wythe bowge, and so I have gone wolward, and barefote, and barelegyd, divirse times (whan ytt hath not ben very warme); and so I shuld have don styll, and now, but that pore prysoners, of ther gentylnes, hath sumtyme geven me old hosyn, and shoys, and old shyrtes."—Lord Thomas Fitz Gerald to Rothe, *S. P.* CLVIII.

† Gray and Brabazon to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXIX.

From thence, under the guidance of Lord Delvin, they penetrated into a part of O'Connor's country, where, as the council state in their despatch, "no English host had ever been known to enter." \* Here, laying siege to the castle of Dengen, which the chief himself had erected in the middle of a large bog, they, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of Cahir O'Connor, demolished the castle to the ground, leaving but a small angle of it standing;—"to the intent," as the lord deputy expresses himself, "that the Irish might see to what purpose the keeping of their castles served." † In the assault, eighteen of the defenders of the castle were slain, and their heads stuck up as memorials of the event; while Cahir was rewarded for his treachery by having the government of that territory committed to his care. With the view, too, of securing Offaley to the crown, it was proposed that either Cahir should be elsewhere provided for, and that district stocked with English inhabitants, or, if this were thought too costly an experiment, that he should be denizenized, and created baron of Offaley, to hold that land of the king's gift, according to English laws and inheritance. This, they suggested, might have the effect of rendering him a good subject; and the reason assigned by them for this expectation is, like much that relates to Ireland, at once amusing and melancholy. Should he consent to accept of these favours, he must then, they think, be loyal, in his own defence; as "Irishmen would so hate him afterwards, that he would have but little comfort of them, and so must look to the king's subjects for protection against them." ‡

Events proved, however, that all this anxiety, as to the mode of disposing of him, had been most thanklessly thrown away. Before the year had quite expired, Brian O'Connor,

\* The Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXX.

† Gray and Brabazon to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXIX.

‡ The Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXX.



was again in possession of Offaley,\*—while his brother Cahir, notwithstanding his compact with the English, again declared himself the king's enemy, and made common cause with Brian.† As this conduct of the O'Connors called for chastisement, the lord deputy again marched into their country; but the only result, as it appears, of his inroad, was the destruction of a large stock of corn found in the abbeys of Killeigh and Castle Goshil, and the carrying away from Killeigh “of a pair of organs,” to be placed in the college of Maynooth, together with glass sufficient to glaze not only the windows of the church of that college, but most of the windows of the castle of Maynooth itself.‡

For some months after this fruitless expedition, O'Connor, betaking himself to his bogs and woods, continued to baffle all the attempts made by the deputy to obtain possession of his person, or even to expel him from that territory. At length, driven to extremity, the hardy chief declared himself willing to enter into articles of submission; and a parley was held, on the borders of the Pale, between him and lord Leonard, in the cautious forms of which, as concerted previously by the parties, we perceive how strong were the fears of treachery felt on both sides; while, in the privilege allowed to the chief of holding parley with vice-royalty, a sort of recognition is implied of that princely rank to which, in right of their ancient dynasties, the Irish chieftains laid claim.

O'Connor having declared that he “would in nowise come

\* Sentleger, &c. to Cromwell, *S. P.* CLXXXIX.—In reference to this success of O'Connor, the following severe reproof occurs in a letter from Cromwell to the lord deputy, dated from Oatlands:—“The expulsiyon of hym (O'Connor) was taken very well, but the permyssiion of him to have suche a scope to worke myschyff at his pleasure, as no doubt he must nedes be remayneing in dyspayre of restytution, was neyther wysedom, nor yet good presyident. Redubbe yt, my lord, in the juste punyshement of his traytour's carkas, and lette his treason be a warning to youe, and to all that shalle have to doo for the kinges magestye ther, never to trust traytoar after, but to use thaim, without tracte, after theyr demerytes.”—*S. P.* CXCI.

† Brabazon to Cromwell, *S. P.* CXCIH.

‡ Gray to Cromwell, *S. P.* CXCIY.

into the Pale to parle," it was agreed that the interview between him and the lord deputy should take place near a ford called Kenneford, on the borders of Offaley. There, in a large open field, the chief, as arranged by the articles, was to take his station, alone, leaving all his retinue at three miles' distance; while the lord deputy, with a certain number of troops,—not less than 350 horsemen, kern, and gunners,—was to come over the ford to meet him, leaving the remainder of his forces behind till the close of the conference. During the parley, watch was to be kept on a high hill, where also a trumpeter and four horsemen were to be stationed; and this trumpeter, on pain of death, was to sound an alarm if he saw any danger. Such were the forms (and, perhaps, not peculiar to this occasion) in which O'Connor made his submission, entreating, at the same time, that, through the intercession of the lord deputy, he might be permitted to hold Offaley of the crown.\*

Our last notice of the young lord Gerald, who was now the hope and rallying point of the rebel party, left him in Desmond under the care of his aunt, lady Eleanor, the widow of the late dynast of that territory. This lady was now about to be married to another great Irish chieftain, O'Donnell;†—being partly moved, it was thought, to this step, by the hope of securing a friend and asserter of the rights of her outlawed nephew; and in the month of June, 1538, we find her, accompanied by the young Gerald and her own son, Mac Carthy Reagh, passing through Thomond on her way to O'Donnell's country. From Galway she was escorted to the end of her journey by Ulick de Burgh,—the same who was, some years after, created earl of Clanricarde.

\* "The Maner and Forme of the Parliament betwene Lord Leonarde Gray, the Kinges our Sovereign Lorde Hys Highness Deputie of Irelande, and Bryan Ochonour."—*State Paper*.

† "The late erle of Kildare his suster is gon to be married to Manus O'Donnell, with whom is gon yong Gerrot, Delahides, and others; which I like not. I was never in dispaire in Ireland till now."—Brabazon to Aylmer and Alen, *S. P.* CCXXIX.

This journey through so great a part of the kingdom, from the extreme south to the north, performed thus safely by a youth whose apprehension was of such importance to the king's party, showed very strongly the state of popular feeling; while the lord deputy's supposed connivance at these daring movements of the Geraldines, so much at variance with his public declarations, drew down those suspicions on his faith and loyalty which led ultimately to his ruin. When arrived at O'Donnell's mansion, the party were met, as had previously been concerted, by the youth's near relative, O'Neill; a compact was sworn between the two chiefs to support the rights of young Gerald, and envoys were sent to solicit the aid of the Scottish monarch in their cause.\*

Manus O'Donnell, now the husband of lady Eleanor, had lately succeeded, on the death of his father, to the lordship of Tyrconnel, having been inaugurated, according to a custom of high antiquity, upon the rock near Kilmacrenan church. Though bearing an hereditary grudge to O'Neill, he had now been induced, for the sake of young Gerald, to act in concert with that chief; and a like sacrifice of private feud to the general interests was made by O'Connor of Connaught,† who, though long at war with Manus O'Donnell, for the possession of the castle of Sligo, now consented, with the view of facilitating the general league, to divide equally between O'Donnell and himself all the profits of this castle, as well as the rent likewise of Connaught. Among other arrangements made by them for Gerald's safety and honour, a guard of twenty-four horsemen, well armed and apparelled, was appointed to wait upon him at his pleasure.‡

In the month of July, this year, lord Leonard Gray pro-

\* Ormond to the Council of Ireland, *S. P.* CCXXXVIII.

† This chief, called the great O'Conner of Connaught, was the most powerful of the five chieftains of that name; the four others being, O'Connor of Offaley, O'Connor Roo, O'Connor Don, and O'Connor Coreumroo.—See *S. P.* CCXLV.

‡ Ormond to the Council of Ireland, *S. P.* CCXXXVIII.

ceeded on a military progress through a great part of the kingdom, receiving the submission of all the chiefs through whose countries he passed, taking the sons of some as pledges of their good faith, and seizing and destroying, in many instances, their castles and strongholds. In this manner, attended by the viscount Gormanstown, and other lords of the Pale, he traversed Offaley, Ely O'Carrol, Ormond, and Arra, and from thence, through Thomond, into Galway.\* In the town of Galway he remained seven days, and, during that time, it is said, sacrilegiously seized and confiscated the precious ornaments of the ancient church of St. Nicholas. But this story, though so long current, has no pretensions whatever to truth.† Some self-willed acts of this lord, in the course of his progress, brought down much censure upon him, from his fellow-commanders. But the crimes alleged against him were, his open leaning to the Geraldines, and, still worse, his favouring, to a disloyal extent, the native Irish themselves. Among the acts by which he gave most offence were the following: Finding Mac William invested with the captainry of Clanricarde, he forcibly deposed him, and set up in his place Ulick de Burgh, afterwards earl of Clanricarde;—a mark of favour which could not fail to be ascribed to partiality towards the Geraldines, of whom Ulick, as we have seen, was a most active partisan. Another act that brought upon him still greater odium, was his selection of the chief O'Connor, who had been so lately in open rebellion against the king's government, as not merely his guide, but his close and confidential adviser.

All the chiefs who had made their submission, during this hosting, were bound to the observance thereof by indentures

\* Brabazon, &c. to Crumwell, *S. P. CCXLIII.*

† In an account kept by sir William Brabazon, vice-treasurer at this time in Ireland, of payments made for articles confiscated, we find an acknowledgment of the receipt of forty-five shillings from lord Leonard as the price of some ornaments confiscated at Galway. On this very slight foundation the whole story, it is probable, has been fabricated.

as well as by oaths. But Ormond, in stating this fact, adds, that neither from them, nor any other of all the "Irishrie," did he count on security or good faith for a moment longer than the king's forces continued among them.\*

The threatening league of the northern chiefs could boast, with its other supports, the sanction of a noble name, but too well known in the records of rebellion during this and former reigns, lord James of Desmond, the present pretender to the earldom. The lord of that title who, in the years 1523 and 1528, entered into a league with foreign powers for the invasion of Ireland, having died without male issue, there arose a contest for the right of inheritance between the two branches of the family, which was continued by their respective descendants; and the present claimants were James Fitz John, whose father had usurped and bequeathed to him both title and possession, and James Fitz Maurice, regarded generally as the rightful heir to the earldom. The father of the present possessor, who died in the year 1536, had, by connecting himself with the O'Brians, caused much embarrassment to the government. It was, indeed, chiefly by the aid of that powerful sept that he had been enabled to acquire possession of almost the whole of the country belonging to the earldom; as well as of those castles, garrisons, and lands, in the county of Limerick, which had belonged to the late earl of Kildare, but which, by the attainder of that lord, had accrued to the king.

Of a like complexion was the course pursued by James Fitz John, the present possessor of the title. Still allying himself with the O'Brians, and other "rebels," for objects of plunder and aggression, he yet continued to negotiate with the heads of the government, and employed all the weight of his powerful position to prevail upon them to recognise his title. He also occasionally even lent his aid to the king's forces; and, dur-

\* Ormond to Cromwell, *S. P.* CCLXXXII.



ing a late progress of the lord deputy, had joined his camp at Owney, "with a good band of men."\* But it was shown in that instance, that he was hardly less dangerous as a confederate than as an enemy; for, on some dispute respecting a hostage, arising between him and the deputy, the earl of Desmond drew out his men in battle array against the king's troops; and it was only through the interference of Sir Thomas Butler, the earl's intimate friend, that he was induced to withdraw his troops, and return quietly to his own territory.† For much of this headstrong conduct, the government itself was in a manner answerable, having, on a previous occasion, yielded to him with a degree of submissiveness which could not fail to encourage further presumption. In the course of one of his negotiations with the lord deputy, respecting the terms of his proffered submission, the commissioners employed to conclude the treaty agreed to meet for that purpose at Clonmell. But Desmond, insisting on the strange privilege bestowed upon one of his ancestors, of never entering into any walled town, refused to come to Clonmell; and the royal commissioners, forgetful of their own and their sovereign's dignity, condescended to wait upon him in his camp.‡

Meanwhile the contest between him and young Fitz Maurice for the right of inheritance continued to be maintained by their respective parties; while the government, though clearly of opinion that justice and right were on the side of Fitz Maurice, yet, with a policy far more prudent than either just or dignified, forbore from pronouncing any decision in his favour; deeming it prudent to defer declaring which was the

\* Gray to Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCXLIV.

† "Confession of the Vicounte Gormanistowne, oon of the Kinges most honourable Consalle," &c. &c.

‡ "And fether we advertise your good lordship that we have parled with James of Desmonde in the felde, withoute the town of Clonmell."—Sentleger, &c. to Crumwell, *S. P.* CLXXXIX.

Desmond, on his submission in the year 1541, "renounced and forsook the said privilege and exemption."—*S. P.* CCCXYXIV., *note*.

rightful heir till they could ascertain which was the more likely to prove the better subject. So extensive, however, was the influence acquired by Desmond in Munster, where he had drawn to his side all the most distinguished Geraldines,—the lord of Kerry, the lord Barry, the Knight of the Valley, and the White Knight,—that the council advised the expedient of sending to Ireland the other claimant, young Fitz Maurice, who was then with the king in England, and using him as an instrument to divide the party, and reduce the influence of his powerful competitor.

But the countenance afforded by Desmond to the young Gerald—already strong in the affections and sympathies of the Irish people—was the wrong most resented by the English party; and to such hypocritical lengths did they proceed, in their efforts to wean him from this youth's cause, that in articles delivered to him by the royal authority, it was unblushingly stated that the king, in his proceedings respecting Gerald, “had never intended any thing towards him but honour and wealth, and to have kindly cherished him, as his kinsman, in the same manner as his brother Edward was cherished by his mother, in England.” The articles require, therefore, that Desmond should write to Gerald Fitz Gerald, and “advise him, in the same manner as his uncle, the lord deputy, had done, to make his submission to the king.”\*

The movements, indeed, of this young lord, and the native chiefs who espoused his cause, were become the principal objects of public solicitude and alarm.† A strong suspicion, as we have seen, had arisen, that Gerald's uncle, the present lord

\* According to O'Sullivan, the Catholic historian, his grandfather, the lord of Bear and Bantry, was one of those by whom young Gerald was sheltered during the time of his concealment;—“à Dermysio Osullevano, avo meo, Bearre Principe.”

† One of the suggestions for the recovery of Gerald was, that he should be bought of the Irish chiefs. “It is good,” says Brabazon, in a letter to Crumwell, “that by sum maner of meanes, this boy might be had, though he shuld be bought of sum of the traytors aboute hym, and thei to have their pardons, whoez power, after his taking, is nothing.”—S. P. CCLXX.

deputy, secretly favoured the designs of those by whom his nephew was abetted and harboured. But there appear no valid grounds for this suspicion; while, on the other hand, satisfactory evidence of efforts made by him to recover this boy out of the hands of the confederates, occurs more than once in his official correspondence. Thus, in a letter addressed to the king, we find him reporting that he had concerted measures with William Wise\*—a gentleman of Waterford, then high in favour at court—for the apprehension of young Gerald; and, writing at a later period to Cromwell, he mentions with earnestness his own anxious endeavours to prevail upon O'Neill to deliver the youth into his hands. One of the bitterest, indeed, of lord Leonard's enemies † has left on record reluctant testimony of the pains taken by him to remove his nephew out of reach of the influence of the northern chiefs. Notwithstanding all this, a year or two after, when this gallant and active public officer was brought to trial for high treason, the charge of having leagued with the earl of Desmond, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and others, to raise a rebellion in favour of Gerald, formed one of the chief grounds of that impeachment, by which he was so cruelly, and, as it appears, unjustly, brought to the block.‡

What definite purpose the confederates proposed to themselves in this new league, of which the young Gerald—or, as he was now styled, the earl of Kildare—formed the professed object, does not appear to have been well ascertained, even among themselves. Their application for aid to the emperor,

\* Gray to Henry VIII., *S. P. CCXXVIII.*

† Thomas Allen to Cromwell, *S. P. CCLVII.*

‡ The following circumstance mentioned by Stanishurst, who had met and conversed with Gerald, after the restoration of his title, would tell strongly in favour of lord Leonard, on this point, had the story come from a somewhat more trustworthy source.—“As touching the first article that brought him most of all out of conceipt with the king, I mooved question to the erle of Kildare, whether the tenor thereof were true or false? His lordship thereto answered, *bona fide*, that he neuer spake with the lord Greie, neuer sent messenger to him, nor received message or letter from him.”—Stanishurst, apud Holinshed, *S. P. CXCIV.*

and the French king, implied the hope of being enabled to cast off the English yoke; and not independence only, but the bright and flattering prospect of beholding once more the ancient monarchy of their country restored and triumphant, appears to have floated in dazzling dreams before their eyes. As a record of that day expresses it, "O'Neill's mind is to be king of Ireland, and to proclaim himself king at the Hill of Tara." But a far more ready and feasible object of the confederacy, was the seizing by force on all the late earl of Kildare's lands, now forfeit to the crown, and upholding Gerald, in defiance of the law, as their rightful possessor.

In addition to all these various grounds of dissension, religious differences, which have formed ever since one of the most active ingredients of Irish strife, had begun, at this time, to influence considerably the views and counsels of the Geraldine party, whose leaders had hitherto opposed every step of the new faith; and to the title of "tyrant," which they had long bestowed upon the English monarch, now added bitterly, that of "heretic." \* With the Scottish monarch, James V., who was no less hostile to the Lutheran doctrines than themselves, they were evidently in constant communication; and the bishop O'Donnell, and others, despatched by them to Rome, repaired previously to the Scottish court for further instructions.† There were likewise settled at this time in Ulster no less than 2,000 Scots, whose ancestors had fled thither for refuge, when driven out of the isles, and with whom James, the present monarch, was secretly tampering, to secure their aid in his plans for embarrassing the English government in Ireland. With this view, he had twice sent for Alexander

\* "The cause of this traictorous conspirid treason, as the traictours doo pleynty declare, both the said pretendid erle of Desmond and O Nele, and O Downyll, is, that the king's highness is an heretik against the feith, bycause he obeyith not, and belevith not the bisshop of Romes usurpid prymacy."—R. Cowley to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXV.

† J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXII.

Karrogh, the captain of the Ulster Scots, to hold personal conference with him; and the mysterious silence preserved by this chief, with respect to the object of his two visits, was viewed by the English party as ominous of mischief.\*

Some of these Scottish settlers of Ulster having, in the year 1538, got forcible possession of the lands of Lecale, the lord deputy, in the course of a "hosting" which he now made into that territory,—professedly with the hope of releasing his nephew out of the hands of O'Neill,—took from Mac Gennis, a northern chief, the bold castle of Dundrum, one of the strongest holds in the kingdom, and, seizing, in all, eight castles, during his circuit, expelled the Scots from their usurped lands.† He is accused of having, in the course of this expedition, burnt the cathedral church of Down, defaced the monuments of the saints Patrick, Bridget, and Columbkille, and committed many other such wanton acts of sacrilege. But for this generally received story there appear to be no more real grounds than for the similar charge brought against him, respecting the collegiate church of St. Nicholas at Galway. Lord Leonard Gray remained to the last attached to the ancient faith; and at this very time, when historians represent him as defacing and destroying the monuments of catholic worship, he was, on the contrary, provoking the taunts of some of his reformed fellow statesmen, by kneeling devoutly before the "Idol of Trim,"—as an ancient image of the Virgin, in the church of that town, was now mockingly styled,—and hearing "three or four masses" in succession.‡

\* J. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXII.

† Gray to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXIX.

‡ "They thre wold not come in the chapell, where the Idoll of Trym stode, to thintent they wold not occasion the people; notwithstanding my lord deputie, veray devoutely kneleng befor Hir, hard thre or fower masses."—T. Alen to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLVII.

This statue was burnt soon after; and the gifts of the pilgrims, in the same church, taken away. Among other cherished relics destroyed, at this time, was the ancient staff of St. Patrick.



Though, under other circumstances, a league so general as that now formed among the chiefs, might have proved perilous to the English power, there was much in the present state of the public mind, depressed and disheartened as all had been by the crushing results of the late conflict, that afforded, for a time, sufficient security against any very serious infraction of the peace. It appears that there were few, even of the inhabitants of the Pale, who had not, at some period or other of the last rebellion, supplied lord Thomas with aid, in men, money, or victuals; and the consciousness that their lands and goods were thereby placed at the king's mercy, kept them in continual alarm.

Towards the latter end of this year, the numbers and strength of the Geraldine league had considerably increased; and, in addition to those who had hitherto been its chief leaders,—O'Donnell, O'Neill, O'Brian, and the earl of Desmond,—the confederacy was now further strengthened by the accession of O'Neill of Claneboy, O'Rourke, Mac Loughlin, Mac Dermot, and many other Irish captains, besides a great host of Scots, both of the "out isles" and the main land of Scotland. In this critical juncture, it was singularly fortunate for the government that the mutual hostility so long subsisting between the lord deputy and the house of Butler, should have been, on both sides, generously abandoned; and that lord James Butler, now earl of Ormond,\*—through the recent death of his father, and the king's restoration of the ancient title,—co-operated cordially with lord Leonard Gray in all those measures which the present crisis required.†

The danger that now more immediately threatened the Pale, arose from the coalition formed between the great O'Brian, as he was specially styled, and the earl of Desmond,—the

\* The title of Ormond had been restored to this lord's father, on the death of Thomas Boleyn, earl of Ormond, without issue male, in the year 1537.

† "This unytie that is nowe knit betwixt him and me, shall not, God willing, discever for my parte."—Ormond to Crumwell, *S. P. CCLXXXII.*

two most daring and powerful of the national champions; and as it was accounted, doubtless, the more prudent as well as more vigorous policy, to anticipate whatever blow might be intended, and thus prevent at once the aggression and the perilous infection of its example, a force, under the joint command of the lord deputy and the earl of Ormond, was marched, at the close of this year, into Munster. The principal object of this expedition, as stated in a despatch from Ormond himself, was, "by policy and strength to pluck from O'Brian all his forces and wings on this side the Shannon;"\* and its leading events shall here be as briefly narrated as the copious details on the subject, furnished by official records, will permit.

Regaining possession, in some treacherous manner, of the castle of Roscrea, which belonged to Ormond by inheritance, but had been seized by the Mac Meaghers of Ikerin, the commanders proceeded from thence to Modren, a castle belonging to the O'Carrols, where the chief of that sept came in, on safe-conduct, and surrendered himself and his wife, as hostages to the lord deputy. Thither were sent to him also the hostages of Mac Brian of Arra, Regan of Owney, O'Dwyer of Kilnamanna, and a number of other chiefs of the neighbouring districts, pledging each of them to preserve allegiance, and pay to the king a certain yearly tribute. Continuing his march into Munster, lord Leonard succeeded in reducing to allegiance Gerald Mac Shane, the White Knight, the lord Barry,—the latter nobleman not having come near any lord deputy for years,—Mac Carthy Reagh, the Red Barry, and other adherents of the earl of Desmond; all of whom came in person to the earl of Ormond's house at Thurles, and there bound themselves, by oaths and hostages, to preserve allegiance to the crown.

At Imokilly, the deputy delivered up to James Fitz Mau

\* Ormond to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXXII.

rice—the rightful claimant of the ealdom of Desmond, who appears to have accompanied the expedition—all the castles and lands in that barony which had been usurped by James Fitz John, together with all other castles between Youghall and Cork, excepting those only which belonged to lord Barry, who had just given in his submission. In like manner, the lands of Kerri-curriky, and others belonging to his grandfather, were now put into the hands of James Fitz Maurice.\*

In O'Callaghan's country the deputy remained encamped for four days and nights, intending to have passed the river Avonmore, now the Blackwater, and from thence to have proceeded to the county of Limerick. But the river was then so much swollen, that the army was unable to pass; and, in the mean time, the earl of Desmond made his appearance on the opposite bank,—whether attended by an armed force does not appear,—and from thence signified to them that he had taken part with O'Brian against the earl of Ormond; that he would continue still to stand by that chief; and that, moreover, O'Brian would have, on his side, “all the Irishry of Ireland.” The lord deputy, it is added, “being sore moved by these words,” immediately drew off his army, and marched back to Cork; with little hopes, it is clear, either on his part, or that of Ormond, that a single one of those lords and chiefs, who had so lately given in their submission, would, with such strong inducements to revolt, remain long true to their forced engagements. It is worth remarking, that the force thus employed to strike awe into the whole kingdom consisted but of 400 men under lord Leonard Gray, and about the same number of horsemen, kern and galloglasses, under the command of the earl of Ormond.†

It was in the course, probably, of this “hosting” of the lord deputy, that the battle took place between him and the chiefs O'Neill and O'Donnell, which became so memorable in

\* Ormond to Crumwell, *S. P.* CCLXXXII.

† *Ibid.*

the Irish annals, under the name of "the Battle of Belahoe;"\* but of which, in contemporary English records, there occurs not the slightest mention. The two chiefs, it appears, had combined in a predatory inroad into Meath,—attracted far less, however, by the glories of Tara, than by the plunder and havoc expected from their foray; and, having destroyed the towns of Ardee and Navan, were returning loaded with spoil, when, being pursued by lord Leonard, they were overtaken, near the Ford of Belahoe, and, after a weak attempt at resistance, were all confusedly put to flight, leaving their booty in the hands of the pursuers.

However meagre were the immediate results of the lord deputy's circuit, its general effect, as manifesting watchfulness, and, still more, union, among the ruling powers, was by no means unuseful nor speedily forgotten. The hope of aid from foreign powers, which the northern chiefs had been led to indulge, was recently revived by the meeting, at Paris, between the emperor and the French king.† But at no period does there appear to have been much ground for this hope; and an event which occurred at the commencement of the present year,—the escape of young Gerald into France,—dissolved at once the sole bond which had held the leaders of so many factions, for a time, together, and awakened in the Irish a spirit of concert no less formidable than, luckily for their masters, it was rare.

The safe removal of Gerald to the continent had been con-

\* "That prosperous fight," says Sir John Davies, "at Belahoo, on the borders of Meath, the memory whereof is yet famous." He cites, as his authority, an Irish MS., the Book of Howth. There is also an account of the leading events of the conflict in the Annals of the Four Masters, ad ann. 1539. The pretended particulars of this battle given by Cox, Leland, and others, out of Holinshed, are all from the suspicious mint of Stanihurst; who, although he lived, as we have seen, near enough to the time of these events, to have conversed with Gerald after he was restored to his title, is little to be trusted in any of his details; and, in this instance, has evidently eked out whatever he may have found in the Irish annals with flat and puerile figments of his own.

† "Remembrances to my Lord Pryve Seall," *S. P.* CCLXXXVIII.

trived by his tutor, Levrous, and the chief O'Donnell, who had him secretly conveyed, at night, in a small cockboat, on board a ship bound for St. Malo. Besides other precautions employed to conceal his person and rank, he "had on him," we are told, "only a saffron shirt, and was bare-headed, like one of the wild Irish."\* The account given of this youth's adventures, after his departure from Ireland, is garnished with much of that dull and circumstantial fiction, in which the chronicler, who is our sole authority for most of these stories, delights to indulge.† That efforts were made by the English king, through his agents abroad, to obtain possession of Gerald, either by stratagem or negotiation, is sufficiently proved by existing documents; and such were the notions of his rank and importance which this eager pursuit after him excited abroad, that, wherever he went, the idea prevailed that he was really king of Ireland, and that the English monarch had cruelly disinherited him of his right.‡ Notwithstanding, however, the plans devised by Henry to have him seized, the youth succeeded in reaching his kinsman, cardinal Pole, at Rome, and remained in Italy, under his protection, several years. Through the munificence of this illustrious man, as well as the patronage of Cosmo I., grand duke of Tuscany, he was enabled to acquire such learning and accomplishments as befitted the high rank to which he was born. This rank he partially recovered in the course of the following reign, when he was taken into favour by Edward VI.; and, as soon as queen Mary came to the throne, the honours and estates of his ancestors were, by letters patent, restored to him.

\* "The sayd Fytzgarethe was convayed aborde the ship in the nyght, in a small cocke, havving on but a saffronyd shurt and barheaddyd, lyke one of the wyllde Yreshe, and with him 8 persons."—Warner to the English Ambassador, *S. P. CCCVL*.

† Stanihurst, ap. Holinshed.

‡ "And, in all this countre, wher he passyd, he was, and is to this day, namyd to be king of Yrland, and that the king our master hathe disheretyd him of hys ryght."—Warner to the English Ambassador, *S. P. CCCVL*.



## CHAPTER XLVI.

HENRY VIII.—(*continued.*)

**COURSE OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND—PRINCIPAL EVENTS THAT MARKED ITS PROGRESS—FIRST STEPS TOWARDS ITS INTRODUCTION INTO IRELAND—OPPOSED BY ARCHBISHOP CROMER—SUPPORTED BY ARCHBISHOP BROWNE.—ACT OF SUPREMACY—STRONGLY OPPOSED BY THE SPIRITUAL PROCTORS.—THIS AND OTHER MEASURES DEFEATED BY THEM.—PARLIAMENT FREQUENTLY PROROGUED.—BILL FOR THE EXCLUSION OF PROCTORS FROM PARLIAMENT.—GRANT TO THE KING OF THE TWENTIETH PART OF THE CHURCH REVENUES.—CHARACTER OF ARCHBISHOP BROWNE—IS REBUKED BY THE KING—HIS DIFFERENCES WITH THE BISHOP OF MEATH.—FEW OF THE PERSONS IN AUTHORITY ADOPT THE NEW CREED.—OATH OF SUPREMACY TAKEN BY TWO ARCHBISHOPS AND EIGHT BISHOPS.—COMMISSION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES.—NUMEROUS APPLICATIONS FOR A SHARE OF THE SPOIL.—URGENT REQUESTS OF ARCHBISHOP BROWNE.—MILD FORM OF THE CHANGE IN IRELAND.—NO INSTANCE OF SEVERE PUNISHMENT ON ACCOUNT OF OPINION.—PREVALENCE OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM.—RECALL OF LORD LEONARD GRAY.—PEACE CONCLUDED WITH O'NEILL.—ASSEMBLAGE OF IRISH AT FOWRE.—LIBERAL POLICY OF THE KING—CONCILIATES THE IRISH CHIEFS.—DESMOND DISPOSED TO SUBMIT—EFFORTS OF ORMOND TO WIN HIM OVER.—LOYAL DISPOSITION OF MOST OF THE IRISH LORDS.—O'CONNOR REFRACTORY—THIS CHIEF ALSO SUBMITS.—CHIVALROUS CONDUCT OF TIRLOGH O'TOOLE.—SUBMISSION OF DESMOND—AMICABLE ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN HIM AND ORMOND.—PARLEY WITH O'BRIAN.—EXECUTION OF LORD LEONARD GRAY.—PARLIAMENT ATTENDED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY THE IRISH CHIEFS.—TITLE OF KING OF IRELAND BESTOWED UPON HENRY.—PROCLAMATION OF A GENERAL PARDON.—GREAT REJOICINGS.—KINDNESS OF THE KING TO DESMOND AND OTHER LORDS.—O'NEILL AND O'DONNELL MAKE THEIR SUBMISSION.—TITLES AND HONOURS BESTOWED ON O'NEILL, THE O'BRIANS, AND MAC WILLIAM.—PRAISE OF THE KING'S POLICY—MUCH OF THE CREDIT DUE TO SENTLEGER.—IRISH TROOPS EMPLOYED IN FRANCE—THEIR DISTINGUISHED BRAVERY.—GREAT EXPEDITION UNDER LENNOX AND ORMOND AGAINST SCOTLAND.**

A FEW years before the period we have now reached, that great religious revolution of which Germany had been the birth-place, extended its influence to the shores of England, and was now working a signal change in the spiritual condition of that kingdom. In Germany, from an early date, the struggles of the emperors with the popes had conducted to engender a feeling of ill-will towards Rome, which required but little excitement to rouse it into hostility. In the German,

to, as well as in the English reformation, finance may be said to have gone hand in hand with faith : as it was the abuse of his spiritual privileges by the pope, for the purpose of fiscal exaction, that gave to Luther his first advantage-ground in attacking the Roman see.

Nor was England wholly unprepared, by previous experience, for the assaults now made, not only on the property, but the ancient doctrines of her church ; as the sect of the Lollards may be said to have anticipated the leading principles of the Reformation ; while the suppression and spoliation of the alien priories, in the reign of Henry V., and a similar plunder committed by Edward II., on the rich order of the Knights Templars, had furnished precedents, though on a comparatively small scale, for the predatory achievements of the present monarch. A brief account of the leading events that marked the progress of the reformed faith in England, from about the time of Fitz Gerald's outbreak, to the period where we are now arrived, will not be unuseful towards a clear exposition of the course and effects of that great religious change in Ireland.

The first decisive step taken in the difference between Henry VIII. and the see of Rome, was in the year 1534, when the pope, by declaring the validity of the king's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, pronounced sentence against the union, so much desired by him, with Anne Boleyn. As this sentence was only enforced by a mere threat of excommunication, in case the king should persist in his project of a divorce, an opening was left through which some compromise, it is thought, might have been effected. But the hasty act of Clement's successor, Paul III., precluded finally any such chance of reconciliation. From that moment, the boundaries of spiritual and temporal power began, on both sides, to be violently transgressed. Not content with declaring Henry himself excommunicated, and laying his whole kingdom under an interdict, —measures which, whatever might have been their prudence,

were within the scope of his spiritual powers,—Paul, by this bull, deprived the English king of his crown; dissolved all leagues of catholic princes with him; released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and delivered his kingdom up a prey to any invader.

While the pontiff was thus rashly outrunning the bounds of his spiritual dominion, the English monarch, on the other hand, self-invested with the supreme headship of the church, was bringing the terrors of temporal punishment to enforce the new powers he had assumed, and show how expeditiously a people may be schooled into reformation by a free use of the rack, the halter, and the stake.

However injudicious, indeed, as regarded mere policy, was the anathema hurled at Henry by the Roman pontiff, it is to be recollected, that intelligence had shortly before reached Rome of the trial and execution of the venerable Fisher, archbishop of Rochester,—a crime which, deepened, as it was, by the insults cast on the aged victim, was heard on the continent, we are told, with indignation and tears.\* Soon after followed the sentence on the illustrious Sir Thomas More, who, because he refused to acknowledge that the king was supreme head of the church,—a proposition which, three years earlier, it would have been heresy to assert,—was sentenced to die the death of a traitor; nor could all his genius and knowledge, his views extending beyond the horizon of his own times, or the playful philosophy that graced both his life and his writings, obtain from the tyrant any further mark of mercy than the mere substitution, in the mode of executing him, of the axe for the halter.

Having achieved thus his double object,—supreme sovereignty over the church, as well as the state,—Henry's next step, to which the former had been but preparatory, was the spoliation of the clergy; and whatever wrong and ruin followed

\* Pole de Unitat.,—quoted by Turner, *Hist. of Henry VIII.*, chap. xxvii

in the wake of his predatory course, no compassion is, at all events, due to the higher clergy and spiritual peers, who were themselves the obsequious abettors of all the tyrant's worst measures. Whether, like Gardiner, adhering still to the creed of Rome, or, like Cranmer and others, secretly reformers, the prelates of both the religious parties were equally tools of the throne; and alike servilely lent their aid to every aggression on the rights and property of the church.

The proceedings, as unmanly as they were merciless, against the ill-fated Anne Boleyn, whom the king, having first branded without scruple, then butchered without remorse, have no further relation to Ireland than as showing how rapidly scenes of pageantry and bloodshed succeeded each other in this frightful reign. By a parliament convened at Dublin, an act was passed, pronouncing the marriage of the king with Catherine of Arragon to be null and void, declaring the inheritance of the crown to be in the king and his heirs by queen Anne, and pronouncing it high treason to oppose this succession. Scarcely, however, had this act passed, when intelligence arrived of the trial and execution of Anne Boleyn, and the marriage of the king to lady Jane Seymour. As the Irish legislature, like that of England, at this period, was a body employed but to register edicts, the same parliament that had just passed this act, no less readily repealed it, and pronounced, by another law, sentence of attainder upon the late queen and all who had been condemned as her supposed accomplices.\*

It is not a little curious to observe how slow in ripening were the evil qualities of Henry's nature, and how long dormant in him was that love of cruelty which the boundless power he afterwards attained enabled him so monstrously to indulge. For no less than five and twenty years after his accession, we find recorded of him but two instances of severity,

\* Leland,—who refers to *Ir. Stat.* 28th Hen. VIII., not printed.

and one of them a case admitting of justification.\* It was not till he pretended to sovereignty over the thoughts, the inward consciences of his subjects, and assumed a right to dispose of their souls, as well as their bodies,—it was not, in short, till he had tasted blood, as a bigot, that his true nature, as brute and tyrant, fully broke out.

Having now assumed to himself a sort of spiritual dictatorship, and usurped, in his own person, that privilege of infallibility against which he had rebelled, as claimed by the pope, Henry proceeded to frame and promulgate a formulary of faith for his whole kingdom, which, instead of being submitted to the boasted tribunal of private judgment, was ordered to be adopted by all implicitly, under pain of tortures and death.

The king's position, in thus holding supremacy over two rival creeds, from both of which he himself materially dissented, was such as entirely suited his tastes, both as disputant and persecutor; and even enabled him, as in the case of the wretched Lambert,—with whom he condescended to hold a public disputation,—first, to browbeat his trembling antagonist, in argument, and then to complete the triumph by casting him into the flames. The penal power was, indeed, in his hands, a double-edged sword, for whose frightful sweep his complaisant legislators had provided victims from both religions. For, as all who denied the king's supremacy were declared traitors, and all who rejected the papal creed were pronounced heretics, the freest scope was afforded to cruelty for the alternate indulgence of its tastes, whether in hanging conscientious catholics for treason, or sending protestants to perish in the flames for heresy. On one occasion, singled out of many, the horrible fruits of this policy were strikingly exhibited. In the same cart were conveyed to execution three catholics and three protestants; the former, for denying the king's

\* The only persons who, during that period, had suffered for crimes against the state, were Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Stafford, duke of Buckingham.



supremacy, the latter for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. The catholics were hanged, drawn and quartered, the protestants burned.

In the year 1539, the last of those spiritual ordinances by which Henry sought to coerce the very consciences of his subjects, made its appearance, in the form of an Act for abolishing diversity of opinions; or, as it was called,—from the savage cruelty with which its enactments were enjoined,—the bloody Statute of the Six Articles. This violent law, by which almost all the principal catholic doctrines were enjoined peremptorily, under pain of death and forfeiture, was aimed, with ominous malignity, against those of the king's own ministers, who, while appearing to adopt so obsequiously all his views, were, he knew, secretly pledged disciples of the new German school of faith. Most amply, however, has this duplicity been avenged, by the lasting stain brought upon the memories of those spiritual peers—Cranmer himself among the number—who, affecting to be convinced by a speech which the king had delivered in the course of the debate, gave their assent to this arbitrary statute, and the barbarous penalties by which it was enforced.\* There were only two among the prelates, Latimer and Shaxton, who had the courage to refuse their sanction to this sanguinary act.†

While such, in ecclesiastical affairs, was the odious policy of this monarch's reign, the spirit of its civil administration was no less subversive of all popular right and freedom. By an act, unparalleled in servility, the parliament gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by their own body; thus basely surrendering into the hands of the monarch the only stronghold of the nation's liberties.

\* "Notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely, my lord of Salisbury my lords of Worcester, Rochester, and St. Davyes, defended the contrary a long time, yet finally his highness confounded them all with goodlie learning."—*MS. cited by Lingard.*

† Hume.

Such, briefly sketched, were the leading events that marked the progress of the reformed faith in England, during a few years preceding the period to which I have brought down the civil history of Ireland; and I have been induced thus far to wander beyond the bounds of my prescribed task, in order, by bringing before the reader both pictures in juxtaposition, to show how different was the course and character of the Reformation in the two countries.

In articles entered into by the earl of Ossory, on receiving a grant from the crown in the year 1534, of the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, as well as of the territories of Ossory and Ormond, we find the first step taken by the king towards the enforcement of the reformed faith, in Ireland; one of the engagements then entered into by this earl having been to resist the usurped jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome.\* In less than a fortnight from the date of these articles, the violent rebellion under lord Thomas Fitz Gerald broke out; and amidst the general strife and confusion which then prevailed, little was thought of or done for the advancement of the new doctrines. It does not appear, indeed, that any strong measures for that object had been resorted to before the spring of the following year, when a writ was issued for the apprehension of Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, on a charge of treason; that prelate having vehemently resisted the king's claim of spiritual supremacy, and laid a solemn curse upon all who should give their assent to the proposed change.

On the other hand, the cause of the new creed found a no less strenuous champion in George Browne, the archbishop of Dublin, who had been recently advanced to that see, and was the first of the clergy in Ireland that declared in favour of the reformed faith. To him, as a member of the commission ap-

\* "Grant of the government of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Ossory, and Ormond, to Ossory, who engages to assist Skeffington and the king's deputy for the time being, to reduce Desmond and to resist the pope."—*State Paper*, LXXII.

pointed to bring that realm to a due acknowledgment of the king's spiritual supremacy, was specially intrusted the management of this arduous task. But Browne's report of the results of his mission afforded no hope of any such assent to the royal creed as it had met with from the great mass of the English people. His most effective opponent, Cromer, was a prelate whose "gravity, learning, and sweetness of demeanour,"\* had rendered him generally popular, and who had drawn to his own opinions, on this subject, most of the suffragans and clergy within his jurisdiction. Two messengers were accordingly despatched by them to Rome; and it was much feared by Browne and his party that the pope, on learning the state of affairs, would order O'Neill to oppose the projected changes.†

Seeing no hope, therefore, from the church commission, Browne advised the calling of a parliament in Ireland, which, following the example of the English legislature, should enforce by statute the general acknowledgment of the king's supremacy. In pursuance of this advice, a parliament was held the following year,‡ in the city of Dublin, and among the earliest measures submitted to it was an act for establishing the supremacy of the crown, or, as it was briefly styled, the Act of the Supreme Head.§ It was also proposed to this parliament that there should be no appeals to Rome, on pain of præmunire; that the clergy should pay first-fruits to the king, instead of to the pope, and that all who defended or asserted the authority of the bishop of Rome were subject to the penalty of præmunire. By another act, the twentieth part of the

\* Ware's *Hist. of the Bishops*.

† "The common people of this isle," says Browne, "are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in truth at the beginning of the gospel. . . . It is feared O'Neill will be ordered by the bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship's orders from the king's highness, for the natives are much in numbers within his power."—Browne to Crumwell, *Harleian Miscel.* vol. v.

‡ A. D. 1586.

§ The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S. P. CXXXVII*

annual profits of all ecclesiastical promotions were to be granted to the king, his heirs and successors, for ever.

These measures, in the course of their enactment, were opposed vehemently by the spiritual proctors,\* a class of men who had formerly been summoned to parliament only as counsellors, or assistants, without any voice or suffrage, but who had for some time assumed a right to vote as members of that body, and so much obstructed, at this crisis, the plans and measures of the reformers, that an act was passed, at a later period, declaring the proctors not to be members of the body of parliament. Owing to the exertions of this party in the commons, aided by the king's serjeant, Patrick Barnwell, the measure of the grant to the king of the twentieth part of the church revenues, spiritual and temporal, did not pass before the month of October, 1537.† Another important measure, delayed for several months by the same cause, was an act for the suppression of certain monasteries and religious houses comprised in a commission sent over, for that purpose, by the king.

In the correspondence of the lord deputy and council, at this period, we find an unworthy intrigue disclosed, having for its object to obtain from Cromwell the advancement of Basnet, a staunch follower of the new doctrines, to the dignity of the dean of St. Patrick's cathedral.‡ The minor details of the transaction come hardly within the range of regular history; but the fact that Cromwell, for the essential aid he lent to this intrigue, by promoting Basnet to the deanery, received the sum of sixty pounds, shows that, even at that dawning hour of the reformed creed, a corrupt traffic in spiritual patronage already prevailed among its promoters.

\* "Of which (proctors) Patrick Bernewell, the kinges serjaunt is oonpryncypall champion; who, and in effect all his lynage of the Bernewells, have been grei doers and adherentes, pryvay counsaillors to the late erle of Kildare."—Robert Cowley to Cromwell, *S. P.* CXLIX.

† The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Cromwell, *S. P.* CLXIV.

In the month of January (1537) the parliament was again assembled; but so perseveringly did the proctors still continue their opposition, having now openly on their side the bishops and abbots, that little progress was made in any of the bills remaining to be disposed of; and even of those which the commons agreed to pass, some were afterwards thrown out by the upper house. In this manner, the bill for granting to the king the twentieth part of all ecclesiastical revenues, though passed by the house of commons, was rejected by the spiritual lords.\* It became necessary, therefore, again to prorogue the parliament, and employ the recess in devising some remedy for this continued obstruction in the way of their measures.

On being consulted, the king's council declared that the proctors had "no voice in parliament," and referred to entries on the rolls as proving that, even in cases where their assent or dissent was recorded, it was not considered to be material, nor allowed any weight in the decision of the matters in question. In accordance with this opinion, an act was prepared to put down the "usurpation of proctors," which, on the re-assembling of parliament, was one of the first measures passed; and the refractory spirit which had so long thwarted the plans of the government having been thus far got rid of, the act for the grant to the king of the twentieth part of the "spirituality," as well as for the suppression of the religious houses, was without much difficulty carried. So welcome was this grant to Henry, with whom money was, at all times, a pressing consideration, that, in a special letter addressed to the lords spiritual, he expressed his acknowledgments for the gift.†

The position, at this juncture, of Browne, the archbishop of Dublin, was not a little arduous and trying; for, as he had been the first of the clergy to embrace the Reformation, so he continued to be almost the only one who took active steps for

\* Gray and Brabazon to Cromwell, *S. P.* CLXVIII.

† King Henry VIII. to the Spiritual Lords of Ireland, *S. P.* CC.



its advancement; and while, by the over-zeal of a fresh convert, he made himself odious to the party he had deserted, his self-sufficiency and assuming pomp made him no less offensive to those whose doctrines he had espoused. A letter addressed to him about this time (1537) by the king,\* after charging him with "lightness in behaviour," adds,—“Such is the elation of your mind, in pride, that, glorying in foolish ceremonies, and delighting in We and Us, all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you.” In replying to these heavy charges, which wear the appearance, it must be owned, of exaggeration, the archbishop sets forth his own spiritual services in “declaring to the people the only Gospel of Christ,” and inducing his hearers “utterly to despise the usurped power of the bishop of Rome.” But the steps taken by him to advance the king’s temporal interests, are those he dwells upon with the most emphasis and self-complacency; reminding his majesty that he had been not only the first spiritual man that moved the twentieth part of first-fruits, but that he had promoted, as far as in him lay, the “like first-fruits of all monasteries, not before motioned.” †

Between this prelate and lord Leonard Gray there occurred frequent and bitter differences, for which their variance on religious questions may be thought sufficiently to account. But even with Staples, the bishop of Meath, the only prelate who joined in supporting the king’s supremacy, this domineering archbishop could not bring himself amicably to agree. Who can wonder that the people of Ireland should have almost unanimously rejected a creed of which Henry VIII. was the supreme head, and this most assuming and worldly-minded prelate the earliest apostle? ‡ So narrow, in fact, was the footing gained, at

\* State Papers, CLXXIV.

† Archbishop Browne to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* CLXXXVI.

‡ The character given of this prelate by Staples, bishop of Meath, is, as far as we can judge, not over-coloured:—“He now bostyth hym<sup>a</sup> self to ruell al the clergy under our soveran lord, and he hath gyvyne such a tast of hys good demeanour as

this time, by the new doctrines, even among the higher authorities of the Pale, that, with the exception of lord James Butler, the master of the rolls, the vice-treasurer, Brabazon, the archbishop of Dublin, and one or two others of little note, all the official personages constituting the government, including the lord deputy himself, remained still attached to the ancient faith.\*

The only test or symbol of the new orthodoxy required, as yet, from either ecclesiastics or laymen, was the taking of the oath binding them to acknowledge the king's supremacy; and it may be presumed that neither by the clergy nor laity was this substitution of the supremacy of the crown for that of the pope considered as a change seriously affecting their faith, since almost all the native lords and clergy came forward, as we shall see presently, to confirm their allegiance by this form of oath. If, in place of a mere acknowledgment of the king's supremacy,—a claim, the extent of which neither the chiefs nor perhaps the clergy themselves clearly understood,—the renunciation of some tenet or observance endeared and hallowed by old tradition and daily habit, had been demanded as the pledge of orthodoxy, the same tranquil submission would not have attended the first advances of the reformed creed.

Without pausing, however, to consider what were the causes of Ireland's exemption, at this period, from that dragooning process of conversion to which England was so brutally subjected, suffice it to say, that such, at this time, was the comparative state of the two kingdoms; and that whatever of peace and religious tolerance these islands could boast, had all

that every honest man is not only wery theroff, but rekonyth that pryd and arrogance hath ravysht hyme from the ryght remembrance of hymeself."—Bishop Staples to Sentleger, *S. P. CCXXXIII.*

\* "Excepte it be the Archebyschope of Dublyn, whiche dothe here in preching sett forthe Godes worde, with dew obedyence to ther prynce, and my good lord Butler, the master of the rolles, Mr. Thezaurer, and on or 2 more, which are of smalle repytachons, here is ellys noone, from the hyste, may abyde the heryng of hitt, spirituall, as they call them, nor temperall."—Agard to Crumwell, *S. P. CCXVII.*

taken refuge on the Irish shore. This very year, while the scaffolds of England were reeking with Christian blood, and men were expiring, by a slow fire, with the words, "None but Christ, none but Christ," upon their lips, not only were the axe, the faggot, and halter, left entirely without employ in Ireland, but the harshest punishment we find inflicted for religious offences, during that period, was the commitment of the delinquents to Dublin castle. Thus, a grey friar was imprisoned for having preached against the "breaking or pulling down of churches," and a like punishment was inflicted by Browne in two several cases;—the offender, in one instance (A. D. 1538), having been the suffragan of the bishop of Meath, who, in a late sermon preached by him, had prayed, first, for the bishop of Rome, then for the emperor, and lastly, for the king, saying of the latter, "I pray God he never depart this world, until he hath made amends."\* The other offender committed by the archbishop was a prebendary of St. Patrick's, named Humphrey, who, when performing service in his own church, had not only omitted to read the "Form of the Beads" (certain instructions for praying, drawn up by Browne himself), but when his curate went up into the pulpit for that purpose, suddenly interrupted him, and began, with the choir, to sing high mass; and for this offence against his formulary the archbishop sent him to prison.†

While such are the worst stretches of power with which even this proud and contentious churchman appears to have been chargeable, the general forbearance of the civil authorities, during the whole, I may say, of this reign, from all violent means of enforcing the new creed, was even still more worthy of wonder and praise. The mixed composition, perhaps, of the present government, in which were brought together adherents of both the contending creeds, might have

\* Archbishop Browne to Crumwell, *S. P. CCXXV.*

† *Id. S. P. CCXXVI.*

had some share in producing the tolerance and general tranquillity that now prevailed; for, not merely was this balance of counsels in the governing body likely to lead to a middle and tolerant course, but a sort of security was thus afforded to both the religious parties, that nothing violent was likely to be attempted against either by a government counting as its most forward leaders such men as lord Butler and the lord Leonard Gray; the one a friend of the reforming archbishop, and a warm abettor of all his innovations; the other a known adherent of the ancient faith, having knelt publicly, as we have seen, in one of his late circuits, before the statue of the Blessed Virgin at Trim.\*

Such mutual tolerance, on matters of belief, appears the more remarkable at this very crisis, when one of the principal objects of the league formed by O'Donnell, O'Neill, and the Geraldines, was supposed to be the defence of their country's creed against the innovations of the English reformers; and when it was believed that they were actually negotiating with foreign powers for a force to aid them in this design. An event that occurred this year, about midsummer, conduced to strengthen such an impression. Among the papers of a Franciscan friar, who had been apprehended and committed to the castle of Dublin, was found a letter addressed to O'Neill, and professing to be written by the bishop of Metz, in the name of the council of cardinals. The object of this letter was to exhort O'Neill, as he valued "the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and his own security," to oppose himself to the spreading heresy. The writer informs him of an ancient prophecy of St. Laserian, an Irish archbishop of Cashel, which predicts that "the church of Rome shall surely

\* In speaking of this statue, Browne says, "There goithe a commen brewte amonges the Yrish men, that I entende to plope down Our Lady of Tryme, with other places of pilgramages, as the Holy Crosse and souch like; which in deade I never attempted, although my conscience wolde right well serve me to oppresse such ydolles."—S. P. CCXXXVI.

fall when the Catholic faith is once overthrown in Ireland ;” and accordingly exhorts him to “animate the people of the Holy Island in this pious cause.”\* The bearer of this letter—in which, among other marks of imposture, the prophecy is attributed to an archbishop of Cashel, of whom there is no trace in our annals—was on the point of being sent over prisoner to England, when he put an end to his life in Dublin castle.

Early in the following year (A. D. 1539), two archbishops and eight bishops, after hearing a sermon preached by the archbishop of Dublin, in support of the king’s supremacy, and the “extinguishment” of the bishop of Rome, all took the oaths relating both to the succession and the supremacy.†

Although the act for the suppression of religious houses was passed in the year 1537, the appointment of a commission to carry it into effect did not take place till the present year; when, following the course pursued in England, a form of inquiry was employed to usher in an act already determined upon, and the suppression of the religious houses was quietly effected. In the mean while, the spoils expected from this harvest of rapine were already in fancy parcelled out among the great lords and officers of the Pale, both lay and spiritual. It had been suggested, in the year 1537, that, to reward the services of lord James Butler, and his father, without further encroachment on the king’s lands, a grant should be made to them of the monastery and lands of Duiske, together with some other march abbey, either in Kilkenny or Tipperary.‡ But this suggestion does not appear to have been carried into effect. The lord chancellor Alen endeavoured to secure for

\* Harleian Miscell. vol. v.—Cox.

† The Council of Ireland to Crumwell, *S. P. CCLXII.*

‡ Gray, &c. to Crumwell. “As for the name of honour of the erledeme of Ormond, it is not hurtefull they have it; but as for the landes, our advise is, the king departe not wyth them, but, in the lue thereof, geve them the abbaye of Duske, with thapertenaunces, wych is determined to be suppressed.”—*S. P. CLXVIII.*



himself the monastery of St. Thomas Court, near Dublin;\* but the site and circuit of that venerable abbey were granted, in the year 1543, to Sir Thomas Brabazon, then vice-treasurer, the ancestor of the earls of Meath.

Equally unsuccessful was archbishop Browne, notwithstanding his zeal for the cause of reform, in endeavouring to secure for himself a share of this religious plunder. On the first rumour of the coming of the commission, he wrote to request of lord Cromwell, that he would obtain for him a "very poor house of friars," as he describes it, named the New Abbey,—a "house of the obstinates' religion, which lay very commodious for him by Ballymore." This monastery, however, had already been given away, and—still more provokingly, in the eyes of the prelate—had been bestowed upon an Irishman.† He next endeavoured to obtain from Cromwell a grant of the nunnery of Grace Dieu, should that house be among the number of those suppressed. But here again his suit was fruitless; and, after an ineffectual attempt to preserve it, this nunnery was suppressed, along with the rest, and its site and possessions granted, in the year 1541, to Sir Patrick Barnwell, ancestor of the lord Trimleston.‡

Some over-zealous Irish writers, unwilling to admit that so long an interval of peace and tolerance could have been enjoyed thus under a government almost entirely English, have brought forth one alleged instance of religious martyrdom, in

\* J. Alen to Cromwell. "Considering that I have no howse in Dublin to lie in, neither provision to keep oon hors ther for my self, that it would plesse your lordship that I maie have the monastery of St. Thomas Court to ferme, wherby I shalbe the more able to serve the king, and yit his grace nothing hindered of his profit."—*S. P. CCLXVIII.*

† "Where as I wrote unto your lordeschip for the obteynement of a very poure house of friars, named the New Abbay, an house of the obstynates religion, which lay very commodious for me by Ballymore, to repaire unto in tymes of nede; I am elene dispatched of any pleasures there, and the profite theireof gyven to an Irish man; so that I am compted an unworthie parson."—*S. P. CCXXVI.* He then solicits in the same strain, for a grant of the abbey of Grace Dieu.

See, for particulars of this grant, Archdall's *Monast. Hibern.* p. 218.

the person of Dr. John Travers, an Irish secular priest, who published a book in defence of the papal supremacy. Had it been for writing this controversial work that capital punishment was inflicted on Travers, his right to the place he holds in the Irish martyrology could not have been questioned. But this was by no means the case:—he had taken a most active part in lord Thomas Fitz Gerald's rebellion, and it was for this offence that, having been tried and found guilty of treason, he was executed at Tyburn.\* Such is the single alleged instance of severe punishment, on account of religion, which, even by those most desirous to fix such a charge on the Irish government, could be referred to during the whole of the thirteen years that elapsed from the first introduction of the reformed creed, to the last days of this reign.

The notion prevailing at this time among the alarmists of the Pale, and since adopted by all our historians, that religion was a leading motive of the late league among the chiefs, appears to be but little sustained by recorded facts. Had any great zeal for the interests of religion been felt, either within or without the Pale, there would have been, on both sides, more show of energy and character, but, on neither, much enjoyment of tolerance or peace. So little, indeed, did Henry's spiritual claims alarm the consciences of the native chiefs, that, a year or two after, when entering into articles of submission, all the most eminent among them readily took the oath, acknowledging the king supreme head of the church. While thus, from pliancy of conscience, or, perhaps, mere ignorance of the nature of the pledge required from them, these lords contributed, by their easy submission, to prolong the tranquillity that now prevailed, the same object was, in like manner, ministered to by another large class of persons,—the unreformed clergy of the Pale; who, when they found that by preaching in defence of the pope, they would incur the penalty of præmunire, re-

\* Cox,—Ware's *Writers*.

frained from preaching altogether, and gladly took refuge in the safe, though inglorious policy of silence.\* A similar course was pursued by the ill-fated lord Leonard Gray himself; and, accordingly, though known to be, in his heart, attached to the ancient doctrines, no charge against him on the score of religion appears in the articles upon which he was impeached.

It may be thought that the frequent "hostings" of the lord deputy, throughout the kingdom, seem rather at variance with the picture of general quiet here presented. But it must be recollected that these circuits, or progresses, were meant for the display, rather than the employment of military force,—more as precautionary measures of police than as movements of actual warfare: and the bloodless result of most of the journeys of this description, under lord Gray, serves much to corroborate all that has been said of the state of peace that generally prevailed.

Another striking proof of this fact may be found in the cessation, to a remarkable degree, of that petty warfare of the Irish septs, among themselves, which had, from time immemorial, been the habit and curse of the land. The single exception, indeed, to the respite which, even in this respect, the whole kingdom now enjoyed, is found in the instance of an Anglo-Irish sept, the Geraldines, of whom, in a letter already cited, from the lord deputy to Cromwell, it is said, "the bastard Geraldines are, by the permission of God, killing one another." In general, however, there prevails in the public correspondence of this period, most ample testimony to the state of quiet which the whole country then could boast. Thus, in the year 1538, there occur such admissions, with respect to the state of the kingdom, as the following:—"We are at peace with all men, and they keep peace with us, as yet."—"We

\* "So that now," says an observer of these events, "what for fear they have to preche their ould traditions, and the litill or noo good-will they have to preche the veritie, all is put to scilence."—J. White to Cromwell, *S. P. CCXII.*

signify unto your majesty (say the lords of the council) that, thanks be to God and your highness, the land is at such stay and peace, at this season, as it hath not been these many years." But a still more satisfactory evidence of the existence and effects of this change is afforded by another official authority.—"This country was in no such quiet these many years; for, throughout the land, in a manner, it is peace, both with English and Irish. I never did see, in my time, so great resort to the law as there is this term, which is a good sign of quiet and obedience."\*

The escape of young Gerald into France had removed the only common rallying-point or standard around which could be collected a sufficient number of malecontents to endanger seriously the peace of the country. Shortly after this youth's departure, lord Leonard Gray, who had long been entreating of the king permission to return to England, was granted a temporary recall, and Sir William Brereton was appointed lord justice during his absence.† The mutual ill-will so long existing between the late deputy and the earl of Ormond, though for a short time apparently suppressed, had again broken out with fresh bitterness (A. D. 1540); and the enmity of Ormond to lord Leonard had found ready and sympathising abettors in the lord chancellor Alen, and Sir William Brabazon, the vice-treasurer. In the ominous summons, therefore, of these three personages to confront him in England, Gray must have seen but too sure a foretoken of the disastrous fate that there awaited him.

On the first rumour of Gray's recall, indications of revolt had begun to show themselves among the septs immediately bordering on the Pale.‡ The O'Tooles of Wicklow had made a foray into the marches of Dublin, and the Cavanaghs a pre-

\* Thomas Alen to Crumwell, *S. P. CCLVII.*

† King Henry VIII. to Gray and Sir W. Brereton, *S. P. CCXCV.*

‡ The Council of Ireland to Crumwell Earl of Essex, *S. P. CCXCVII.*

datory inroad of the same kind into the county of Wexford. But, when not only this lord, but the earl of Ormond also, had sailed for England, the removal from the country of two such commanders inspired a confidence in some of the more restless of the chiefs, which seemed, for a short time, to threaten disturbance to the public peace. A sudden incursion made by O'Connor, for purposes of plunder, into Kildare,\* and suspected plots and some threatening movements on the part of O'Neill, were the only grounds as yet assigned for the apprehension that generally prevailed.

It was clearly the policy of the new lord justice's government to make the worst of the state in which Gray had left the kingdom, in order, by bringing thus heavier odium upon his measures, to enhance proportionably their own merit in repairing the evils which he had caused. A desire to enter into negotiation having been intimated by O'Neill, the lord justice appointed a meeting with him at Carrick Bradogh, a plain on the borders of Dundalk. But the chief, fearing, for some reason not explained by him, to trust himself with any Englishman at that place, proposed that the parley between them should be held at the Narrow Water, near M'Gennis's castle. Accordingly, a peace was there concluded with him to the same effect as that which, in the year 1535, he had made by indentures with Sir William Skeffington.† But, in the present instance, we are furnished with proof that O'Neill's voluntary pledges of peace were by no means sincere; as a letter, still extant, addressed to him by James V. of Scotland, shows that at this very time the chief's secretary was at the Scottish court, negotiating with that monarch.‡

\* "Ochonor, notwithstanding his appointment of truce, assone as he perceived that the late lord deputie was passed the sea, on Tuysdaie last, his sonnes and cumpany invaded the countie of Kildare."—*Allen and Brabazon to the Earl of Essex, S. P. OCCI.*

† *Brereton to Essex, S. P. CCCIL.*

*Epistolæ Jac. IV., Jac. V., et Mariæ, Regum Scot.*



Whatever hopes of aid from Scotland might have been counted upon by the Irish leaders,—and a close intercourse had long been held by them with that kingdom,—to the lord justice and council they spoke only the language of submission and peace. A general muster, however, of the respective forces of O'Donnell, O'Neill, O'Brian, and the other leading Irish lords, having been appointed to take place at Fowre, in the west of Meath, the lord justice assembled instantly a large army, comprising, in addition to the whole of the military power of the Pale, the attendance likewise of the lords spiritual and temporal, as well as of the judges, learned men, and priests; and at the head of this large and miscellaneous army, marched forth to the scene of the threatened congress.\* All that the chiefs professed, from the first, to have in view, in this general confederacy, was the holding a parley with the lord justice and council, and making a peace such as would be likely to endure. But, when they now heard of the immense force the authorities of the Pale were bringing against them, and of the campaign of twenty days, for which they were victualled, the object of their own assemblage, whatever it might have been, was immediately abandoned, and none of them appeared at the place appointed. "Whereupon," says the lord justice, in relating the circumstance, "we concluded to do some exploit;" and, accordingly, they entered into O'Connor's country, and there, "encamping in sundry places, destroyed his habitations, corns, and fortlaces, as long as their victuals endured."†

After this short interruption, our records continue to present, through the remainder of Henry's reign, a scene of mu-

\* Mathew King to the Privy Council in England, *S. P. CCCX*. See also Letter from Robert Cowley to the Duke of Norfolk, in Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. ii. Second Series, written evidently at this time.

† Lord Justice and Council to Henry VIII., *S. P. CCCXIV*. The lord justice adds, as if surprised that this course of proceeding had not been agreeable to the chief, "Albeit he remaineth in his cankerde malyce and rankor, and so doo all his confederates."

tual reconciliation, tolerance and peace. Instead of the hostility so long and preposterously kept alive between the crown and its Irish subjects, conciliatory advances were now, for the first time, and almost simultaneously, made by both; and while the king, by a skilful distribution of honours and gifts, allured the principal Irish chieftains to his court, these lords, on their parts, showed even too courtier-like a compliance with all the conditions and pledges required of them in return.

The earl of Desmond, who, like most of the other magnates of the Pale, had become identified, from habit and policy, with the native nobility of the land, was one of the first who now showed a disposition to sue for pardon and favour. In the month of April, 1540, an act of assassination had been committed, of which the brother of this lord, Maurice Fitz John, was the perpetrator; and James Fitz Maurice, the rival claimant of the earldom of Desmond, was the victim.\* The immediate consequence of this daring murder—and, therefore, liable to be supposed its motive—was the concentration in James Fitz John, the present lord, of the whole title to the earldom. No suspicion, however, appears to have been entertained that he was at all accessory to the crime; and his now uncontested high station, added to the weight of his personal influence, rendered the course likely to be taken by him an object of much speculation with both parties. One of the principal causes hitherto of his disaffection to the king's government had been the grudge borne by him to lord James Butler, now earl of Ormond, both on account of the ancient feud between their bloods, and also of the claim set up by Butler to the earldom of Desmond, in right of his wife, the only daughter and heir general of the eleventh earl of that house. This jealous feeling had now subsided, it appears, on both sides; and so anxious was Ormond, whose zeal and activity in the public service never flagged, to draw his brother earl

\* The Council of Ireland to Henry VIII., *S. P. CCXCVL*.

to allegiance, that, when on his way to a parley with O'Brian, he so far trusted himself in Desmond's power as to lodge two nights in his dominion, for the purpose of endeavouring, as he says, to win him over "by familiarity and persuasion." But Desmond, though conscious of his own offences, and most anxious to obtain pardon, was yet unwilling to relinquish his amity with O'Brian and others of the chiefs; and declared that so strong were their confederacies, he could not, even if it was his wish, attempt to resist them.

In the month of August, Sir Antony Sentleger, the new lord deputy, reached Dublin; and his first report of the state of the country, addressed to the king soon after his arrival, refers to the peaceful dispositions manifested by O'Connor, O'Neill, O'Donnell, and other northern chiefs; as well as by O'Brian, Desmond, and other great lords of the west. O'Donnell had previously written to the king, acknowledging his spiritual supremacy, professing, in the humblest terms, repentance for his own offences, and suing earnestly for pardon.\* By O'Neill, likewise, a respectful letter was addressed, in Latin, to the monarch, accompanied by some gifts, which Henry graciously received.† Far less dependent in his tone than O'Donnell, this chief, while professing himself disposed to proffer submission to the king, complains of the grievous extortions practised by his deputies, as well as of their constant wars and forays, which render it impossible, he declares, for peace to exist in the kingdom. To O'Donnell the king readily granted pardon; but, in answering O'Neill, though considerate and gracious in his language, he gives him to understand that further favours must all depend upon his own deserts; and, referring to a request made rather prematurely in O'Neill's letter, for the grant of some lands and ruined cas-

\* State Papers, CCCIX.

† O'Neill to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCXIII. The signature of this letter is as follows:—"Per me Capitaneum Oneyell, virum in omnibus subditum."

ties on the north coast, Henry intimates, with no small address, that the favour solicited by him is rather postponed than refused.\*

The reduction of the sept of the Cavanaghs,† which had been begun some months before by the earl of Ormond, was now, under the auspices of the new lord deputy, carried more fully into effect. After wasting and burning their country for the space of ten days,—the usual preliminary to Irish negotiation,—the invaders succeeded in bringing Mac Morough, the head of the Cavanaghs, to make his submission. Renouncing, on his own part, the title of Mac Morough, he engaged also, on the part of his sept, that they would never more, after that day, elect any one from among themselves to bear that title, or act as their ruler, excepting only his majesty the king, and such as he should appoint. Measures of a similar kind were then taken with the sons of O'Moore, who held the county of Ley; and also with several other petty chiefs, such as O'Doyne, O'Dempsey, and Mac Maurice, who had all been confederates with O'Connor, but were now detached from his party.

O'Connor himself, whose restless spirit and near neighbourhood to the Pale had rendered him a thorn in the side of the English,‡ was now the only native lord to whom hopes of favour had not been held forth. So much excluded was he from the royal grace, that, in a letter addressed by the king to the Irish council, he desires that on no account, unless from actual necessity, they should enter into any terms with him; but rather, if possible, “expel him utterly from his country;” the king adding, that in this case, he would not be unwilling to bestow that country upon Cahir O'Connor, the chief's brother, on condition that he would “leave the Irish fashions,” pay obedience to the English laws, and conform himself and those

\* State Papers, CCCXXI.

† This sept, or nation, inhabited Idrone, in the west part of Carlow.

‡ “Ocehonor, root of all mischief,” says the lord justice, in one of his despatches to the king.—S. P. CCCXIV.

under his rule to the manners and usages of the Pale.\* However willingly this chief would have continued his harassing warfare, had he been seconded by the other great captains, his solitary defiance of the king's government would, he knew, be entirely fruitless. Already, with the view of crushing him, the lord deputy had proclaimed a "hosting" into his territory, with store of provisions for a campaign of fourteen days. O'Connor saw clearly, therefore, that the only way to preserve his possessions, or even his life, was to follow the example of his fellow toparchs, and submit to the mercy of the crown. The news of his intention to proffer submission came the more welcome to the government, as saving the cost of the threatened expedition, which the state of the exchequer at this time but ill could bear.† The council consented, therefore, to accept his own proposition, which was, that he should fulfil his former covenants, as agreed upon by indentures; and shortly after, his principal adherents, O'Mulmoy, O'Mulloghlin, and Mac Geoghegan, made their submission in like manner.‡

In a parliament appointed to be held at the beginning of this year (1541), but which did not meet till the 13th of June, an act was passed, which had been suggested more than once in the course of this reign, conferring on Henry and his successors the title of king of Ireland. This measure was adopted in consequence of a notion said to be prevalent among the natives, that the regal dominion of the kingdom of Ireland was vested in the pope for the time being; and that from him the king of England held the lordship of that realm. It was therefore hoped that Henry's adoption of the royal title would

\* State Papers, CCCXIX.

† The financial resources of the Irish government were, at all times, scanty and precarious; and Davies tells us that, in all the most ancient pipe-rolls, the report of the state of the exchequer is invariably, "In Thesauro nil." Even in the reign of Henry VIII., so much was the Irish exchequer neglected, that (as appears from a letter of Cowley to the duke of Norfolk) it was destitute even of Books of the Revenue. —See Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. II. Second Series, letter cxxvi.

‡ The Council of Ireland to King Henry VIII., S. P. CCCXXIII.



disabuse the Irish chieftains of their error, and lead them to acknowledge with less hesitation his paramount dominion.

But there had now opened upon them a prospect, not merely of mercy, but of favours and honours, at the hands of royalty, which wanted no further inducement to draw them in that direction; and, throughout the remaining years of this reign, little else is left to the historian than to pass in review the different chiefs who, with an almost lavish generosity, were in the same breath pardoned and rewarded, and some of whose names still stand memorials of this truly princely policy, among the most shining and honourable titles of the Irish peerage.

In the instance of a wild mountain chief, named Tirlogh O'Toole, this course of policy was attended with circumstances not unworthy of notice. The sept of the O'Tooles, whose territory bordered on the marches of Dublin, had been, to a greater degree than many even of the more powerful septs, a source of annoyance and terror to the English Pale. Occupying the mountainous parts of the county of Wicklow, their only habitations were the wood and the morass, their only fortresses, the deep glens and mountain-passes. The reigning chief, however, Tirlogh O'Toole, combined with the ferocity of a border ravager much of that generous sense of honour by which the rude heroes of chivalry were distinguished; and, on one occasion, when all the great Irish lords, O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Connor, and others, had leagued to invade the English Pale, Tirlogh sent word to the lord deputy, that, seeing the principal chiefs were now all combined against him, he, Tirlogh, thought it but fair to be on his side; but, "as soon as the others made peace, then would he alone make war with him." This chivalrous promise the chief faithfully kept; nor was it till O'Donnell, O'Neill, and others, had made their submission and withdrawn, that Tirlogh, summoning forth his

wild followers from their mountain-holds, renewed, fiercely as before, his harassing inroads on the English borders.\*

Even to this rude and houseless warrior, the conciliatory influence of the royal policy had now found its way. Requesting a parley with the lord deputy, he asked for permission to repair to England, to see the king, "of whom he had heard so much honour," and likewise to present to him an humble petition for some lands to which he laid claim. Wisely entering into what he knew to be the royal wishes, the lord deputy acceded to this request; supplied him with £20 from his own purse towards his expenses, and gave him likewise a recommendatory letter to the duke of Norfolk, who was then universally regarded as the warm friend and patron of Irish interests. It was also suggested that the castle of Powerscourt, which stood upon a part of the lands claimed by this chief, should be granted to him by the king.

The earl of Desmond, having at length consented to make his submission, acquainted the lord deputy and council that he was ready, on hostages being given, to repair to the borders of Cashel for that purpose. He had demanded that the earl of Ormond should be given in pledge for him; but to this the lord deputy would not agree; and the hostages whom he sent instead, were the archbishop of Dublin, the master of the ordnance, and his own brother. Among other articles of this submission, which was signed and sealed at Sir Thomas Butler's house, at Cahir, Desmond agreed to renounce, for himself and his heirs for ever, the singular privilege claimed by his ancestors, of never appearing at any parliament, nor entering into

\* "And although it shall appear to your majesty that this Thirr.lough is but a wretched person, and a man of no grete power, neither having house to put his hedd in, nor yet money in his purse to by him a garment, yet may he well make 2 or 3 hundred men.—Assuring your highness that he hath doon more hurte to your English Pale than any man in Irlande, and woll do, whensoever he shall not aither be clerdy banished or restored to your hieghnes favours, wherby he may be bound to serve your majestie, as we thinke verely he woll do."—The Lord Deputy and Council to Henry VIII., *S. P. CCCXXIX.*, p. 267, *note*.

any walled town. To get rid of the variance between him and Ormond respecting the title of the earldom of Desmond, it was agreed that a cross-marriage should take place between their children; and each bound himself to the other in the sum of £4,000 to see this engagement performed. Both Sentleger and the lord chancellor then accompanied Desmond to the town of Kilmallock, a place where no deputy of the king had set his foot for a hundred years before. Here the earl most hospitably entertained them, taking occasion, during the few days they passed with him, to give such able and valuable counsel for the reformation of Ireland, as filled these two lords with admiration; and, in a letter to the king from Sentleger, recounting the transactions just mentioned, the once dangerous, perverse, and outlawed Desmond, is described as “undoubtedly a very wise and discreet gentleman.” Accordingly, without even waiting the royal sanction, he was sworn a member of the king’s council.\*

From Kilmallock the lord deputy proceeded to the city of Limerick, and there, assisted by the earl of Ormond, held a parley with O’Brian, in order to prevail upon that chief to proffer his obedience.† But O’Brian answered, that he must take more time to consult his kinsmen and followers, adding, with a view of the matter somewhat more constitutional than Henry’s ministers were accustomed to, that, “although the captain of his nation, he was still but one man.” The principal complaints he had now to make against the king’s government, were, that they prevented him from building his bridge across the Shannon, and had likewise deprived him of all that authority over the natives inhabiting the eastern side of the river, which his predecessors had invariably exercised.‡ To

\* Sentleger to King Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCXXXIV.

† Ibid. “Ther we taryed 8 daies, as well to paccifie sarten matters of variance depending among the citezins ther, as also to parle with Obrian, who is the gratest Irisshe man of the west of this lande.”

‡ Donogh O’Brian, in the year 1543, petitioned for the captainship of this district.

this the lord deputy answered, that rather than allow him to obtain either of these objects, he himself would continue at war with him as long as it pleased the king to permit him.

In the parliament that assembled at Dublin, in the month of June, there were present, together with the earls of Ormond and Desmond, a great number of Anglo-Irish lords who had not, for many years before, attended in their places. Among these were the lord Barry, the lord Roche, the lord Fitz Maurice, and also lord Bermingham of Athenry. But a far more remarkable feature of this opening of the houses of parliament was the attendance there of the procurators, or attorneys, of O'Brian, and also, in their own proper persons, of the chiefs Cavanagh, O'Moore, O'Reilly, Mac William, and others, to whom, to their great satisfaction, the speeches delivered by the lord chancellor and the speaker were interpreted by the earl of Ormond in their own language. On this occasion, too,—as Sentleger, in describing to the king the ceremonies of the day, informs him,—O'Reilly, the chief of East Brefny, appeared in the dress which his majesty had given him.\*

The bill conferring upon the monarch the title of king of Ireland, was passed by both houses, with the most joyous unanimity; and the Sunday following was a day of general rejoicing. The lords and gentlemen all went in procession to St. Patrick's church, where a solemn mass was sung by the archbishop of Dublin: after which the act was proclaimed in the presence of 2,000 persons, and a grand Te Deum concluded the ceremony. Still more to gratify the public feeling, the king issued a proclamation for a general pardon. "There were made in the city," says the lord deputy, "great bonfires, wine was set in the streets, and there were great feastings in the houses."†

—"Item, he desireth the landes and captainship of Onaght, on this syde the water of Shyniayn, which in times past he and his ancestors had."—Requests of O'Brian, &c., & P. CCCXCIII.

\* Sentleger to Henry VIII., *S. P. CCCXL*.

† *Ibid*.

About a fortnight before the date of these memorable transactions, lord Leonard Gray, the victim, unjustly as it appears, of an official cabal, was publicly executed, as a traitor, on Tower Hill. The recorded charges against him, at once numerous and frivolous, evince the desire far more than the power to substantiate actual guilt. His family connections, both with the Geraldines, and with some of the leading chiefs, had given him a hold on the hearts of the Irish, which excited the jealousy, doubtless, of Ormond, and was one of the main sources of the hatred with which that lord so long pursued him. Even in the articles of accusation, Gray's popularity is made one of the leading charges; and it is alleged against him, as an act degrading to his royal master, that he had passed through the heart of Thomond into Connaught, without any other guard than a single galloglass of O'Brian's, bearing an axe before him. Another charge, founded evidently on mere surmise and rumour, shows sufficiently the spirit that actuated his accusers. It is intimated, rather than alleged, that the king's artillery had been left by him at Galway, that it might be ready there for the bishop of Rome, or the Spaniards, in case they should land in those parts; and a report, it is added, was then prevalent, that cardinal Pole, young Gerald's uncle, was soon to arrive there with a large army.\* Such was the weak and absurd character of most of the charges upon which this brave and active officer was condemned to so unworthy a death.†

But the gracious example set by the monarch had diffused

\* The Council of Ireland's Articles against Lord Leonard Gray, *S. P.* CCCXXVI.

† Among these numerous items of charge, which amount in all to ninety, we find the following, founded on the old Irish custom of gossiping: "20.—After this, was my said lord made gossopo to Oneill, whiche in Ireland is the grettist friendship accepted amonges men."

Through the whole of these ninety articles of accusation, not a single allusion is made to any act of sacrilege supposed to have been committed by Gray, either at Down, Galway, or elsewhere; so that for these idle tales, repeated from historian to historian, no other authority is to be found than the dull fabler, Stanihurst.



a far more mild and liberal spirit through every branch of the administration; and the numerous candidates for court favour that were now emerging from their long outlawed haunts found all a most ready and zealous promoter of their several suits in the present popular lord deputy. To him, indeed, and the council, appears to have been chiefly left the selection of those individuals upon whom dignities and grants of lands were to be bestowed. Among the more humble requests transmitted through him, there are a few which, however homely in their nature, let in more light on the social condition of the Irish dynasts of that period than could ever be collected from such merely public events as form the whole and sole materials of our general history. Thus, we find a request made by Desmond,—“the noblest man in all the realm,”—that the king would provide him with robes to wear in parliament, and likewise with apparel for his daily use, “whereof” “he hath great lack.” Sentleger himself, who states the circumstance, had already given this earl a gown, jacket, doublet, hose, and other articles of dress, for which he was very thankful, and wore in all places where he accompanied the lord deputy.\* For his want of means to provide these necessities, Desmond accounted by the wasting wars in which he had been engaged. Mac Gilpatrick, also, who shortly after was created baron of Upper Ossory, and O'Reilly, who was to be made viscount of Cavan, were provided, in like manner, with robes for parliament by the king; while the chief O'Rourke, who is described as “a man somewhat gross, and not trained to repair unto his majesty,” made petition only for a suit of ordinary apparel.

There is yet another incident worth mentioning, as showing curiously the state of society at that period. Two of the Geraldine lords of Munster, the lord Roche and the White Knight, having, by their constant quarrels and inroads, entirely wasted each other's territories, the king sent orders to

\* Sentleger to Henry VIII., *S. P. CCCXXXIV.*

the earl of Desmond to take them both into custody. They were, accordingly, seized and imprisoned in Dublin castle, "where," says the lord deputy, in stating the particulars to the king, "they now agree very well together, lying both in one bed; although, before, they could not agree in a country of forty miles' length between them." He adds,—“I purpose they shall there remain till their amity be better confirmed, and then, God willing, I intend to send them home free, apparelled like Englishmen; for at present they are in their saf-fron shirts and kernoghe's coats.”\*

When to this picture of the life and manners of the higher ranks, of both races, at this period, we add that the great O'Neill himself was so unlettered as to be unable to write his name,† there needs no further or stronger evidence of the embroiling effects of the policy of the Pale, and the sort of frightful retribution by which it debased as well the rulers as the ruled.

Though the chiefs had become, in general, so well disposed to the English crown, there were still two, and those the most powerful of the whole body, O'Neill and O'Donnell, who continued, for some time, to hold off; and no less by their example than by the mighty means of mischief which they possessed, threatened to disturb the now dawning prospects of peace. Such was the influence, indeed, of those two dynasts, that it was thought unsafe to make any reduction in the king's army as long as they continued to withhold their submission. At length, O'Donnell, who appears to have been led to adopt this course by feelings of friendship, as well as relationship, towards O'Neill,‡ announced his intention to give in his submission; and even promised, should his brother chief not follow his example, to assist the lord deputy against him.

\* Sentleger to Henry VIII., *S. P.* CCCXCIV.

† See O'Neill's Submission, signed with his mark, *S. P.* CCCLXXIX. Also *Mau* Gilpatrick's, signed in the same manner, *S. P.* CCCXXXVI.

‡ O'Donnell's first wife was O'Neill's sister.

After some efforts made in vain, as well by O'Donnell as by the government, to bring O'Neill to a parley, he was, at last, by the more effective means of an inroad or two into his territory, induced to proffer obedience; and, though he appears to have been but little relied upon, yet so prompt was now the flow of royal favour in this direction, that the king, in the following year (1542), at Greenwich, created him earl of Tyrone, and his son, lord Duncannon. His own ambition had been to obtain the title of earl of Ulster; but this the king peremptorily refused, expressing his wonder that O'Neill, who had so often and grievously offended, should think of asking the name and honour of Ulster, one of the great earldoms of Christendom, and the king's proper inheritance.

The accession of O'Donnell to the ranks of the loyal was hailed with welcome by the government; and, even before the adhesion of O'Neill, we find Cusacke, the speaker of the Irish house of commons, proudly boasting that, as long as O'Brian, O'Donnell, Mac William, and the earl of Desmond, were true to the king, there was nothing to be feared from all the rest of Ireland.

A few particulars respecting O'Donnell, which occur in a letter from the lord deputy, would lead us to conclude that, in point of civilisation, he was somewhat advanced beyond the generality of his brother chiefs. In recommending that parliament robes should be bestowed upon him, Sentleger adds that in other apparel he is better furnished than any other Irishman; and then proceeds to describe his dress:—a coat of crimson velvet with aiglets of gold, twenty or thirty pair; over that, a great double cloak of crimson satin bordered with black velvet, and in his bonnet a feather set full of aiglets of gold. He was attended by his chaplain, a learned young man, brought up in France, for whom Sentleger, in the year 1544, asked and obtained of the king, the presentation to the bishopric of Elphin. O'Donnell's wish was to be made earl of

Sligo or of Tyrconnel; and the latter was the title granted, but not until the year 1603.

To indulge further in this sort of detail, respecting the numerous other objects of royal favour, who were selected for promotion or ennoblement from among the ancient lords of the land, would, however interesting, even in an historical point of view, usurp more space than the prescribed limits of this work allow. I shall therefore enumerate briefly the names of the other chiefs and lords who were now selected as the primary materials of an Anglo-Irish peerage. Morough O'Brian, whose constant encroachments on the country eastward of the Shannon had kept the government of the Pale in continual alarm, was, in 1543, created earl of Thomond for life, with the dignity of baron of Inchiquin descendible to his heirs male; while Donough, his nephew, as a reward for his unvarying attachment to the English, was made baron of Ibrackan, and, after the decease of his uncle, earl of Thomond for life. On another equally active chief, O'Connor, there had been, as early as the year 1537, some intention of bestowing the title of baron of Offaley. But though, at a later period, the king gave formally his assent to this grant, it was never carried into effect.

Mac William Eighter, of Clanricarde, the captain of the Anglo-Irish clan of the De Burghs, had, on the deposition of the former Mac William by lord Leonard Gray, been raised to that name and seigniory, in his place. This lord was, by the natives, called *Negan*, or the beheader, from his having constructed a mound of the heads of men slain in battle, and then covered it over with earth. On making his submission, early in the year 1541, he had petitioned the crown for a grant, or rather restoration, of the earldom heretofore enjoyed by his family; and also a confirmation, by letters patent, of all the possessions which had descended to him by inheritance. It was supposed that he had himself counted upon being made

earl of Connaught; but against this the council strongly gave their advice, reminding his majesty that the province of Connaught formed a fifth part of his Irish dominions. It was therefore fixed that he was to be created earl of Clanricarde, and baron of Dunkellin, while his fellow-chieftain and relative, Mac Gill Patrick was to be made baron of Upper Ossory.

Meanwhile O'Neill, who, although the last to tender his allegiance, was the very first to hasten to avail himself of its fruits, had set sail, accompanied by Hugh O'Cervallan, bishop of Clogher, for England; and waiting upon the king, at Greenwich (A. D. 1542), made a surrender to him of all his territory, and agreed to renounce the name of O'Neill. A few days after, both name and estates were regranted to him, by letters patent, together with the title of earl of Tyrone.\*

In the following year (1543), in the queen's closet at Greenwich, which was "richly hung with cloth of arras, and well strewed with rushes," for the occasion, took place the ceremony of creating O'Brian earl of Thomond, and conferring upon Mac William—or, as he had been styled since his submission, lord Fitz William—the name and honour of earl of Clanricarde. At the same time, Donough O'Brian, who was attended, as were probably all the other lords, by an interpreter, was made baron of Ibrackan. By a very thoughtful act of munificence the king granted also to each of these noblemen a house and lands, near Dublin, for the keeping of their retinues and horses, whenever they resorted thither to attend parliaments and councils.†

\* Henry VIII. to the Lord Deputy and Council. After announcing this creation, the king adds:—"And for his reward, We gave unto him a chayne of threescore poundes and odde, We payd for his robes, and the charges of his creation, threescore and fyve poundes tenne shillings two pens, and We gave him in redy money oon hundredreth poundes sterling."—*S. P. CCCLXXXI.*

† "We have granted unto every of them, and their heires masles, summe house



There being, at the time of their visit to England, an almost total want of sterling money in Ireland, the lord deputy, in providing them with the means of defraying their expenses, lent to O'Brian the sum of £100 in half groats. A similar loan, attended by circumstances yet more homely, was advanced to the lord of Tyrone. This chief, being likewise in want of money, to defray the charges of his visit to court, was provided by Sentleger, who had himself borrowed the sum from merchants of Dublin, with 200 marks sterling; the debt to be repaid, according to the fashion of primitive times, in cattle to that amount.\*

In allowing full credit to the English monarch for the mild and tolerant character of his policy towards Ireland, it must, at the same time, be recollected, that the facility with which all the great Irish leaders agreed to reject the pope's supremacy, and acknowledge the king their spiritual head, removed all grounds for any such sanguinary persecution as raged at the same period on the other side of the Channel. Not content with his formal renouncement of Rome, O'Brian, in a paper entitled "The Irishmen's Requests,"† demanded that "there should be sent over some well-learned Irishmen, brought up in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, not being infected with the poison of the bishop of Rome, and that, having been first approved by the king's majesty, they should then be sent to preach the word of God in Ireland." The Irish lords, too, following the example of the more cultivated grandees of England, readily allowed themselves to be consoled for whatever sacrifice they had made in deserting their ancient faith by the rich share they gained of the plunder which the

and pece of lande nere Dublyn, for the keping of their horses and traynes, at their repayre to our parlyaments and counsailes."—Henry VIII. to the Lord Deputy and Council, *S. P. CCCXCVI.*

\* "He hath promysed I shall have kiene for the same, and for that have sente his sonne and dyverse of your retynewe here to levie the same."—*S. P. CCCLXXIV.*

† State Papers, CCCXCIII.

confiscation of its venerable establishments afforded.\* One of the requests made by O'Brian, previously to visiting the English court, was, that the grant he had received from the Irish council of certain abbeys, lately suppressed, should be confirmed to him by the king, with the addition also of a grant of the house of Observants, at Ennis. To Donough O'Brian was given the abbey of Ellenegrane, a small island in the mouth of the Shannon, together with the moiety of the abbey of Clare; and among the rewards of Mac Gill Patrick's new loyalty, were the house of the late friars of Haghevo and the suppressed monastery of Hagmacarte.†

But, whatever may be thought of the conduct and motives of those individual chiefs who were now so readily converted from rebels into apostates and courtiers, the wise policy of the government, in thus diverting into a safe and legitimate channel the wild ambition of such powerful subjects, and producing, by conciliation, a state of peace which force and repression had vainly for ages endeavoured to effect, cannot be too highly praised, whether for its immediate effects, or the lasting and salutary example it left behind. Although to Henry himself, not merely as the source of all administrative authority, but as ever ready to afford his sanction to the liberal policy pursued in Ireland, no small share of the honour of that policy is due, undoubtedly to Sentleger belongs the far higher praise of originating this system of government, and continuing manfully, and even importunately, to press the adoption of it upon the king. So much was he aware, indeed, of the extent to

\* On the subject of the destruction of the religious houses, there are many, of all creeds, who would now join with the excellent Lord Herbert in "complaining of the loss of so many stately churches, dedicated to God's service;" for "although," he adds, "they may have abused the veil of religion, yet was that monastical life instituted according to the pious example of ancient Fathers, that they who found themselves unfit for the execution of worldly affairs (as many such there are) might in such voluntary retirement spend their days in divine writings or meditations."—*Hist. of the Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*

† Henry VIII. to the Lord Deputy, S. P. CCCXCVI.

which he presumed on the royal patience, that, after soliciting in one of his letters some favour for Mac Gill Patrick, he adds,—“Thus do I always move your majesty to give: I most humbly beseech you of pardon, for I verily trust that your highness shall win more obedience with these small gifts, than perchance hath been won, before this time, with £10,000 spent.” The king himself, though yielding to most of these requests, with a degree of ductility and thoughtfulness not observable in any other acts of his later years, yet deemed it necessary to restrain a little the liberality of his deputy; and thus, in answering one of his letters, reproves the too ready ear lent by him to all sorts of suitors:—“Farther you shall understand, that we much marvel to see so many letters written from you in the recommendation of every man’s suit that will desire the same. It shall be well done that, ere you write, you examine whether it be expedient for us to grant the suit or not.”

Preparations being now (A. D. 1544) on foot for a grand campaign in France, orders were sent by the king to the earl of Ormond, to furnish him speedily with a small troop of kerns, or Irish light infantry, to assist in the sieges of Boulogne or Montreuil. Shortly before, this earl had been commanded by his majesty to raise and equip a force of 3,000 of these troops, whereof 1,000 were to be sent immediately to the west marches of England, as well for the defence of the English borders as for the annoyance of the Scots; while the remaining 2,000 were to be kept in such readiness, as, “upon short warning,” to attend his royal person into France.\* On considering, however, the danger of leaving Ireland to the risk of invasion, without an adequate number of troops for her defence, the king countermanded a part of this force, and desired that 1,000 only should be sent; of which one half was

\* The Privy Council of England to the Lord Justice and Council of Ireland, S. P. CCCCIII.

to be forthwith despatched to the Pile of Fowdray, while the remainder were all to be in readiness to join him at an hour's notice. The kerns destined to serve in France were placed under the command of two nephews of the earl of Ormond,\*—lord Poer and Piers Butler; the latter the second brother of the baron of Dunboyne.† According to the custom of the country, every two kerns were attended by a page or boy, 'to bear their mantles, weapons, and victuals.

The praises bestowed on the gallant behaviour of this Irish corps, at the siege of Boulogne, may safely be credited, even though we should reject some of those marvellous stories with which the chronicler of this part of our history has laboured to enliven his task. According to this authority, such were the wild feats of courage performed by these kerns, that the French, astonished, sent an ambassador to inquire of Henry "whether he had brought with him men or devils."

It was not till the following year (A. D. 1545) that the services of the Irish were required in the war against Scotland. A large army having been then collected on the Scottish borders, under the command of the earl of Hertford, it was intended that, while this nobleman invaded Scotland by land, there should be, at the same time, a naval descent on the western coast. To attain this latter object, the earl of Lennox, who had lately deserted the cause of his own country, and joined the English banner, entered into negotiations with Donald, the lord of the Isles; and this insular prince, agreeing readily to the terms proposed to him, passed over to Knockfergus, with a fleet of 180 galleys, having on board 4,000 men.

Lennox himself, however, was still absent with the English army in Scotland; nor was it till late in the present year,

\* Ormond to King Henry VIII., *S. P. CCCCV.*

† Sons of James, titular lord Dunboyne, by lady Joan Butler, daughter of Piers earl of Ormond.

that, seeing some hopes of being able to recover the castle of Dumbarton, he hastened to Ireland to take the command of the force provided for that object.\* Constant rumours of the return of Gerald, with foreign aid, had diffused excitement throughout the kingdom, and kept the government in a state of watchfulness and alarm. In the month of May, it was generally reported that Gerald was coming with a large army, from the coast of Brittany, and meant to land among the Mac Carthys.† Some time after, the rumour ran that an expedition was then preparing at Brest, to convey the young Geraldine, with a force of 15,000 men, to the country of his kinsman, O'Donnell.‡ But an alarm, at a later period, to which even Sentleger attached some importance, represented Scotland as the quarter from whence this invasion was to be attempted.§

In the month of November, the squadron destined for the attack on Dumbarton set sail from Dublin, under the joint command of Lennox and Ormond; and how new was such an effort to the Irish authorities, may be judged from the language in which Sentleger speaks of it:—"The thing is so rare, that there lacketh men of experience to set forth the same; for we think, this 200 years, so many men were not embarked and victualled here for so long time." || All we know of the further course of this costly armament is, that the object for which it sailed had been wholly frustrated, before its arrival on the coast of Scotland, by the gross treachery of Stirling, the constable.¶ How soon, or to what port, it returned, neither the Scottish nor Irish records inform us.

\* Sentleger to the Privy Council of England, *S. P. CCCCXXIV.*

† The Lord Justice and Council to King Henry VIII., *S. P. CCCCXVII.*

‡ Same to Same, *S. P. CCCCXVIII.*

§ Sentleger to the Council of England, *S. P. CCCCXI.*

|| The Lord Deputy and Council to King Henry VIII., *S. P. CCCCXXVII.*

¶ Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. v. chap. 5.



## CHAPTER XLVII.

## EDWARD VI.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE KING'S SUPREMACY BY THE NATIVE CHIEFS.—JURISDICTIONS ASSIGNED TO THE CHIEFTAINS.—CONTENTIONS BETWEEN THE LORD DEPUTY AND THE EARL OF ORMOND.—DISMISSAL OF THE CHANCELLOR ALEN.—THE EARL OF ORMOND POISONED.—MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF SIR WILLIAM BELLINGHAM.—THE CHIEFS O'MOORE AND O'CONNOR.—REDUCTION OF LEIX AND OFFALEY.—SUBMISSION OF THE NATIVES TO THE ENGLISH COURTS OF LAW.—THE EARLS OF DESMOND.—RESTLESSNESS AND IMPATIENCE OF THE IRISH UNDER ENGLISH RULE.—INTRIGUES WITH FOREIGN POWERS.—FRENCH ENVOYS IN IRELAND.—VENANTIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.—PLEDGE OF THE NATIVE CHIEFTAINS OF ALLEGIANCE TO FRANCE.—INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW LITURGY INTO IRELAND.—MOTLEY STATE OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS.—DIVISIONS AMONG THE CLERGY.—CONFERENCE.—CONTROVERSY OF THE MASS.—PLUNDER BY THE SOLDIERY.—INTERVAL OF TRANQUILLITY.—SHANE O'NEILL.—FAMILY FEUDS.—TARDY PROGRESS OF THE REFORMED FAITH.—CONFUSION OF RELIGIOUS RITES.

THE skill and address shown by Sentleger (A. D. 1546), in bringing so many of the great native chiefs to lend their assent to that first step of the new scheme of religious reform, the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, rendered his services highly useful in the new measures about to be taken for the general establishment of the Reformed Faith. Nor was it only by skilful favours to the higher ranks of the natives, that this able minister had won his way in the public esteem. An earnest desire to elevate the character of the people in general was manifest in most of his measures; and as he himself, with just pride, put the question, "When before did Irishmen so well obey the king's commandments, or do so little harm to his Majesty's faithful subjects?"

With the same enlightened trust in right and justice, as being the safest as well as the noblest policy, he advised, in several instances, that jurisdictions should be given to the chiefs within their own "countries;" and by him also the example was first set of entrusting to natives the responsible office of

sheriff. Even in the turbulent province of Munster, a sheriff appointed by Sentleger was now executing the king's process; while one of the O'Tooles—a name connected from time immemorial with deeds of blood and rapine—was creditably exercising the office of sheriff of the county of Dublin, among those wild regions of Wicklow, where, until this time, the name or nature of such an office had never been known.

The course of reform thus usefully entered upon by the lord deputy had, towards the close of the preceding reign, experienced considerable interruption from the angry contention in which he was then embroiled with the earl of Ormond. To come at the grounds of this rash quarrel, the lord deputy and the earl were summoned to England, together with Alen, the lord chancellor, who, from his well-known habits of mischief, was strongly suspected of being at the bottom of all this strife. A strict inquiry was accordingly instituted, the result of which appears to have clearly proved that to Alen's intrigues was solely owing all the entanglement of discord in which the counsels of the Irish government had been lately involved. By this timely exposure, the way was smoothed for a reconciliation between the two noble disputants; while the baffled chancellor was not only dismissed from his high office, but having, as was strongly suspected, still graver offences to answer for, was committed to the Fleet Prison.

It was but a short time after these stormy proceedings that the earl of Ormond, still in the strength and spirit of manhood, was suddenly snatched away from the scene of his toils and honours by being poisoned in the course of a banquet at Ely House, in Holborn; while at the same time, sixteen of the persons waiting on him fell, in like manner, victims to this deadly feast.

The same good fortune that attended the authorities of the English Pale, in having so steady a hand as Sentleger's to steer their civil policy, was no less experienced by them in the

wise choice\* made of Sir William Bellingham to conduct their military administration. But a far more stern system of rule began now to be exercised than had marked the latter years of the preceding reign; and the first service required of Bellingham, in his capacity of captain-general, afforded a sample of the sort of policy about to be adopted towards the natives in general. Taking advantage of some symptoms of outbreak which had lately appeared among the O'Moores and O'Connors,—two powerful septs of Leinster,—this active officer, who had brought with him from England an army of 600 horse and 400 foot, joined forthwith the army of the deputy, and both marched with their united forces to the offending districts. Of the wantonly cruel acts that followed this inroad, accounts have reached us as well through the colouring medium of our own native annals, as in the records left by the English themselves; and from both these sources it may be clearly collected that, without any previous process of trial, or the intervention of any law but that of the sword, the two chiefs O'Moore and O'Connor were declared traitors, their lands made forfeit to the crown, and their sept or followers unhoused and dispersed.† Whether subsequently any inquiry was made into the particulars of this wanton invasion, does not clearly appear. But the lord deputy, being soon after summoned to England, took along with him the two chiefs O'Moore and O'Connor, and these lords having made their submission, the king received them, we are told, into favour, and bestowed upon each a yearly pension of £100 out of the exchequer.

It is but fair to observe, that this sweeping act of spoliation, however flagrant, and, in itself, wholly indefensible, smoothed the way for, and greatly facilitated, that useful reform effected in the following reign, by which the territories of Leix and Offaley were reduced into two several coun-

\* Hooker. Cox.

† Davies.

ties, and thus brought within the jurisdiction of the English law.

Among the causes at this time operating to bring the native race gradually into subjection, there was one originating among themselves, and springing naturally out of their country's customs, which conduced as peaceably, and at the same time as effectually, towards that object as their watchful rulers could desire. This new help to the views of the government arose from the willingness beginning to be manifested by the natives to submit their differences among themselves to the English courts of law, instead of abiding, as they did formerly, by their old Brehon jurisdiction. A yet further step was gained towards this important object,—the subjection of the native gentry to the rule of English law,—by the readiness shown on the part of many of the petty chiefs to transfer to the crown the submission and allegiance which they had hitherto paid to their superior lords. Thus, in the instance of Maguire of Fermanagh, a chief dependent on the great O'Neill, some serious differences having arisen between them, the case was referred by Maguire to the lord deputy and council, who, on receiving his submission, released him from all further dependence on O'Neill, and admitted him to the king's protection and peace. Nor was it only the petty chiefs—the second order of land proprietors—that thus availed themselves of the sanctions of English law. Some of the higher lords and gentry adopted the same prudent plan, and sought, in like manner, protection for their large possessions, by placing them under the safeguard of the crown. With this view, in the third year of the present reign, the dynast O'Carrol, lord of Ely, surrendered his country to the king, and had it re-granted to him by letters patent, together with the title of baron of Ely.

Among the actors that crowd the stage of Irish history, at this period, the earls of Desmond, from their high station,

lordly wealth, and wayward courses, occupy a space to which neither their worth nor public services fairly entitle them. Even of their wealth, to which they mainly owed their personal influence, so reckless had they always been, that the earl James, as we have seen, was forced to request of the late king to provide him with robes to wear in parliament; not being able himself to purchase even raiment for common use. In relation to this lord, a curious incident is said to have occurred, which showed, that if in pride and waywardness he was fully worthy of his self-willed race, he now found in Bellingham a ruler that even a Desmond must not disobey. Some public event having occurred, which required the presence of the great Irish lords in Dublin, the earl of Desmond, who was one of those summoned, refused to obey the order. Whereupon, Bellingham, without a moment's delay, set out with a small guard of horse, for Munster, and finding the earl quietly seated by his fireside, announced civilly the object of his visit, and carried him off with him to Dublin.

Though rarely, if ever, it had been the good fortune of Ireland to enjoy so long a period of peace as fell to her lot during the latter years of Henry VIII., still her impatience under the yoke of English rule continued to be as restless as ever; and there were now signs of storm and change in the political horizon, to which the whole native population looked with feverish hope. The prospect of weak and divided counsels which the accession of so youthful a sovereign held forth; the late renewal of the war with Scotland; the threats held forth of dragooning the Irish into the creed lately adopted by their hated masters;—all these sources of misrule and mischief were looked to eagerly by the disaffected, at once sharpening their sense of injury, and awakening in them hopes of speedy revenge. Nor was it any secret to foreign powers that such was the critical state of the relationship between England and her sister isle. On the contrary, it was always



counted upon, in every calculation of the chances of success in a meditated war with that power; and on the resumption at this time of hostilities between England and France, notwithstanding that a large fleet under lord Cobham was then cruising in the Irish seas, the French king found means to send, as his special emissary into Ulster, the baron de Fourquevaux, an officer who had served in the Scottish wars, and was now attended by the sieur de Monluc, afterwards bishop of Valence.\* The principal object of this venturous mission was to prevail on the leading northern chiefs to lend their aid to the French monarch in the new war he was about to commence against England. The very event of a ship sailing on such a mission so many centuries back, is, in itself, too full of history, both past and future, not to awaken serious thoughts; and among the instances that might be given of the sad sameness of Irish history, few are more striking than the mournful fact that still to this day, after a lapse of 300 years, Ireland continues to be the spot through which the whole English empire may be most easily as well as most fatally wounded.

Of the journey of the two French envoys into Ulster, a daily record was kept, by the order of their royal master, which is still extant,† and through the pages of which may be caught some curious glimpses into the interior of Irish life at that period. At Dumbarton, from whence they sailed on their mission, they met with two Irish gentlemen, George Paris and William Fitz Gerald,—the latter, a relative of the earl of Kildare,—who were just then arrived from the Scottish court, having recently been to France to solicit aid for their oppressed fellow-countrymen. There chanced to be likewise then at Dumbarton, a young Irishman, one of the O'Moores,—doubtless a sufferer from the late cruel proceedings in Leix and Offaley,—

\* Serigni, armorial-général ou registre de la noblesse de France.

† Geoghegan.

to whom had been intrusted a similar commission on behalf of the O'Byrnes, the O'Carrolls, and other great lords of Leinster.

Arrived at the mouth of Loch Foyle, the Frenchmen anchored for the night off Green Castle, nor could proceed the following day, owing to the violence of the wind, beyond Culmor Fort, a square stone tower, as they describe it, the master or keeper of which was the son of O'Dogharty, a vassal of the chief O'Donell. Here, announcing themselves as two French gentlemen, come, on the part of the king of France, to "the count" O'Donell, they requested shelter till the storm was over. During their stay at Culmor Fort, a visit was paid to them, doubtless connected with the object of their mission, by Robert Waucop, or, as better known by the name annexed to his learned writings, Venantius;—a divine whose erudition was the more remarkable as he had been blind from his birth, and was at this time titular archbishop of Armagh.

Not to dwell at too much length on this mere episode, the two emissaries succeeded in reaching O'Donell's castle in Donegal, and there, in due form, received from that "prince," as well as from O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, an oath of fidelity pledging them in their own names and in those of all their brother chiefs to place their lives, forces, and fortunes, under the protection of France; so that "whosoever was king of France, the same should be likewise king of Ireland." In the following year these secret practices between the French court and the Irish chieftains were renewed, and again we find George Paris among the agents sent abroad to ask for aid. He was a gentleman of the English Pale, whose father or brother had been executed for treason; "and he therefore," says Sir John Masone, in a letter to the English council,\* "seemeth to seek all the means he can to annoy the king and the realm, and for that purpose hath been a common post between the wild Irish and the French."

\* State Paper Office.—A letter cited by Mr Fraser Tytler.

It was not till the fourth year of this reign, that the new Liturgy, as altered from the form in which it had been left by the late monarch, was introduced into Ireland; and the same acquiescence, or rather indifference, which marked the reception of the reformed doctrines on their first appearance, still continued its calming influence through the first years of this reign. During this interval a committee of divines had been appointed in England to reform the Liturgy; and in the year 1550, this new form of service having been confirmed by act of Parliament, and declared to have been composed by the aid of the Holy Ghost, was transmitted to Ireland. All this time, the success of the policy pursued by Sentleger in the preceding reign, continued to encourage both rulers and ruled to a continuance of the same kindly relations; and the retention still of that able statesman at the head of the government contributed mainly to the unusual calm which prevailed.

Whatever compunction might haply be felt by some of the more thinking Irish lords, for having adopted Henry VIII. as their spiritual head upon earth, it is clear that the greater number of them were far more occupied with their new titles and possessions than with any such religious or conscientious qualms. So far, indeed, was the distinction between Catholic and Protestant from being yet observed with any rigour, that, at this time, as a learned historian expresses it, "the same year produced bishops of each sort;"\* for, on the 10th of May, this year, Arthur Magennis was, by provision of the pope, constituted bishop of Dromore, and confirmed therein by the king; and on the 3d of September following, Thomas Lancaster, a Protestant, was made bishop of Kildare.

But while the government, as well as the great mass of the people, looked on with indifference at the religious change now in progress, there was an important class, the reformed prelates and clergy, who knew that their interests, both temporal and

\* Cox.

spiritual, were deeply involved in the struggle, and who, therefore, prepared to put forth all their collected strength. Before the new order for the reading of the liturgy had been proclaimed, a general assembly of the prelates and clergy was convened in Dublin, to whom the lord deputy presented the service, in its altered form, for their acceptance. But at this point, a wide and determined schism immediately disclosed itself, and while Browne, the archbishop of Dublin, pronounced strongly for the new doctrines, the archbishop of Armagh, Dowdal, "a man of gravity and learning," opposed as zealously all attempts at innovation. The great body of the clergy became, in a similar manner, divided upon the question; and on the arrival of Sir James Croft, who succeeded Sentleger as lord deputy, it was proposed by him that a conference—the usual resource in all cases where both parties have already made up their minds—should forthwith be held, on the points of difference between them.

This mode of decision having been agreed upon, the duty of defending the Reformed Faith was assigned to Staples, bishop of Meath; while "the old learning"—as frequently then the Catholic doctrine was styled—had for its advocate the pious and learned primate, Dowdal. The strenuous controversy which then ensued, and of which the Mass was the chosen topic, took place in the great hall belonging to St. Mary's Abbey; and ended, as happens most commonly on such occasions, in leaving both the contending parties but the more fixed in their own previous views. It could no longer, however, be doubted upon which side, in this struggle of creeds, lay the most promising prospects of worldly power and gain. For, after some efforts made in vain by the new lord deputy, Sir John Crofts, to induce Dowdal to adopt the new form of liturgy, that eminent divine was harshly stripped of the title of primate of all Ireland, while, as a reward for Browne's courtly services to him and his successors in the see of

Dublin the title and honours of the Irish primacy were transferred.

While in this manner, and under such auspices, the Reformed Church of Ireland was commencing its memorable career, the English soldiery, by their plunder of altars and destruction of images, were no less usefully, as they thought, contributing to the same holy purpose. Those rich vessels and ornaments with which, through ages, it had been the pride of the old religion to adorn its holy places, were now pronounced by the State doctrine to be superstitious and sinful, and were therefore regarded as fit and legitimate objects of spoil. Under this pretence, the furniture of churches was exposed to sale without any remorse; and our native annalists tell us mournfully of the fate of the famous church of Clonmacnoise, which, with all its simple but precious wealth, its chalices, vestments, bells, books, and votive offerings, was at this time pillaged and reduced to ruins by the English garrison of Athlone.\*

There occurred on the whole, however, throughout the six years of Edward's reign, but little disturbance or violence, on the score of religious belief; and, if it be true that even in England, during this period, not more than a twelfth of the population had yet embraced the reformed creed, the proportion of converts which the new faith could boast in Ireland must have been almost too small for calculation. The only strife, indeed, in the course of this reign, which wears any appearance of having been connected with religion, was a short but fierce outbreak in the county of Kildare, under the sons of the viscount Baltinglass—that lord himself incurring the suspicion of having sanctioned their rebellion. This isolated attempt, however, was suppressed without much difficulty, and its rash promoters pardoned.

Among those fierce family feuds which form, almost solely,

\* Annals of Donegal.



the meagre materials of Irish history, that which ultimately became the most memorable, owing to the character and daring career of the principal personage engaged in it, was the struggle maintained between Shane O'Neill and his elder brother, Mathew, for the right of succession to the title and estates of the chiefry of Ulster.\* We have seen that their father, Con O'Neill, was by Henry VIII. created earl of Tyrone, while at the same time this lord's spurious son, Mathew, was made baron of Dungannon. But to this usurpation of his own rights, the legitimate heir, Shane O'Neill, strongly opposed himself, declaring Mathew to have been the offspring of a low clandestine intercourse, while he himself was the eldest son of Tyrone by his lawful wife. To the objection urged on the other side, that his father had surrendered his territories to the king, and that, under that surrender, the settlement on Mathew had been made, it was replied by Shane, that, according to the Irish law of Thanistry, still in force, his father enjoyed but a life-right in his title and territory, and had therefore no right to make such a surrender. In addition to all these arguments, it was likewise pleaded by Shane, that the entail was contrary to the laws both of England and Ireland, inasmuch as Tyrone had never been reduced to an English county.

A feud, similar in some respects to that of the O'Neills, had before broken out in the family of Manus O'Donell; and at last proceeded to such violent lengths, that a pitched battle was fought between that chief and his son, which ended in the rout of the unnatural rebel, and the slaughter of a great number of his followers. While thus in the north such monstrous enmities prevailed, there reigned dissensions even more odious among the lords of the south; where the earl of Thomond was at open war with his uncles, Sir Donald and Sir Tirlogh, and shortly after was basely slain in cold blood by Sir Donald. Nor

\* Cusack's Letter to the Duke of Northumberland.

was Connaught wholly exempt from such barbarous warfare, as, in the last year of Edward's reign, we find Richard, earl of Clanricarde, breaking violently into the boundaries of his kinsman De Burgh, and laying siege to his castle.

To whatever extent the reformed doctrines may have gained ground at the time of Edward's accession, little was added to their spread or influence during that prince's short reign; nor, with the exception, perhaps, of the very highest and very lowest classes of society,—the latter of which took advantage of that crisis to break out in predatory insurrection, while the former were as greedily speculating upon the spoils of the doomed church,—does any great portion of the community appear to have regarded with much interest the great religious revolution then passing before their eyes. One of the causes, doubtless, of this indifference, may be found in the forbearance from persecution which so laudably characterised this reign. In two or three instances only, and those attributable solely to Cranmer, was any blood shed on account of religion, under Edward VI.; nor among this small number of victims was there one Roman Catholic. Much, indeed, as the Reformed Church had already departed from the faith left by the fathers, it still retained in this reign prayers for the dead, as a part of the service, and the liturgy was still styled a sacrificial oblation; nor could there be fancied any more apt symbol of the state of the established religion at that period, than was afforded on the memorable day when the reformed service was first performed in the cathedral of St. Paul's; for on that occasion, while the common prayer, according to law, was publicly recited at the high altar, mass continued to be privately celebrated in the different chapels of the cathedral.\*

\* The state of their religion was somewhat of the same motley kind as their mass, of which we are told, "Some said mass in Latin, as formerly, others in half Latin, half English, but generally all the reformers at this time retained the word mass, allowed it to be a sacrifice, and prayed for the dead."

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

### MARY.

RE-APPOINTMENT OF SIR ANTHONY SENTLEGER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.—HIS INDIFFERENCE IN MATTERS OF RELIGION.—RESTORATION OF GERALD, EARL OF KILDARE.—FAMILY FEUDS.—MARRIAGE OF THE QUEEN TO PHILIP.—DIFFICULTIES AS TO THEIR ASSUMPTION OF THE TITLE OF KING AND QUEEN OF IRELAND.—SENTLEGER SUCCEEDED IN THE GOVERNMENT BY THE EARL OF SUSSEX.—DESCENT OF THE ISLAND SCOTS ON ULSTER.—ENACTMENT OF THE LAW FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF HERETICS.—FURTHER MEASURES OF THE PARLIAMENT.—APPOINTMENT OF LORDS JUSTICES.—BLOODY PERSECUTIONS BY THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS.—FREEDOM OF IRELAND FROM PERSECUTION.—EXPEDITION AGAINST DONALD O'BRIEN.

SUCH was the state of the public mind on matters of religion, when Mary succeeded to the throne (A. D. 1553); and while thus limited even in England was the reception of the new creed, among the Irish it had made no progress whatever. The appointment, indeed, of Sir Anthony Sentleger to the government of Ireland, at this crisis, affords an example as well of the confusion which then reigned between the two creeds, as of the ductility with which such statesmen as Sentleger could manage to avail themselves, for their own personal advantage, of both. This pliant politician had been likewise lord-deputy at the time of Edward's accession, and having then lent his aid to establish the reformed creed, was now as ready to aid the counsels of a sovereign by whom that whole system was about to be abolished. That he should have enjoyed thus in succession the confidence of both religious parties, appears the more remarkable as he bore the character of being a scoffer in matters of faith, and had even written, it is said, in the reign of king Edward, some verses in ridicule of the mystery of the Real Presence.

The only event in the course of this reign which the mind dwells upon with any pleasure, is the restoration which now

took place in the person of Gerald, eleventh earl, of the title and honours of the illustrious house of Kildare. The various adventures, perils, and escapes, which lent to the boyish days of this lord a tinge of romantic interest, have already been briefly touched upon in this work. After passing some years in Italy, under the care of his illustrious kinsman, Cardinal Pole, young Gerald, released by the death of Henry VIII. from fears for his personal safety, ventured to return to England, where, being at a ball or masque in king Edward's court, he was graciously noticed by the youthful monarch, who restored him shortly after to the greatest part of his estates. The same good fortune continued to attend him in the reign that followed; when by letters patent he was restored to his honours of earl of Kildare and baron of Offaley.

With this kindly act of justice towards the young lord himself, was coupled also a due remembrance of his faithful tutor Levrous, who had watched so anxiously, as we have seen, over "the young Irish fugitive," in his perilous escape through France. This attached follower was now appointed bishop of Kildare, in the place of Thomas Lancaster, who had been deprived for having entered into the marriage state.

Meanwhile those bitter family feuds which had raged with such fierceness throughout Edward's reign, were still continued, and with even more bitter rancour, through the present. Between Connor O'Brien, earl of Thomond, and his uncle Donough, by whom, in the year 1553, the earl's father had been murdered, the most violent dissension still prevailed;—Donough having assumed the title of the O'Brien, as chief of his family by the law of Thanistry. About the same time the unnatural warfare between the earl of Tyrconnel and his son Calwagh was, after a lapse of seven years, renewed; and Calwagh, assisted by Scottish auxiliaries, who never scrupled as to the cause in which they hired themselves, entered Tyrconnel at the head of a large force, and taking his aged father

prisoner, kept him immured in a dungeon during the remainder of his days.

On the marriage of the queen to Philip there arose some difficulty as to the assumption by her and her consort of the titles of king and queen of Ireland;—the people of that country having long maintained that the kings of England held it originally by the donation of pope Adrian IV., and had lost it by their departure from the communion of Rome. It was therefore considered necessary that there should be a renewal of this gift, and the first act of the new pope after his coronation was to publish a bull by which, at the petition of Philip and Mary, he raised the lordship of Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom.

In the Annals of Donegal we find some tales of angry feuds in the family of Tyrconnel, during this reign, which bear on the face of them the features of fiction;—stories irksome to tell if true; but which, being evidently false, have no claim whatever to notice.

In the fourth year of Mary's reign (A. D. 1558), Sentleger was succeeded in the office of lord-deputy by Thomas Radcliffe, viscount Fitz-Walters, afterwards earl of Sussex; and this lord brought with him as vice-treasurer Sir Henry Sydney, the special favourite of the late king Edward, who breathed his last in Sydney's arms. One of the first and most urgent of those evils which claimed the attention of the new lord-deputy, was the encroaching spirit of the Island-Scots, who at this time swarmed over the coasts of Ulster, and not only by their own clannish broils, but by the part they took as mercenaries in the wars of the natives, added fresh fuel to that passion for strife which was strongly innate in both. These daring islanders, having in the summer of this year made a descent in Ulster, and laid siege to Carrickfergus, the lord-deputy mustered his forces, and being joined by the earl of Ormond, with a large body of horse and foot raised at his



own charge, attacked the Scottish islanders, and after the slaughter of about 200 of their force, put the remainder to flight. In this action Sir Henry Sydney, who afterwards rose to such high reputation, killed James M'Connel, one of the Scottish leaders, with his own hand.

There now had elapsed an interval of thirteen years since a parliament had been held in Ireland, and as those great religious changes which England had passed through in the interval extended but partially to the sister realm, far less labour of legislation was of course wanting to restore the former state of its ecclesiastical affairs. In some few instances, indeed, reform was wisely substituted for restoration; and that favourite fiscal measure of the late monarch, by which he annually swept into the treasury the twentieth part of all the church revenues, was one of the first which this Irish parliament, under the auspices of his daughter Mary, rescinded. Among the laws relating to religion passed at this time, it was enacted that heresies should be punished; and that all acts made against the pope since the twentieth year of Henry VIII. should be repealed.

Having adopted these and other such measures for the re-establishment of the ancient national faith, the parliament proceeded to the task of regulating the civil government of the realm; and the incursions of the Island-Scots being still frequent and daring, measures were taken to repress this growing evil. To invite or harbour them was declared high treason; and intermarriage with them, without consent from the lord-deputy, was pronounced a felonious crime. But, of all the civil regulations now introduced, the most important, both in itself and the effects consequent upon it, was the reduction into shire-ground of those two districts named Leix and Offaley. In the last reign, as we have seen, these territories were wrested violently and cruelly out of the hands of their ancient proprietors; and the two great septs, the O'Moores and the

O'Connors, who had from time immemorial possessed them, were now, together with their respective chiefs, dispersed as outcasts over the land. The names given to these new counties—the first that had been formed since the time of King John—were designed as memorials of the reign in which the event had occurred. Thus, Leix was denominated the Queen's County, and its principal fort was styled Maryborough; while, with a like view, Offaley was called the King's County, and its fort named Philipstown. There was likewise power given to the lord-lieutenant of planting colonies in these baronies.

The lord-deputy, having been ordered to attend the queen in England, the lord chancellor, Curvin, and Sir Henry Sydney, were appointed lord justices, and after they had gone through the old Catholic forms of being censured and sprinkled with holy water, mass was celebrated, and they were sworn at Christ Church. In thus sanctioning and taking part in religious ceremonies so utterly repugnant to their own principles and opinions, these statesmen but followed the fashion prevalent in those times, when, by the frequent changes of creed enforced upon them, public men became, at last, trained into duplicity, and were made hypocrites by the law.

While such, in Ireland, was the course pursued by the queen's government, during the two or three last years of this reign, her English advisers were odiously occupied in exhibiting to the eyes of Europe that most frightful spectacle—that “inquisition by blood and fire,” as some of themselves too truly styled it—which has marked the records of Mary's reign with a brand of infamy never to be effaced or forgotten. But it ought likewise to be ever remembered, that the first impulse towards this work of blood came from Geneva; that the burning of Servetus prepared the way for the fires of Smithfield, and that Bonner, the brutal Bonner, defended his own sanguinary career by an appeal to the lesson and example left by Calvin.

In this most hateful persecution, which continued, with scarce any respite, through the remainder of Mary's reign, no part was taken by the Irish people, either as tormentors or victims; and while England was everywhere reeking with the blood of martyrs, the sister island was quietly enjoying the unwonted blessings of religious peace.\* It is even asserted, that early in these atrocious proceedings, some English Protestants fled to that island for safety; and, having formed a small community, under the care of a Protestant pastor, remained there free from all harm or annoyance throughout the remainder of Mary's reign.

One of the last events worthy of notice at this period, was an expedition under the earl of Sussex, then lord-deputy, against Donald O'Brien, who was again engaged in violent hostilities with his nephew, Connor, the earl of Thomond. Marching his forces into Munster, the lord-deputy took from O'Brien the castles of Clare, Clonroad, and Bunratty, and delivered the castle of Bunratty into the hands of the earl of Thomond. In the course of the same progress, blending judiciously acts of graciousness with his sterner duties, he received at Limerick the submission of the earl of Desmond, and, a few days after, stood godfather to that lord's young son, whom he named James Sussex, and likewise presented to the child a chain of gold.

\* Ware's Annals.—“Many Protestant refugees,” says Stuart, “who had fled from England, remained unmolested, and even unnoticed, in this country.”—*History of Armagh*.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

ELIZABETH.

**F****R****E****Q****U****E****N****T** **A****L****T****E****R****A****T****I****O****N****S** **O****F** **T****H****E** **N****A****T****I****O****N****A****L** **C****R****E****E****D**—**P****L****I****A****N****C****Y** **O****F** **P****U****B****L****I****C** **M****E****N** **O****N** **T****H****E** **S****U****B****J****E****C****T** **O****F** **R****E****L****I****G****I****O****N**.—**A****T****T****A****C****H****M****E****N****T** **O****F** **T****H****E** **T****E****M****P****O****R****A****L** **L****O****R****D****S** **T****O** **T****H****E** **A****N****C****I****E****N****T** **F****A****I****T****H**.—**M****A****S****S** **O****F** **T****H****E** **P****O****P****U****L****A****T****I****O****N** **S****T****I****L****L** **R****E****M****A****I****N** **C****A****T****H****O****L****I****C**.—**I****N****D****I****F****E****R****E****N****C****E** **O****F** **T****H****E** **I****R****I****S****H** **C****H****I****E****F****T****A****I****N****S**.—**R****E****T****R****O****S****P****E****C****T** **O****F** **P****R****E****C****E****D****I****N****G** **R****E****I****G****N****S**.—**E****F****F****O****R****T****S** **O****N** **T****H****E** **P****A****R****T** **O****F** **E****N****G****L****A****N****D** **T****O** **I****M****P****O****S****E** **T****H****E** **R****E****F****O****R****M****E****D** **F****A****I****T****H** **O****N** **I****R****E****L****A****N****D**.—**N****O****B****L****E** **S****T****R****U****G****G****L****E** **O****F** **T****H****E** **I****R****I****S****H**.—**E****L****I****Z****A****B****E****T****H** **A****N****D** **T****H****E** **H****U****G****U****E****N****O****T****S**.—**T****H****E** **G****O****V****E****R****N****M****E****N****T** **R****E****S****U****M****E****D** **B****Y** **S****U****S****E****X**.—**P****A****G****E****A****N****T** **O****F** **H****I****S** **R****E****C****E****P****T****I****O****N** **O****N** **H****I****S** **R****E****T****U****R****N** **T****O** **D****U****B****L****I****N**.—**P****R****O****C****E****E****D****I****N****G****S** **O****F** **O****'****N****E****I****L****L**.—**H****I****S** **C****H****A****R****A****C****T****E****R**.—**V****I****S****I****T** **O****F** **T****H****E** **L****O****R****D** **J****U****S****T****I****C****E** **T****O** **H****I****M**.—**I****T****S** **B****E****N****E****F****I****C****I****A****L** **C****O****N****S****E****Q****U****E****N****C****E****S**.—**I****N****T****E****R****N****A****L** **D****I****S****S****E****N****S****I****O****N****S**.—**U****N****S****E****T****T****L****E****D** **C****O****N****D****I****T****I****O****N** **O****F** **U****L****S****T****E****R**.—**R****U****M****O****U****R****S** **O****F** **F****O****R****E****I****G****N** **I****N****V****A****S****I****O****N**.—**I****N****D****I****C****A****T****I****O****N****S**, **O****N** **T****H****E** **P****A****R****T** **O****F** **O****'****N****E****I****L****L**, **O****F** **A** **F****R****I****E****N****D****L****Y** **F****E****E****L****I****N****G** **T****O****W****A****R****D****S** **T****H****E** **E****N****G****L****I****S****H** **G****O****V****E****R****N****M****E****N****T**.—**R****E****N****E****W****E****D** **H****O****S****T****I****L****I****T****I****E****S** **O****N** **T****H****E** **R****E**—**A****P****P****O****I****N****T****M****E****N****T** **O****F** **S****U****S****E****X**.—**D****E****S****I****G****N** **O****F** **S****U****B****D****U****I****N****G** **T****H****E** **N****A****T****I****V****E** **C****H****I****E****F****S**, **B****Y** **O****P****P****O****S****I****N****G** **T****H****E****M** **T****O** **E****A****C****H** **O****T****H****E****R**.—**D****A****R****I****N****G** **C****O****N****D****U****C****T** **O****F** **O****'****N****E****I****L****L**.—**P****R****O****J****E****C****T** **F****O****R** **C****A****L****L****I****N****G** **O****'****N****E****I****L****L** **T****O** **E****N****G****L****A****N****D**.—**O****P****P****O****S****E****D** **B****Y** **S****U****S****E****X**.—**G****E****N****E****R****A****L** **A****C****T****I****O****N** **B****E****T****W****E****E****N** **O****'****N****E****I****L****L** **A****N****D** **T****H****E** **E****N****G****L****I****S****H** **F****O****R****C****E****S**.—**R****E****V****E****R****S****E****S** **O****F** **T****H****E** **E****N****G****L****I****S****H** **S****O****L****D****I****E****R****Y**.—**O****'****N****E****I****L****L** **D****E****C****L****I****N****E****S** **A****N** **I****N****T****E****R****V****I****E****W** **W****I****T****H** **S****U****S****E****X**.—**H****I****S** **O****S****T****E****N****T****A****T****I****O****N**.—**U****L****S****T****E****R** **C****O****N****T****I****N****U****E****S** **T****O** **B****E** **T****H****E** **G****R****E****A****T** **O****B****S****T****A****C****L****E**.—**D****E****S****I****G****N** **F****O****R** **P****R****O****C****U****R****I****N****G** **T****H****E** **D****E****A****T****H** **O****F** **O****'****N****E****I****L****L**.—**T****H****E** **E****A****R****L** **O****F** **K****I****L****D****A****R****E** **C****O****M****M****I****S****S****I****O****N****E****D** **T****O** **T****R****E****A****T** **W****I****T****H** **H****I****M**.—**A****R****T****I****C****L****E****S** **O****F** **P****E****A****C****E** **A****G****R****E****E****D** **U****P****O****N**.—**O****'****N****E****I****L****L** **I****N** **E****N****G****L****A****N****D**.—**C****U****R****I****O****S****I****T****Y** **E****X****C****I****T****E****D** **B****Y** **H****I****M** **A****N****D** **H****I****S** **F****O****L****L****O****W****E****R****S**.—**R****E****N****E****W****E****D** **C****O****N****F****L****I****C****T****S** **I****N** **I****R****E****L****A****N****D**.—**O****'****N****E****I****L****L** **R****E****T****U****R****N****S** **T****O** **I****R****E****L****A****N****D**.—**R****E****L****I****G****I****O****U****S** **D****I****S****S****E****N****S****I****O****N** **B****E****T****W****E****E****N** **T****H****E** **E****A****R****L****S** **O****F** **O****R****M****O****N****D** **A****N****D** **D****E****S****M****O****N****D**.—**T****R****Y****I****N****G** **S****I****T****U****A****T****I****O****N** **O****F** **S****H****A****N****E** **O****'****N****E****I****L****L**—**H****I****S** **R****E****F****U****S****A****L** **T****O** **A****T****T****E****N****D** **A** **M****E****E****T****I****N****G** **F****O****R** **C****A****R****R****Y****I****N****G** **I****N****T****O** **E****F****F****E****C****T** **T****H****E** **A****R****T****I****C****L****E****S** **A****G****R****E****E****D** **T****O** **B****Y** **H****I****M**—**H****I****S** **A****M****B****I****T****I****O****U****S** **P****R****E****T****E****N****S****I****O****N****S**.—**C****O****N****A****T****I****U****S** **O****'****D****O****N****E****L****L**.—**C****O****N****D****U****C****T** **O****F** **T****H****E** **Q****U****E****E****N** **D****U****R****I****N****G** **T****H****E****S****E** **T****U****M****U****L****T****S**.—**D****E****F****E****C****T****I****O****N** **O****F** **T****I****R****L****O****G****H** **L****Y****N****O****G****H**.—**P****A****R****L****E****Y** **B****E****T****W****E****E****N** **O****'****N****E****I****L****L** **A****N****D** **T****H****E** **E****A****R****L****S** **O****F** **O****R****M****O****N****D** **A****N****D** **K****I****L****D****A****R****E**.—**I****M****P****O****L****I****C****Y** **O****F** **T****H****E** **G****O****V****E****R****N****M****E****N****T** **I****N** **R****E****F****U****S****I****N****G** **H****I****S** **R****E****Q****U****E****S****T****S**.—**R****E****N****E****W****E****D** **M****E****D****I****A****T****I****O****N**.—**P****E****A****C****E** **C****O****N****C****L****O****D****E****D**.—**G****E****N****E****R****A****L** **R****E****J****O****I****C****I****N****G**.—**C****O****N****T****I****N****U****E****D** **F****E****U****D****S** **B****E****T****W****E****E****N** **T****H****E** **E****A****R****L****S** **O****F** **O****R****M****O****N****D** **A****N****D** **D****E****S****M****O****N****D**.—**C****O****N****F****L****I****C****T** **B****E****T****W****E****E****N** **T****H****E****M**.—**O****'****N****E****I****L****L****'****S** **A****D****H****E****R****E****N****C****E** **T****O** **T****H****E** **A****R****T****I****C****L****E****S** **O****F** **P****E****A****C****E**.—**I****N****F****L****U****X** **O****F** **T****H****E** **I****S****L****A****N****D**—**S****C****O****T****S**.—**O****'****N****E****I****L****L** **A****T****T****A****C****K****S** **A****N****D** **R****O****U****T****S** **T****H****E****M**.—**G****R****E****A****T** **A****D****D****I****T****I****O****N** **T****O** **H****I****S** **F****A****M****E** **I****N** **C****O****N****S****E****Q****U****E****N****C****E**.—**I****N****S****E****C****U****R****I****T****Y** **O****F** **T****H****E** **P****E****A****C****E**.—**S****I****R** **H****E****N****R****I** **S****Y****D****N****E****Y****'****S** **P****O****L****I****C****Y** **T****O****W****A****R****D****S** **O****'****N****E****I****L****L**.—**O****'****N****E****I****L****L****'****S** **D****E****F****I****A****N****C****E** **O****F** **T****H****E** **E****N****G****L****I****S****H** **G****O****V****E****R****N****M****E****N****T**.—**I****N****C****R****E****A****S****I****N****G** **D****I****F****F****I****C****U****L****T****I****E****S** **O****F** **H****I****S** **P****O****S****I****T****I****O****N**.—**P****R****E****P****A****R****A****T****I****O****N****S** **F****O****R** **T****H****E** **A****T****T****A****C****K** **O****F** **O****'****N****E****I****L****L**.—**D****E****F****E****C****T****I****O****N** **O****F** **T****H****E** **N****O****R****T****H****E****R****N** **C****A****P****T****A****I****N****S**.—**O****'****N****E****I****L****L** **A****P****P****L****I****E****S** **F****O****R** **A****I****D** **T****O** **T****H****E** **S****C****O****T****S** **O****F** **C****L****A****N****E****B****O****Y**, **A****N****D** **T****O** **T****H****E** **E****A****R****L** **O****F** **A****R****G****V****I****E**.—**H****I****S** **F****A****L****L****I****N****G** **F****O****R****T****U****N****E****S**.—**H****I****S** **A****S****S****A****S****S****I****N****A****T****I****O****N** **B****Y** **T****H****E** **S****C****O****T****S**.—**G****E****N****E****R****A****L** **O****B****S****E****R****V****A****T****I****O****N****S** **O****N** **H****I****S** **C****H****A****R****A****C****T****E****R**, **A****N****D** **T****H****E** **C****I****R****C****U****M****S****T****A****N****C****E****S** **O****F** **H****I****S** **R****E****M****A****R****K****A****B****L****E** **C****A****R****E****E****R**.—**H****E** **I****S** **S****U****C****C****E****E****D****E****D** **I****N** **T****H****E** **C****H****I****E****F****T****A****I****N****C****Y** **B****Y** **T****I****R****L****O****G****H** **L****Y****N****O****G****H**.—**C****O****N****D****I****T****I****O****N** **O****F** **M****U****N****S****T****E****R**.—**P****R****O****G****R****E****S****S** **O****F** **T****H****E** **L****O****R****D** **D****E****P****U****T****Y** **T****H****R****O****U****G****H** **T****H****E** **S****O****U****T****H** **O****F** **I****R****E****L****A****N****D**.—**S****U****B****J****E****C****T****I****O****N** **O****F** **D****E****S****M****O****N****D**.—**R****E****M****A****R****K****S** **O****N** **T****H****E** **I****R****I****S****H** **G****O****V****E****R****N****M****E****N****T**.

MENT.—SYDNEY, ACCOMPANIED BY DESMOND, RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—DESMOND COMMITTED TO THE TOWER.—RENEWED HOSTILITIES IN IRELAND.—ORMOND IS SENT OVER TO CRUSH THE RISING MOVEMENTS.—KILMALLACK SACKED AND BURNED BY FITZ-MAURICE.

DURING the course of the three reigns immediately preceding that of Elizabeth, the people of England had seen the religion of the country three times altered; and they were now about to witness a fourth change of the national creed. The same pliancy, too, of principle, which had been exhibited throughout these successive apostacies, was shown, in an equally shameless degree, at the important juncture we have now reached; when the same chief governor, the earl of Sussex, who had but two years before assembled a parliament in Dublin to establish by law the Catholic faith, now summoned another to condemn and abolish all that had been so solemnly enacted.

That ambitious and worldly laymen should be found thus pliant in their religious policy, is not, perhaps, remarkable; but, in the present instance, it was among the spiritual lords of parliament that this ready compliance with the new change of creed was most glaringly shown. For, out of the nineteen prelates who sat in the Irish House of Peers, there were only two, Welsh of Meath, and Levrous of Kildare, who so far consulted the dictates of conscience and consistency as to refuse the oath of supremacy, and thereby forfeit their respective sees. While thus obsequiously all the new changes in church and state were acquiesced in by most of the ecclesiastical authorities, many of the temporal lords still clung to the ancient creed; and some there were in whose descendants, even to this day, the old titles are still connected with the old faith.

Although the Anglo-Irish legislature had now, for the second time, gone through the forms of adopting the Protestant creed, it was only in the few counties constituting the Pale that the new ecclesiastical system had yet acquired any foot-



ing; and all the great mass of the population remained still firmly Catholic. The only deep and lasting effect, therefore, of the establishment of the reformed faith was, that it added to the already numerous sources of strife between the two races, that most active and deadly of all, religious dissension.

We have seen how little the first advances of the new creed under Henry VIII. awakened the fear or alarmed the consciences of the Irish chieftains of that day; who doubtless persuaded themselves that, by the assertion of the crown's supremacy, a political rather than a religious ascendancy was meant to be established. Not even the Act which degraded the popedom to the rank of a mere foreign bishopric, could rouse in the O'Neill of that day any burst of religious resentment; though to him the Catholic nations then anxiously looked as a chosen champion of "the glory of the Mother Church."

During the short reign of Edward, the time and thoughts of the young monarch's ministers were engaged too deeply in the task of compiling a new form of faith for England, to leave them much leisure to give to the affairs, whether ecclesiastical or civil, of Ireland; nor was any parliament called to consider that kingdom's affairs during the whole of Edward's reign. With a similar sort of neglect all matters relating to the church were treated; and the new liturgy, although framed, as we have seen, soon after young Edward's accession, was not transmitted to Ireland before the fifth year of his reign. Then, in its revised form,—having been stripped of some shreds of doctrine still imbued too much with popery,—it was sent over, by the king's order, to be read in Ireland in the English tongue. Being thus left very much to their own guidance, the persons then in authority appear to have pursued a course of policy which, though it could not be viewed as orthodox by either of the contending parties, was at least suc-

cessful in producing peace. The oath of supremacy was again enjoined, and the ecclesiastical and spiritual supremacy restored to the crown.

In the reign of queen Mary, a respite was gained from at least one fertile source of rancour and discord, a difference of creed between the governing and the governed; and, accordingly, such was the quiet enjoyed throughout that period, that in the year 1554, the whole force required to preserve the tranquillity of Ireland was no more than 600 foot and 460 horse; and the slight increase of this small army, which took place shortly after, was required for the suppression of the Hebridian Scots.

At the time of Elizabeth's accession, the government of Ireland was held by Thomas, earl of Sussex, who, after a short interval of recal to England, was again sent to assume the government of that country, taking instructions with him for a general meeting of the ecclesiastical authorities, and the establishment of the reformed worship throughout the kingdom. While engaged in this important task, Sussex was summoned frequently to consult with the queen; and an account is given of the manner in which he was welcomed back to Dublin, after one of these absences, which, for the glimpse it gives of the forms of pageantry in those days, may be thought worthy of mention. After the customary ceremonial of swearing the lord-deputy, and delivering to him the sword of state, Thomas Fitzsimon, then mayor of Dublin, invited his lordship and the council to dinner, and treated them afterwards with a theatrical performance, in which the "Nine Worthies" was acted. In the evening a sumptuous banquet awaited the party, after which the mayor and his brethren escorted them home by torch-light, and attended by the city music, to Thomas-Court.

But, while the representatives of English dominion were thus holding their state in Dublin, there was another court

and camp among the wild fastnesses of Ulster, to which, though rude and uncouth their character, the eyes of most of the nations of Europe were then watchfully turned. Nor was the personage, whose known enmity to the law and creed of England thus won for him the sympathy of foreign nations, altogether wanting in those qualities which the cause he upheld required in its champion. Born of a race, the northern Hy-Nialls, from which, through a long course of time, the monarchs of Ireland had been furnished, Shane O'Neill appears to have combined with the rudeness and violence of uncivilised life some of those qualities which command the confidence of followers, and awaken a feeling approaching to respect in foes. Acute and able, indeed, as were most of those personages with whom from time to time he had to negotiate on matters connected with his own pretensions, it is no small proof of his natural shrewdness and powers of address, that almost always on such occasions he succeeded in accomplishing the object on which he had set his mind. How confidently he relied on his powers of thus drawing over the English authorities to his views, appears from his conduct in the first year of this reign, when Sir Henry Sydney, then acting as lord-deputy in the absence of Sussex, marched to Dundalk for the purpose of fortifying and defending the English Pale. One of the principal objects of this journey was to call O'Neill to strict account for the threatening position he had lately assumed; for having taken upon him the obnoxious title of "The O'Neill," and entirely disclaimed the English jurisdiction. The lord justice accordingly sent to require his presence at Dundalk,—the chief being then at a lordship belonging to him not very far from that town. But Shane, evading this significant summons, addressed in return an invitation to the deputy, begging that he would honour him with a visit, and act as sponsor or gossip to his child.

The event proved that, in hoping to lull by this friendly

advance the storm of authority about to burst upon him, the chief had not calculated too sanguinely. The queen's representative deemed it most politic to comply with his request; and it was in the course of this singular visit, if we may believe the old chronicler,\* that Shane entered into those explanations respecting his own conduct, of which a short summary has been given in the preceding pages, and which he afterwards, when presented to Elizabeth herself, repeated.

Although, among the sources of discord and mischief that were then in full play throughout Ireland, the condition of Ulster, under this chief, may have claimed pre-eminence, there was scarcely a portion of the whole island, at this time, that was not convulsed by its own local and separate knot of disturbers. In Munster, the feuds arising out of the contest maintained for the captainship of Thomond, and the hate so long cherished between the two rival houses of Desmond and Ormond, kept that whole province, and especially Kerry and Tipperary, in a state of perpetual ferment; while, in Leinster, those old scourges of the English Pale, the O'Byrnes, Tooles, Cavenaghs, and other such septs, carried on incessantly their harassing inroads. In like manner, the province of Connaught continued to be a prey to the strife and jealousies ever alive between the earl of Clanricarde and that sept of the De Burgos called the MacWilliam Oughter.

When, in addition to this picture of the other three provinces, is taken into account the condition of Ulster, not merely as the battle-ground upon which both English and Irish misrule were now contending for mastery, but as exposed to incessant invasion from the Island-Scots,—some adequate notion may be formed of the task which had now devolved on Elizabeth's ministers, of bringing such a chaos of conflicting elements into any form of order or peace. It must likewise be kept in mind, that to all these other materials of strife and

\* Holinshed.

mischief, a great portion of which had been of very long standing, was now beginning to be added the venom of religious schism,—a new church having been set up in the land, which was not that of the people, or their sires.

Already had the watchful sympathy, which long had been known to be deeply felt in the cause of the Irish by the great Catholic powers of Europe, begun to be sanguinely counted upon; reports of invasion by France and Spain were eagerly circulated, and, in order to lend some sanction to the rumour, it was said that the countess of Tyrone had given information to that effect. Nor was it only from Shane O'Neill and his rebel host that the Government saw reason to apprehend disturbance. A recent meeting of the earls of Kildare and Desmond, at Limerick, was thought to betoken some coming danger; and orders were sent that the earl of Kildare should be recommended to come to England, and in case he did not comply with this intimation, that he should be arrested. Some writings or books, it appears, condemnatory of the measures of Government, had lately been circulating in Ireland, of which Kildare was strongly suspected to be the author.\*

The frank and confiding spirit which had been shown by Sydney, in accepting so readily Shane's invitation to his mansion, was by no means lost on the Irish chieftain; and the long respite from his harassing incursions which the Pale enjoyed, throughout the succeeding year, appears to have been a result of this kindlier feeling. A proof of his wish to stand thus favourably in the eyes of Government is found in a letter which he addressed early in this year (A. D. 1560) to the Queen, wherein, among his titles to rule over Ulster, he pleads his early services, his election to the title of the O'Neill, and his "prosperous government," which had caused all the waste

\* From this charge, the earl of Kildare was afterwards absolved.—Letter from the council in Ireland to the privy council, "absolving the earl of Kildare from being the author or furtherer of any books of complaint and mislike of the government."—*S. P. O.*



country to be now inhabited. He also lays claim, as his father's heir, to the town of Ballygriffin, declaring that the son of Mathew O'Neill (then titular Baron of Dungannon) had no just claim to that town. In the same letter he expresses a wish, and even a taste, for the softening influences of civilised life, and desires earnestly "some English gentlewoman of noble birth to his wife."

But, on the return of the earl of Sussex, to resume the government, all this promise of prolonged tranquillity vanished. The Irish chieftain, between whom and Sussex, owing to their frequent collisions, the most bitter hate subsisted,\* broke out again in open rebellion, and making an irruption into the English Pale, destroyed all before him, wherever he came, with fire and sword. On the approach of winter,—having, by this ruinous course, laid waste most of the corn and produced a scarcity of food,—he found himself forced to withdraw from the Pale into his own fastnesses till the spring. Meanwhile, in the confident hope of being soon able to hunt the rebel out of his lair, a plan was proposed by the queen's ministers for dividing Ulster into shire-land, and reducing it all to rule and obedience, in the manner of England.

Among the various expedients employed to divide and weaken the Irish enemy, one of the most effectual had always been the setting up of one great chieftain against another, by which means both were alike plundered and weakened, and their English masters alone profited by the common rapine. Such was the policy to which they had recourse at the present crisis. To put forward against O'Neill some popular chief, and support him with the whole weight of the Government, was thought to be an expedient at least worth the trial; and the Calwagh O'Donell, chief of Tyrconnel, as well from his high name and station in Ulster, as from his known leaning to

\* In one of the communications (written in Latin), from Sussex to O'Neill, he complains of the chief's letters as being "*nimis superbé scriptas*,"—*S. P. O.* 1561.

the English, was thought to be the person, of all others, most fitted for such a purpose. Accordingly, a messenger was forthwith despatched, with orders to proceed, by the way of Scotland, to Knockfergus, and from thence to bear with all speed the queen's letters to O'Donell, offering to create him earl of Tyrconnel. By the same messenger letters were sent to O'Donell's wife, from the earl of Sussex, informing her of some presents he had in his possession, for her, from the queen.

About the same time, and probably with the same canvassing views, a peerage promised by Henry VIII. to the head of the O'Reillys came at last to be granted, and the chief of the East Brenny, was now created Earl of Brenny and Baron of Cavan.

Whatever might have been the real object of the Government, in courting the aid of O'Donell, or, as he had now become, the earl of Tyrconnel, all was frustrated by a sudden and daring act of Shane O'Neill. Having been apprised, through some secret channel, that O'Donell meant on a certain day to set out on a journey, accompanied by his wife, the countess of Argyle, Shane lay in ambush for them on the road, and making the whole party his prisoners, threw the chief himself into a dungeon, where he remained for several years. Suspicions were strongly entertained, that the information, which enabled O'Neill to entrap so easily his powerful rival, had been furnished by the lady herself, who became, it was thought, his willing captive; and the event a good deal confirmed the truth of this surmise; for, after a short time had elapsed, the countess of Argyle, instead of sharing her husband's dungeon, lived openly with the lawless Shane as his mistress.

To put down, or at least reduce, the enormous power of this fierce toparch, was now an object of pressing importance; and measures of force having been so long employed in vain, it was thought expedient to try a less rigorous line of policy.

O'Neill himself had declared his willingness to repair to England and make his submission at the foot of the throne: and the queen, confident in her own power as well of conciliating as of awing, desired that this purpose of the Irish chief should be encouraged, and every means supplied to facilitate his journey.

But, while the sovereign was acting thus sensibly, her lieutenant, actuated far more by hatred to O'Neill than by zeal for the public service, pursued that chief with a spirit of vindictiveness, which left neither to him nor the harassed country a moment's respite from strife. While affecting to favour and forward the royal intentions respecting O'Neill, he was obstructing the intended journey by every difficulty that ingenious spite could devise; and at last, by a series of aggressions and insults, drove his victim again into open rebellion. One of the indignities complained of by the chief was, that soldiers belonging to the queen were placed at Armagh,—thus entrenching, as he said, on his rights of sovereignty over Ulster; and when Sussex refused haughtily to withdraw the garrison, O'Neill contented himself with replying, that “as long as the soldiers remained in Armagh he would ask no peace or truce.”

Were desert to be measured solely by success, and the real merits of a cause judged by the number of victories gained on its side, the long struggle of the Irish people for their independence could boast of but few such white marks upon its banner. At the juncture, however, which cooccupies us, there lighted on the national cause a moment's success, which, more from its timeliness than from any important results attending it, served to awaken fresh spirit and kindle new hope in the harassed natives. Between O'Neill and the queen's troops stationed at Armagh some skirmishing had already taken place; and this was followed shortly after by a general action, in which the English army were put to rout with the loss of

great numbers of their force. But the moral effects of their discomfiture must have been even still more damaging to them, as we find Sussex, in more than one of his official letters, describing it as "a disastrous engagement!"\* It happened, too, that this lord himself was not present on the occasion, having remained, as he laments, with the earl of Ormond, who was then lying sick at his own castle.

In one of the parleys held with O'Neill, during this confused scene of strife,—this wild medley, as it seems to have been, of savage and civilised life,—one of the points of concession required of him was, that he should give up O'Donell as a hostage. But this O'Neill refused to accede to, and the lord of Tyrconnel was forced to remain still his prisoner; although, in expectation of his speedy release, the robes, collars, and coronets, which had been prepared for investing both him and the chief O'Reilly with the honours of the peerage, had been sent over from England. All this time, notwithstanding that the Ulster chief was still up in arms, and had been proclaimed a traitor, efforts continued to be made, by order of the queen, to induce him to repair to her presence; and the lords of Slane and Howth, whose influence over him was known to be considerable, were employed to mediate with him for the purpose.

That this acute, though illiterate warrior, who knew thoroughly the character of those English lords he had to deal with, should fear to commit himself into their hands, is by no means surprising; and of Sussex, as we shall find, his darkest suspicions were but too well founded. That lord, in now writing to him to urge his departure for England, desired to have previously an interview with him; but this the chief peremptorily declined, alleging, as his reason, that several lords and gentlemen had in his own times, and under similar circumstances, been tortured and murdered. His want of means to defray

\* Lord-Lieutenant to Sir William Cecil.—*S. P. O.*

the expenses of the journey was one of the chief obstacles that now stood in its way, a loan of £3,000 being, as he alleged, necessary for this purpose; and Sir William Fitz-Williams, then acting as deputy for Sussex, in preferring a request to the queen for the advance of this sum, significantly adds,—“on receipt of the money he will doubtless rebel.”

We cannot wonder that this bold warrior, fully conscious as he was of wielding a power before which, rude as were its resources, even haughty England was forced to pause and temporize, should sometimes boast too ostentatiously of his success. In this confident spirit it was that he now announced, through lord Slane, to the Government, his determination to regain by conquest the whole of his territory. Most inconsistently too, considering the pride which he took in his old national title of The O'Neill, he now styled himself for a time the earl of Ulster; and paying a tribute to “the land of the stranger” which had gallantry, at least, to recommend it, prayed, in a letter addressed by him to the queen, “that he might have some English gentlewoman of noble blood to his wife.” The same desire is expressed in his letters to Sussex; and that earl’s sister is more than once mentioned by him as the noble lady to whose hand his ambition aspires.\*

But, whatever favour he might have hoped to find in the eyes of the lady, he had long been regarded by the earl, her brother, with feelings of the most deadly hate. Having been entrusted by the queen with the government of Ireland, at the very commencement of the new reign, Sussex had hoped to signalize the period of his lieutenancy by the reduction of that kingdom to order and peace. But Ulster alone continued to defy all his power. The restless and daring spirit of O'Neill, ever alive to his country’s war-cry, and baffling her masters even in the midst of their fancied triumphs, made of that pro-

\* *Inter omnes desiderat copulari Dominae Francise (germanæ comitis Sussex) quam optat propter diversas rationabiles causas.*—*S. P. O.*



vince a ready focus of revolt, from whence, whatever the apparent tranquillity that reigned around, the impulse was ready to be caught and circulated throughout the whole land. In describing at the time we have reached the unusually peaceful state of the whole kingdom, Sussex complains of the condition of Ulster as the great and sole exception, and remarks what prosperity would ensue to that province "if Shane were extirpated."

These significant words were but the shadow of what was then passing through the writer's mind. He was concerting at that time a plan for the secret murder of O'Neill; and had found an instrument fitted in all ways, except courage, for such a service. This chosen tool of the queen's representative was named Nele Gray; and, after first swearing him upon the Bible to keep all secret, it was proposed that he should receive for this murder of Shane one hundred marks of land a-year to him and his heirs for ever.

That this clandestine mode of despatching a personal enemy was sometimes adopted by exalted personages in those days, appears from the instance of Henry VIII., who, as it is now known, on authentic evidence, encouraged, if not originated, the assassination of cardinal Beaton; and likewise from another instance afforded by Elizabeth herself, at a later period of her reign. With regard to the odious transaction now under consideration, there needs no more than the letter addressed by Sussex himself to his royal mistress,\* on that occasion, to prove the frightful familiarity with deeds of blood which then prevailed in the highest stations; there being throughout the letter in-

\* The concluding part of this frightful letter is as follows:—"In fync, I brake with him to kill Shane, and bound myself by my oath to see him have a hundred marks of land to him and his heirs for reward. He seemed desirous to serve your Highness, and to have the land, but fearful to do it, doubting his own escape after. I told him the ways he might do it, and how to escape after with safety, which he offered and promised to do." The earl adds, "I assure your Highness he may do it without danger, if he will, and if he will not do what he may in your service, there will be done to him what others may."—*S. P. O. Letter from Ld. Fitzwilliam.*

forming the queen of this intended murder, not a single hint of doubt or scruple as to the moral justifiableness of the transaction. Fortunately, owing to those qualms, not of conscience, but of cowardice, which, from the first, appear to have disheartened the chosen instrument of the crime, the plotters abandoned their purpose, and O'Neill, unconscious of his narrow escape, was left to continue for some years longer a thorn in the side of the English government.

The long postponement of the chief's visit to her court but rendered the queen more earnest and imperative in requiring his presence; and, at length, threats were held forth that, if he delayed any longer his coming, he should be brought to England by force. Finding that menaces, however, were far more likely to repel than attract, her ministers adopted a course which, as being more flattering to his personal dignity, was attended with much better success. The earl of Kildare was despatched to Ireland, with full authority to enter into terms with the chief, and prevail on him to accompany him to England. This gracious mode of dealing, as rare as it was always welcome to the Irish, soon smoothed away all difficulties; and, O'Neill having made his submission, articles of peace were agreed upon between him and the earl of Kildare, in the presence of the viscount Baltinglass and the lords of Slane and Louth; and, shortly after, Shane was conducted by the earl of Kildare to England.

This disposition, on the part of the queen, to treat O'Neill with the regard due to his station and power, afforded him a triumph not a little gratifying over his great enemy, Sussex. But that lord, still untired in his hate, had now found in the young earl of Tyrone, son of the late Mathew, baron of Dungannon, a new channel through which to indulge his spiteful feelings against O'Neill, and turn away from him any favour he might have been taught to expect from the English court. With a view to this object, the earl advised his royal mistress,

through her minister Cecil, to "show strangeness to Shane at his coming, and not to call him into her presence, to treat with him, until Sussex himself arrived." "The report of this policy," adds her lieutenant, "will do the young lord much good."

While his enemies were thus actively plotting against him, the chief himself and the train of followers he had brought with him from Ireland, were viewed, wherever they went, with curiosity and surprise. The dress of the Galloglasses, or foot soldiers, who formed his body-guard, has been described by an English historian, who might, himself, have been an eye-witness of the strange group, as he was then in his tenth or eleventh year. Their heads, he tells us, were always uncovered, while the long loose hair was let to fall down in large curls. They had their shirts dyed of a saffron colour, with the sleeves exceedingly large, while their tunics, or vests, were very short, and their cloaks rough or shaggy.\*

The schemes set on foot by the earl of Sussex for the two great objects on which he had now set his heart,—the downfall of O'Neill's authority, and the advancement of the young earl of Tyrone in his place, had in so far proved successful, that all communication with O'Neill, on matters relating to the object of his visit, were by the queen's orders suspended, until the arrival of the young lord from Ireland. In the meanwhile, the Irish chief became naturally discontented, both at this delay and its causes. The sum of money, too, which he had borrowed in Ireland to defray his expenses, was now nearly exhausted, and it would be necessary, he found, to apply for the loan of £300 more. In addition to these various grievances, he had to complain also that the garrison of Armagh made frequent incursions on his "subjects," while, in another

\* Cum securigero Galloglassorum satellitio capitibus nudis crispatis cincinnis dependentibus, camisiis flavis croco vel humana urina infectis, manicis largioribus, tuniculis brevioribus et lacrinis villosis.—*Camden, Hist. Eliæ.*

quarter, the sons of the late baron Dungannon, assisted by Randal-boy, the Scot, were employed in despoiling and committing disorders on his land.

In this state were the chieftain's affairs, with the novel enterprise also before him, of having to defend his right to the title of The O'Neill,—not in the battle-fields of his own land, but in the presence of the great law authorities of England,—when news arrived of an important event which had just occurred in Ireland, and which altered very materially all the bearings of his position and prospects. A fierce conflict had taken place near Carlingford,—whether by accident or design does not appear,—between the young earl of Tyrone and one of his kinsmen, Tirlogh Lynoch, each accompanied by a large gathering of mounted followers; and the result of the encounter had been the massacre of the young lord himself and of more than twenty of his armed attendants. Being relieved by this event from the only powerful competition he had to contend with, Shane availed himself most gladly of the permission to return to Ireland now granted to him, as well as of the sum of £300, which, in compliance with his request, the Government had lent him to defray the expenses of his journey.

Arriving in Dublin (May 26, 1562), after an absence of several months, he found a report spread abroad that Tirlogh Lynoch had been declared The O'Neill. He therefore delayed not a single day in Dublin; but after presenting the queen's letter to the lord lieutenant, and likewise causing her proclamation to be read publicly through the streets, he departed with a guard into Tyrone.

While these events, connected principally with the Ulster chief, were taking place, the bitter feud so long subsisting between the two great Anglo-Irish houses of Desmond and Ormond was fast ripening into that fulness of hate and jealousy which broke out at length in open warfare. To the numerous grounds

as well as pretexts for dissension which had long divided these two noble families, was now added the fresh fuel of religious differences; the earl of Ormond having been brought up at the court of England in the profession of the Reformed Faith, while Desmond had been always celebrated by Catholic historians as one of the champions of the ancient Irish Church. But the cause of religion might well have dispensed with such defenders as this weak and turbulent lord, who, although possessing some popular qualities, passed his life, during its short season of prosperity, in a constant course of tyranny and exaction oppressive to all those who came within the sweep of his rude sway. Even at this period, while yet his accession to the title was recent, so much had he offended by his domineering spirit the great lords of the West,—the lord Roche, the Great Barry, the lords Courcy, Fitz-Morris, and others,—that at length he was summoned before the lord lieutenant and council to answer for these “misorders,” as well as for the offence, with which he had been recently charged, of “maintaining all open rebels and declared traitors.”

As there appeared but little hope that, without the royal intervention, this deadly strife between Ormond and Desmond could be kept within any bounds, the queen thought it right to summon them both to her presence, and an order was forthwith issued to that effect, enjoining also, “that the earl of Ormond should not come without the earl of Desmond.” The presentation of these two lords to the queen must have followed shortly after that of O'Neill; and there could hardly have appeared before her more truly characteristic specimens of the three races under whose misrule ill-fated Ireland was then suffering; one of them being, in his views and objects, insolently English; another, in no less offensive a degree, Irish; \* and

\* Among some private memoranda by Sir William Cecil respecting the means to be used with Shane while in London, we find the following:—“to change his garments and go like a gentleman.”—*S. P. O.*



the third, a mongrel mixture of the two, combining in itself some of the worst vices of each.

Some anxious efforts had been made by Desmond to evade this royal summons, and, among other excuses alleged by him, he pleaded the "hot wars," in which he was then engaged with his uncle Morris Fitz Desmond. It was strongly suspected that this family warfare was a mere mock display concerted between the two relatives. But, however this might have been, no exemption from the royal mandate was granted; and the two earls accordingly proceeded, in each other's company, by the way of Waterford to England.

How trying and difficult was Shane's position, on his return home, between the gratitude still fresh in his mind for the many courtesies he had experienced in England, and the wild welcome awaiting him at home, from the thousands of devoted followers, who hailed his return among them as the signal for fresh inroads on the hated lords of the Pale,—what difficulties this position involved him in may all be collected, as told with contemporary freshness, in the copious records of that period. It was doubtless the favourable change thought to have been worked in him by his visit to England, that prompted the wish expressed in a letter addressed to Cecil by Sir William Fitz-Williams—he "would that Shane and the nobility of Ireland would spend four or five months at court occasionally."

It was not to be expected, however, that the chief would remain long in this state of restraint; and the first object of his resumed hostilities happened to be O'Donell, son of the Calwagh O'Donell, whom Shane had made prisoner by an act of barbarous outrage, and still kept immured in a dungeon. It was against the son of this unfortunate chief, now abetted by M'Guire, O'Reilly, and others of the northern toparchs, that O'Neill was about to commence hostilities.

In order to check, before they spread further, these move-

ments of strife, a day was fixed by the lord lieutenant and council for Shane to meet them at Dundalk, and there perform his part of the agreement made with him, in England, by her majesty. At the same time, the earls of Sussex and Kildare addressed jointly to this formidable personage a most earnest letter, entreating him to attend the appointed meeting, and likewise asking of him a short truce for Con O'Donell and the other northern chiefs leagued in his cause. By such avowals, under their own hands, of the watchful alarm he had inspired in his enemies, Shane was naturally led to presume on the terrors of his name, and indulge in a license of self-will that set all laws and conventional usages at defiance.

The announced object of the meeting appointed to be held at Dundalk was, as stated by the council themselves, "the due performance of the articles of indenture made recently in England, between her highness and O'Neill;" and this meeting, of course, the chief, as one of the two contracting parties, had been duly invited to attend. But, without deigning even to notify to them his intention, and in a manner pronounced by the council to have been "stubborn and refractory," he entirely absented himself from the meeting. Repeated efforts were made by the English authorities to induce him to depart from this line of conduct; but he still obstinately persevered in it, and at length declared his resolution to perform none of the articles agreed upon in England.

The tone of defiance thus even more than ordinarily assumed by him, and the interest well known to be felt by the Catholic Powers of Europe in the fierce strife now raging in Ireland, spread an alarm of secret plots and impending invasion throughout the kingdom. Among other reports of this kind, it was said that letters addressed to the chief by the queen of Scots had, shortly after his departure for England, been received at one of his houses, and was from thence immediately forwarded to him. It was likewise remarked as sus-

picious, that, during a great part of his sojourn in London, he was almost daily engaged in conference with the ambassador of king Philip.

To acquire, in reality, that sole dominion over all Ulster, to which he laid claim as his hereditary right, was the avowed and constant object of this daring dynast. His ancestors, he declared, were kings of Ulster;—"by the sword he had won it, and by the sword he would maintain it." In this ambitious design, however, he had to contend, not only with the supreme power of the state, but likewise with those lesser chiefs of the northern province who were all under the protection of the queen's peace, and espoused—some of them, doubtless, sincerely—the interests of the English crown. Among these lords, Conatius O'Donell, the son of the Calwagh, stood far the highest, as well in character as in station; and the quaint tribute paid to his merits by the earl of Sussex ought not to be here omitted. "Con O'Donell," said this lord, "is wise, valiant, civil, and brave; and the likeliest plant that ever sprang in Ulster, whereon to graft a good subject." To the strife subsisting hereditarily between The O'Neill and The O'Donell, there had lately been added a new source of ill-blood by the cruel durance in which the unrelenting Shane still continued to hold the Calwagh's son. The only terms on which he would consent to the enlargement of his prisoner was the surrender into his hands of the Castle of the Lifford, the principal defence of O'Donell's lands; and hard and humbling as must have been the sacrifice, it was, not long after, wrung from the wronged chieftain.\*

The determination avowed by Shane to perform no part of the articles agreed to by him in England, again drove the contending parties into all their usual course of tumult and dissension. To "extirpate" the insolent rebel, became, as before,

\* In a letter concerning O'Donell from the queen to the lord justice, December 8 1564, it is said, "Her majesty is not without compassion for him."—*S. P. O.*

the declared resolution of the government; while Shane himself, defying their menaces, again broke loose, endeavoured to surprise the garrison of Armagh, and, making an inroad into O'Donnell's country, brought away with him a prey of more than 10,000 head of cattle.

It was during the alarm caused (A. D. 1564) by these violent proceedings, that the queen, on being told by Sussex that he feared O'Neill was again brewing some mischief, answered, "Let not our friends be alarmed: if O'Neill rises, it will be for their advantage; there will be estates for them who want." \* This mode of reconciling their great lords to Irish rebellion, succeeding rulers have not been slow to adopt. But, in the present instance, however eager were the followers, on both sides, to come to actual extremities, no such result, it is clear, was desired by either of the two contending parties; the actual position as well of the government as of O'Neill himself, at this crisis, being such as to render any serious burst of warfare alike ill-timed and inexpedient for both.

To Elizabeth, who expended money with a most reluctant hand, the great cost attending her Irish wars was always a subject of much concern; and any call upon her for fresh expenditure, at this period, would have been peculiarly embarrassing; as the pay of the forces then serving in Ireland was no less than three years in arrear. Had the camp of the Ulster chief been the only quarter from whence danger was apprehended, the task of the government would have been far less arduous. But the queen's Anglo-Irish subjects had become, many of them, deeply disaffected; evil advice was known to have been privately sent to Shane by some of the malcontents of the Pale, and apprehensions were entertained that the earl of Desmond, on his return from England, would take part with that powerful rebel.

\* Cecil, in writing, about this time, to the lord justice Arnold, says that "as a Christian man, he cannot contemplate the wild Irish set to fight as bears and bandogs without perplexity."—*S. P. O.*

While such were the concurring circumstances that rendered peace at this time desirable to the government, O'Neill, on his part, was beset with difficulties which an appeal to arms would be more likely to aggravate than remove; and, among these, by far the most serious was the late defection from his side of Tirlagh Lynogh, his near kinsman, who, next to himself, was considered the most powerful man in Tyrone. Through the management of the earl of Sussex, this lord had been led to renounce his alliance with Shane; but the chief did not the less strenuously continue to harass and torment the ruling powers of the Pale; and the close relations which he had lately entered into with the Scots of the Isles, in direct defiance of the proclaimed will of the English authorities, very much added to the alarm and watchfulness with which all his movements were viewed.

But, notwithstanding the rude tenour of Shane's career, a remarkable change had, of late, been working in him, which may be traced, as already has been intimated, to the new scenes of life opened upon him during his visit to England. The modes of society of which he then gained some insight, and the great personages of Elizabeth's court with whom he became acquainted, had evidently awakened in him an ambitious taste for English honours and English connections, which marks strikingly this later period of his career. There exist letters addressed by him to Dudley and Sir William Cecil, returning thanks for their great kindness to him, and announcing presents which he sends them of horses, hawks, and greyhounds; and, a few years later, in writing to the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, he takes occasion to remind those personages, and with the air of a man accustomed to civilised life, of a curious incident that occurred in hunting one day, when they were all visitors together at the English court.\* The object

\* S. P. O.—The incident to which he alludes was that of the brother of the cardinal de Guise having killed two stags with one shot:—"Ubi nobilissimum fratrem



of his letter to the two cardinals was to desire they would use their interest with the French king to have an army sent to assist him, "that he may restore and defend the Roman Catholic faith."

Still more strikingly do we trace the effects of his visit to England in the strong wish felt by him to marry some noble lady of that land. In several of the letters addressed by him to the queen's ministers, this prayer for a wife forms a very leading part; and the sister of Sussex, the lady Frances, is always mentioned as the fair object of his choice. Should this suit fail, he asks for permission to marry some foreign lady. That these various impressions and incidents had all some share in shaping the course which he afterwards pursued, can hardly be doubted; while the comparatively peaceful state into which, from causes already mentioned, the whole country had now subsided, left freer opening for the more pliant course and tractable views which he appeared inclined to adopt.

A strong suspicion being at this time entertained that the chief, in concert with M'Connel and the Scots, was planning some serious mischief, a parley was held with him by the earls of Ormond and Kildare, to induce him to break with his Scottish allies. O'Neill declared, however, his resolution not to make any such concessions, unless the petitions lately proposed by him were granted; and, this being refused by the government, no terms of peace were then arranged between the parties. Among the requests put forth in his petition, the following were the most important: that there should be granted to him the same authority over certain lords of the north that was possessed anciently by the O'Neills; and that some English title, with stipend sufficient to support it honourably, should be bestowed upon him. There was likewise appended, as usual, the unfailing prayer respecting a wife and the lady

*vestrum D. Marchionem jam tunc Scotia venientem in aula Anglica inter venandum cervos duo uno sagittæ jactu transfigentem videbamus."*

Frances; and this boon he professed particularly to desire as the means of "increasing his civil education."

By the impolitic step on the part of the government of refusing all these requests, the country was again exposed to the risk of general confusion. But luckily the task of mediating between the crown and this restive subject was entrusted to Sir Thomas Cusake, an able lawyer and statesman, who, by moderating the extreme pretensions put forth on both sides, conducted to a result far more satisfactory than under such circumstances could have been expected. Following the advice of this practised counsellor, Shane addressed to the queen an humble but dignified letter, dated from "his camp at Drum Cru," wherein, proffering entire submission, he professed his "sorrow for having offended, and his intention to serve her faithfully to the utmost of his power." This unreserved tender of submission was rendered the more welcome by rumours then prevalent of an approaching war with France. A royal commission was accordingly issued, and articles of peace were forthwith concluded between Sir Thomas Cusake, acting on the part of the queen, and "Lord O'Neill," as the Ulster chief in these formal articles is styled. It was likewise agreed that, until invested by the royal authority with "another honourable name," he should have permission still to retain his ancient title of The O'Neill.

The feeling of relief and satisfaction which this peace with the great chief immediately caused, showed how general was the feeling of terror with which he was viewed, as well by followers as by foes. Throughout his own territory the event was hailed with hearty rejoicings.\* The queen, in compliance with his petition, removed her garrison from Armagh, and the chief restored to the dean and chapter the ancient cathedral of that

\* Letter from Robert Fleming to Sir William Cecil (S. P. O.) describing what passed in O'Neill's camp during the absence of Sir T. Cusake, and the joyful manner in which the peace was received by O'Neill and his people.

city. All the promises, indeed, which he had made to Cusake, were now put in course of fulfilment; and how much he had risen in the favour of the public by this conduct, was shown soon after in the general burst of indignation that broke forth when a foul attempt was made to poison him by a vulgar fanatic named Smith. It appeared to have been wholly forgotten, or rather was known perhaps but to a select few, that the very nobleman, still at the head of the Irish government, had basely attempted, but a few years before, to perpetrate, by proxy, the same cowardly act.

Among the temptations held out to the chief, in his late negotiation, that of a peerage, "with augmentation of living," was not the least attractive; and as such an honour seemed now in prospect for him, an eminent herald, named Terens, was ordered to search the ancient chronicles of the land, and draw correctly from them the pedigree of the O'Neills.

While the state of the northern province was thus engaging public attention, the hereditary feud so long fermenting between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, threatened to disturb still more than ever the precarious peace of the English Pale. During the sojourn of Desmond in England, such was the state of destitution to which he had been reduced, both by poverty and illness, that in a melancholy letter written by him at that time, this lord of a palatinate, extending to near 600,000 acres, declared that his pecuniary means were reduced to less than £4, and prayed that his creditors might not be permitted to arrest him on his journey. When restored, however, as he was now, through the favour of the crown, to his own rude but fertile domains, both the means and the spirit for mischief were again abundantly found by him; and the old hatred between him and his neighbour, Ormond, which their nearness in blood appears to have rendered but more bitter, again broke out, with fresh force and virulence. One of the first public duties required of Desmond, on his return, was that

he should take measures for the speedy reform of certain abuses prevailing in Munster, as well as for the rooting up of those rude antiquated customs, the Bonagh, the Coshery, the Risings-out, the encouragement of rhymers and minstrels, and the use of the Brehon Law, which had still been suffered to maintain their ground against all the efforts of legislation and common sense. The unconscious candour with which, in replying to the lords of the council, he proposes to make these new measures subservient to his own domineering views, are characteristic alike of the man and his times. After suggesting that the Irish chiefs will not accede, he thinks, to the proposed reforms, he desires to be furnished with pieces of ordnance and skilful gunners, to batter down the strong places and castles of all these chiefs.

Complaints were made by the earl of Ormond, that the queen's subjects under his rule were daily invaded by Desmond, as well as by his brothers and retinue. He also charged that turbulent nobleman as having been the cause of the long continuance of the odious impost of Coyne and Livery;\* averring, on his own part, that he had been just on the point of renouncing that hated tax, when the violent inroads, as he said, of Desmond, had forced him "to continue one evil, in order to withstand the other."

It was not to be expected that two such neighbours should go on much longer without coming into serious collision. Accordingly, at the beginning of the year 1565, a battle, or rather skirmish, provoked first, it is said, by Desmond, though having a force not half the number of that of his rival, was fought between these two lords.† The conflict took place not

\* "A custom," says Baron Finglas, "which would destroy hell if used in the same." By this custom the commander of an army and his soldiers were privileged "to take meat and man's meat and money at their pleasures, without any ticket or other satisfaction."

† Letter from the earl of Ormond to Cecil (S. P. O.), in which, after stating that Desmond had been overthrown and was in his hands, he prays, "that his prisoner may not be taken from him till he brings him with him to England."

far from a village named Affane, in the county of Wexford, and ended in Desmond himself being wounded and taken prisoner, and the greater number of his very small force slain. It was on this occasion he is said to have spoken those spirited words which Irish tradition has so proudly preserved. While Ormond's soldiers were carrying their captive, stretched on a bier, from the field of battle, one of them tauntingly asked, "Where is now the great earl of Desmond?" "Where he ought to be," answered the intrepid nobleman; "upon the necks of the Butlers." \*

The articles of peace lately concluded between O'Neill and Sir Thomas Cusake, appear to have been observed far more faithfully by the chief himself than by any of those servants of the crown with whom he had to deal. The quiet of the north under his rule was such as, for a long period of years, had not been remembered; and the dean of Armagh, himself an eye-witness of the scene he describes, tells of "the husbandry of all kinds and the sowing of wheat which he saw set forth."

To perform faithfully, indeed, the stipulations of the peace made with Cusake, appears to have been O'Neill's sincere wish; and towards O'Donell, his hated rival and enemy, he acted with a forbearance and self-restraint seldom exercised among his fellow-chiefs. Having, in the course of one of his forays, to pass through O'Donell's country, he treated with respect the ally and favourite of the English even in the person of his own deadliest foe; and carefully abstained from all depredation or encroachment. Notwithstanding this exemplary conduct, none of the promises made to him by Cusake had yet been fulfilled; and it was even feared that the gross injustice was about to be committed of conferring on O'Donell first the distinction of the

\* Petition of the earl of Desmond relating the particulars of his conflict with the earl of Ormond, the manner of the attack, the wounds he had received, and the poverty he endures.—*S. P. O.*



peerage. Meanwhile, the good temper and moderation of the Ulster chief continued, as usually is the case, proportionate to the strength and goodness of his cause; and in a letter addressed by him to the lords of the council, he declares that he "asks nothing more than that the first peace should be confirmed under the great seal."

The influx of Scots from the Isles into the northern parts of Ireland, had increased of late years to a degree that became alarming, and great numbers of them had settled themselves upon the territory to the north of the river Bann. The earl of Leicester had, more than once in his communications with O'Neill, advised him to "do some notable service whereby he might be the better accepted of the queen;" and the chief, entering into Leicester's views, declared that "he could see no greater rebels and traitors than these Scots, and had therefore a mind to do them some mischief." This bold threat, however, he was not immediately able to accomplish, owing to the want especially of boats to convey his force across the river. He lost no time, however, in constructing a number of *culrath*, or rude rafts, and having gained, with their help, possession of a large monastery on the banks of the river, defended that post against the Scots for twenty-four hours, killing near a hundred of their force. This bold movement having thrown open to him the road to Clondeboy, he proceeded thither without delay, convoked an assembly of the neighbouring gentry, and, after devoting some time to "swearing his people in the Route and the Seven Glynnnes," marched on to the Scottish border. Here he found himself encountered by the Scoto-Irish lord, Sorleboy, whom, after a short conflict, he defeated and made prisoner; and then followed up this prompt success by the destruction of James M'Connel's castle and town. But the arrival of a fresh reinforcement to the Scots, under the command of M'Connel himself, led to a renewal of the combat, and the final result was a decisive victory on the side of

O'Neill. Seven hundred of the Scots fell on the field of battle; their leaders, M'Connel and Sorleboy, were made prisoners; and Æneas the Proud was among the number of the slain.

Another brother of the Scottish leader, named Alexander, had sailed to his aid, with a force of 900 men, which he succeeded in disembarking at the island of Raghlin. But, on learning there the defeat which his brothers had met with, he abandoned all hope of repairing the disaster, and immediately withdrew with his troops.

This brilliant and well-timed achievement was hailed by all parties, both English and Irish, with unmixed joy and gratulation. The "greatness of O'Neill" was, even in official circles, acknowledged and lauded; his promised peerage was now no longer to be delayed; and it was even thought expedient that the queen herself should address a letter to him, returning thanks for this great service. That a coalition thus strangely compounded would long hold together, was not to be expected; and the first symptoms we find of a relapse into hostile feelings occur in some Instructions addressed by the queen to the lord deputy, wherein, among other matters, she desires that the chief may be made "to answer all disorders committed since the last pardon;—such as his proceedings against the Scots, without advising the lord deputy of his intentions; his using them as his captives, ransoming whom he liked; taking in to his own possession their castles and countries, and doing all things as though the countries and subjects were his own."

From a state of affairs such as these instructions disclose, no chance of peace, order, or obedience could be expected. There was, therefore, an end to the short respite from discord which the kingdom had been allowed, and Shane again stood forth in his own natural character, as open insurgent and outlaw.

In the bold warfare he had hitherto waged against the

whole force of the government, O'Neill had fearful odds to contend with; but a yet more trying struggle now awaited him. The present lord deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, was known to have declared, on resuming his post, that the time for temporizing was gone by; that the rebel must be "chastised before he grew more strong and perilous;" and, unless he were speedily put down, "the queen would lose Ireland as her sister had lost Calais."

It is not improbable that Sydney, in addition to these public motives for his conduct, may also have been led to adopt a course of increased severity against O'Neill, by the strong persuasion he knew to be abroad that he had himself once joined in league with that arch rebel. This damaging charge against him was thought to have originated with the earl of Sussex, who likewise had mentioned, it was said, in proof of its truth, that, so far back as the year 1559, Sir Henry Sydney had written a letter to the Ulster chief, and had addressed it to him in the old Irish fashion by the title of *The O'Neill*. Of such importance was this charge considered, from the fear and jealousy with which all Irish customs were regarded, that the queen ordered the earl of Sussex to appear and answer before the council for what he had reported; and explanations having been given on both sides, Sydney was acquitted of all evil intentions.\*

To induce Shane to hold a parley with him was the lord deputy's earnest wish, and the town of Dundalk, at the northern extremity of the English Pale, was more than once the place appointed for their meeting. But the sturdy chieftain had long declared that he "would never come to any governor;" and, accordingly, the only visits he now paid to the Pale were made with fire and sword. When not thus occupied with the ruling powers, he mostly employed himself in taking revenge on those northern captains who had joined the ranks of

\* Letter from Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Sydney.—*S. P. O.*

the English; and, among them, the objects of his bitterest hatred were O'Donell and Maguire of Fermanagh, from whom he had lately taken their strongest castles, the Liffer and Dundrum, and fortified them for his own defence.

Among the means devised for counterpoising this vast power, it was deemed expedient to raise some of the wealthier captains to the honours of the peerage; and besides O'Donell, who was soon to be created earl of Tyrconnel, Mac Carthy More, a great lord of Munster, surrendered his estates at this time to the queen, and had them reconveyed to him by letters patent, together with the title of earl of Clancarthy. But the descendant of the northern Hy-Nialls looked down on these modern honours with scorn. "The queen," he said, "has made a new earl of Mac Carthy; but I keep a lackey as noble as he. My ancestors were kings of Ulster." In a similar strain of scorn and defiance were his answers to the two commissioners, justice Dowdal and Stukeley, who had been sent to him to propose terms of peace. "He had never made peace," he said, "with the queen, but by her seeking; nor would he surrender a single advantage his arms had won. He would keep from O'Donell his country, from Bagnal the Newry's, and from Kildare his strong fortress of Dundrum. He had sent envoys to represent him in foreign lands. He could bring into the field 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot; and was able to burn and spoil to Dublin gates, and come away unfought." \*

But notwithstanding this tone of defiance, the shrewd chieftain could not but see that no ordinary struggle now awaited him; and that while the defection from his banner of some of the highest of his fellow-chiefs, and a general impatience among the rest of the rude arrogance of his sway, had very much thinned and weakened the ranks of the native force, the efforts now made by the lords of the Pale to effect the great object of

\* Hooker.

reducing Ulster to obedience was such as had never, on any former occasion, been witnessed.

On the other hand, with such mild forbearance had O'Neill's offences been hitherto treated, it is hardly surprising that, even though aware of his impending danger, he yet should trust to his often-tried fortune for the means of averting it. Whether the boldness of Shane's character had awakened in the queen a feeling of sympathy, which the picturesque interest of his visit to her court had increased, or whether, as appears more probable, her dislike of large expenditure led her to avoid the inglorious cost of Irish victories, it is certain that hostile movements against O'Neill were much discountenanced by her; and allusions to this known feeling of hers are found in some of the official letters. Thus the lord deputy, writing to Cecil, says, 'It is easy enough to chastise O'Neill, and reform the rest, if the queen will have him subdued.' Even at the crisis we have now reached, one of the instructions given to the vice-chamberlain Knowles, whom the queen had sent to consult with Sydney as to the expedition into Ulster, was, that they should consider whether the chief "might be reformed without actual war." It was likewise especially impressed upon Knowles, "that his commission was not to hinder any good conclusion with O'Neill."

In conformity with this enjoined policy, the lord deputy appointed a parley with the Ulster chieftain at Dundalk, and went thither himself, at the time appointed,\* attended by the council and a guard of 1,000 horse; but, after keeping the lord deputy waiting there some days, his only answer to the vice-regal summons was a sudden irruption with fire and sword into the Pale; and shortly after, to brave still further the English authorities, he laid siege to the town of Dundalk. But here he found himself boldly encountered by John Fitz-

\* In a letter of Sir Francis Knollys to the lord-deputy, he mentions that Sydney was then at Dundalk, "tarrying Shane's coming to parley."—*S. P. O.*



williams, who so well defended the town, that the chieftain lost three ensigns, seventeen of his men, and a great number more who died on coming to the camp.

Meanwhile, the force collected by Sydney, to carry the war into Shane's territories, had been brought to a state of readiness; and the great efforts made to render this force efficient showed how important the service was considered, and how formidable the rebellious subject against whom it was directed.

That the resources of the Pale itself were not thought adequate to the emergency, is clear from the measures adopted by the government, to have troops forwarded from Bristol as well as from Berwick by the Isle of Man. But the reinforcement deemed the most valuable, less from its numbers than from the ability of its leader, was a corps of 1,000 foot, commanded by Edward Randolph, who had been a lieutenant of the ordnance, and was made colonel of this corps. He had also been entrusted with a sum of money, which was to be expended only on the service in Ulster. All being ready for the expedition, Sydney set forth, with the main body of his force, to attack O'Neill, who had lately been adding to his other enormities the gross outrage of burning down the metropolitan church of Armagh. After remaining a short time encamped at the Derry, the lord deputy left in that town a strong garrison, under the command of Randolph, and then resumed his march through Ulster, taking possession, in the queen's name, of the castles of Donegal, Ballyshannon, Beleek, and Castle Sligo, and delivering them to the keeping of Con O'Donell.

In the mean time a skirmish had taken place, near Knockfergus, between a part of Shane's force and the garrison left under Randolph's command at the Derry; and whatever advantage accrued to the English from the conflict, it was felt to have been dearly purchased by the loss of their excellent leader—a loss the more remarkable, as he was

the only man on the English side killed in that short conflict.\*

This general hosting into O'Neill's territory, which occupied a period of about six weeks, and must have formed no trifling item of the expense of the queen's wars against that chief, was accompanied by most of the great lords of the Pale. The bishop of Meath, the earls of Desmond, Kildare, Howth, and Louth, the barons of Dunboyne, Tremlestown, and Coraghmore, the lord Fitz-Morris of Kerry, and the White Knight—such was the array of high personages who accompanied the lord deputy on this signal occasion, “all earnest,” we are told, “in performing good service against O'Neill and other traitors.” The chief himself, whose house at Benboorb, one of the largest of his many mansions, had, at the commencement of this inroad, been burned to the ground, was compelled, as often before had been his resource, to fly to his fastnesses among the hills. But not the less confidently, though thus hunted, did he still trust to the strength of his cause and himself; and it was at this time, while holding proudly his rude court among the woods, that he addressed that remarkable letter to the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, desiring their influence with the French monarch to have an army sent to his aid. He had before written to the king of France, requesting that “the perpetual treaty proposed by the late monarch should be concluded, and that five or six thousand French well armed should be sent to assist in expelling the English.” With the same buoyancy of spirit we find him boasting, at this juncture, to one of his brother chiefs that he “had done quite as much hurt to the English as they to him;” and, at the same time, offering “to assist this chief in winning back his own lands.”

However menacing was the show of force put forth by the deputy, had the northern captains but rallied manfully round

\* Letter from the lord-deputy to Sir William Cecil—“doleful news of the death of colonel Randolfe and of the victory honourably achieved.”—*S. P. O.*

their chief, although success might not have attended him, his last effort would have been rendered less inglorious. But counting already on his approaching fall, some of the most powerful of his allies and liegemen had espoused the English alliance. O'Connor-Sligo, Mac-Glanogue, the chief O'Reilly, whose son was a hostage in Dublin Castle, Mac-Neil O'More, the lord of the Fews, who had fled by stealth from O'Neill's camp, and repaired to Dundalk, and likewise O'Dogherty, a deserter to the English at the fight of Knockfergus,—all these, together with the O'Hanlons and Mac-Mahons, had either joined or were suing to be received by the lord deputy. Among the most recent deserters to the government was Cormac M'Ardyll, president of Shane's council.

Thus abandoned by almost all his followers, and having no resource left but in his own unconquered spirit, he at last resolved on the desperate experiment of applying for aid to the Scots of Claneboy,—the very people whom, but two years before, he had so wantonly invaded, slaying with his own hand their favourite leader, James Mac-Connel, and forcibly expelling them out of their territory. He likewise applied for help to the earl of Argyle; and it was probably in the course of their communications on this subject that the chief presented to Argyle a suit of apparel which Henry VIII. had given to his father, the late earl of Tyrone.

But while thus earnestly the fallen warrior was suing for succour, the lord deputy had commenced his march into Tyrone, where such numbers of Shane's followers came in and submitted, as rendered this progress of the English lord a course of peaceful triumph. Most of the chief's castles were likewise surrendered; and to Con O'Donell, the special favourite of the English, the safe keeping of all these castles was entrusted.

The career of O'Neill was now hurrying fast to its close, and the last scenes of his stormy life show most strikingly, in

the very rashness with which he rushed on ruin, how trusting and fearless was his truly Irish nature. The brilliant victory gained by him over the Scots in the year 1564, though deemed deserving of laud and honour from the queen herself, was viewed with far different eyes by those who had suffered from that deathful fight, and by none was it remembered more bitterly than by Oge Mac Connell, the brother of the Scottish chief whom O'Neill had slain in that battle with his own hand. To find some means of avenging that loss, Mac Connell had watched the sinking fortunes of his fated victim; and when the lord deputy lately marched into Tyrone, was one of the first to offer his services against the rebel. With no less eagerness did the widow of the late chieftain wait and watch for the hour of retribution; and her sole stipulation with O'Donell, to whom she was about to be married, was, that he should revenge her late husband's death.

In this state of mind were they when the first overtures from O'Neill reached them; and shortly after arrived the announcement that he himself was on his way to Mac Connell's camp. They had now within their grasp the object and means of the great revenge for which they thirsted. In order to lull the minds of their guests into a feeling of security, great cheer had been prepared for them; and Shane, on arriving with the few faithful followers he could still boast, found himself hospitably welcomed. But in the course of their rude carousal words of ill omen began to be muttered; the Scots kindled as the remembrance of old wrongs came over their minds, and at length, on a signal given, armed soldiers rushed into the tent, despatched rapidly the few inferior guests, and then buried their weapons savagely in O'Neill (A. D. 1567). The body of the chief was wrapped up by them in a common kern's shirt, and then borne away to a ruined church in the neighbourhood, where they consigned it to the earth. But, as even this method of dealing with his remains was thought too

honourable, he was again taken up; and the head being severed from the body, was sent to the lord deputy, who caused it to be fixed upon a pole and set on the top of the castle of Dublin.

The power that enabled this remarkable Irishman—as thoroughly Irish in temper and spirit as in race—so long to baffle the English authorities, lay not so much in mere talent as in that far rarer gift, strength of character, which seldom fails to give those endued with it a mastery over their fellow-men.\* This commanding faculty the Irish chief possessed in no ordinary degree, and gave proofs of its power in all the widely different positions in which he was placed, whether carousing among his own vassals in the rude halls of Benboorb, or mingling as a guest with the princes and nobles to whom he was presented at the English court.

Though treating in general with haughty contempt the minor potentates of Ulster, and always upholding the poor and the weak against their encroachments, he was not the less zealously—such the ascendancy he had gained over them—obeyed and served by these lords in the field. How strong was the impression he made on the mind of the queen herself, was shown by her retaining towards him the same friendly bearing through all the strife, confusion, and—what in her eyes was even still worse—lavish expenditure, of which he continued, for several years after, to be the unceasing cause. A grateful sense, indeed, of this constant kindness to him had no small share, as he avowed, in prompting him to that expedition against the Scots, which, however chivalrously undertaken, was in him rash and impolitic, and led ultimately to his ruin.

In addition to the striking instances already given of the queen's lenity to this great disturber, another still more re-

\* "O'Neill," says Sir Henry Sydney in one of his letters, "is the only strong man in Ireland."



markable may be mentioned, as showing a desire in her even to screen his disloyal deeds. In a letter addressed to Cecil by Sir William Fitz-William, in the year 1566,\* this functionary ventures to complain that "the council are not permitted to write the truth of O'Neill's evil doings;" and that this was actually the case, appears from the result of an application made at this time to them in favour of the Calwagh O'Donell. This chief stood deservedly high in the favour of the English, and had suffered severely in their cause. But notwithstanding these strong claims, the sum of the answer to his petition was, that "the lords justices could not help him, because of O'Neill's great friendship in the council."

Among all classes of the people of the Pale, the same friendly feeling towards him prevailed; and it was doubtless with the view of availing himself of this popularity, that he made it a point, in his negotiations with Sir Thomas Cusake, that the town of Ballygriffin within the Pale should be given up to him, together with such increased means of maintenance as would enable him to make that town his principal place of abode.

Of the acts of crime and violence with which he is chargeable, it can only be said that in viewing lightly such deeds of blood, he was kept in countenance by some far higher pretenders to character in those days; that he himself was near falling the victim of a scheme of murder which the queen's minister had planned, and the queen herself was privy to; and that, frightful as such a crime must be under all circumstances, it becomes doubly hideous when coupled with boasts, as it was in those days, of a new religious era, in whose pure light not only the creed but the moral spirit of ancient Christendom was to be re-awakened.

The more venial but still disgusting excesses imputed to him furnish a favourite part of the gossip in which the chroni-

\* State Paper Office.

clers of his life delight to indulge. To their pages the curious must be referred for an account of his vast wine-cellar at Dundrum, furnished always, as we are told, with a stock of 200 tuns; as well as of that earthen pit in which, to refresh himself after his potations, he used for hours to stand buried up to the chin.\* With respect to his daring abduction of the wife of O'Donell, it appears pretty certain that in that lawless adventure the lady herself took at least as willing a part as her formidable gallant.

Of the extent of Shane's scholarship we have no knowledge, except through the medium of the English chronicler, by whom we are informed that he could neither read nor write English. There are no letters from his hand extant; but his signature to those written for him by the able divines who formed his council, is always penned with peculiar neatness; and the letters themselves, of which several exist,† might be referred to as fine specimens of handwriting.

There had now occurred within short intervals of each other, three great public events,—the death of O'Neill, the expulsion of the Scots from Ireland, and the extinction of the old odious tax of Coyne and Livery,—all bringing with them, if not much hope for the future, at least a welcome and gladdening relief from present evils. The declared intention, likewise, of the government, to take advantage of the quiet prevailing through Ulster in order to plant in that province English inhabitants, and extend to the bulk of the natives English polity and law, served for a time to awaken fresh interest among the people, and thereby divert them from those factious feuds in which so much of the country's strength had been wasted.

On hearing of the death of the Ulster chief, the lord

\* As a matter of curiosity, people went, as we are told, after Shane's death, "to visit his lodgings in the fen where he kept his cattle and men." Letter from the lord-treasurer Winchester to the lord-deputy.—*S. P. O.*

† In the State Paper Office.

deputy had despatched messengers to the different English garrisons to give them notice of the important event. Luckily, the task of choosing a successor to the late chief was attended in the present instance with but little difficulty, as Tirlogh Lynogh, the allotted heir to his title and possessions, had long been an avowed follower and favourite of the English. In a letter, indeed, to the queen, written but a few weeks before this crisis occurred, we find the lord deputy highly extolling Tirlogh as "a devote servant to her highness." \* By his very first act, however, the new liegeman incurred the anger of his royal mistress; having chosen to found his title to the succession upon the old Irish rule of Captainry, and likewise taken upon himself the forbidden title of The O'Neill. For these offences Tirlogh humbly craved pardon, renounced the name which he professed to have ignorantly assumed, and was again received into favour.

While, from those habits, perhaps, of submission into which they had been schooled under the strong and single rule of Shane O'Neill, the people of the north were quietly settling into obedience, the results, on the other hand, of divided and jarring government were no less exemplified in the state to which Munster had been reduced under the joint but discordant dominion of the earls of Ormond and Desmond.

At a period somewhat later of his able ministry, Sir Henry Sydney, with the view of informing himself of the actual state of Munster, took a journey into that province, and the account he has left of all that he witnessed, during his progress, presents such a picture of misery, lawlessness, and abused power, as no mere outline could do justice to, nor aught but the actual details themselves could picture adequately to the reader. It might have been expected that, at least in the territory of

\* Of Tirlogh's lady, the following notice occurs in a letter of Sydney's to the queen:—"And for that his wife hath been an instrument and chief counsellor to frame him to this order of obedience and dutiful manner of proceeding, I humbly beseech your majesty to bestow upon her a garment.

Ormond, brought up as that lord had been at the English court, and professing high zeal in the queen's service, some tolerable advance had been made at this time towards the adoption of English custom and law. But no such progress was any where visible; and of the few abortive attempts at civilisation that had been tried, there remained but the melancholy traces,—large tracts of land, once tilled and pastured, but now lying waste and uninhabited; while of the English population the greater part was thinned away, partly by slaughter, partly by banishment, and a great number through actual famine. That much of this ruin and wretchedness was the fruit of Ormond's misgovernment, may be implied from another complaint made by Sydney, who says, so grossly had the liberties granted to him in the last reign been abused, that, unless a considerable reform took place, all those privileges must be resumed.

When such was the best sample produce of civilised life which even this favourite of the English court could offer his subjects, some slight notion may be formed of the sort of rule that must have prevailed under his brother Palatine, Desmond\*—a nobleman who, as the queen's letters significantly describe him, "was not brought up where law and justice had been frequented."

The principal object of Sir Henry Sydney, in taking this journey into Munster, was to inquire into some charges of tyranny, which had lately been brought against Desmond, and adopt means to prevent in future such daring stretches of power. He sent, accordingly, to require the presence of that earl, who, not suspecting the real purpose of the summons, came to meet him at Youghall; and we have an account from

\* Of the feud between these two earls, Camden thus briefly sums up the history:—"As they were upon the level as to power and interest, and had spirits formed in the same mould, so they resolved the matter should be decided not by the best law but the longest sword."

Sydney himself\* of all that ensued on this occasion, given with that freshness and authenticity which such memorials made at the moment can alone pretend to possess.

Taking along with him the reluctant earl, and still attended by a guard of 200 horse which had accompanied him from Dublin, the lord deputy continued his progress through the south of Ireland, turning to account whatever information he was able to collect, on the way. While passing through the county of Cork, of which one third, says Sydney, "was held by Desmond under his rule, or rather tyranny," they were met by all the first lords and gentlemen of that county,—the viscount Barry, the lord Roche, the lord Courcy, Mac Carthy Reagh, and others, who, though all of them great land-owners, and owing immediate service only to the crown, were, as they alleged, so injured and "exacted upon" by Desmond, as to have "become in effect his thralls and slaves."

Among other charges brought against him, it was alleged that he had levied men and money for lawless purposes, and had even persisted, in open defiance of the late act of the legislature, to extort from his wretched dependents the odious tax of Coyne and Livery. When expostulated with, by Sydney, on these offences, he answered haughtily, that "not for any one would he reduce his force of Gallo-glasses, nor relinquish Coyne and Livery; that where, in former times, he had but one Irish soldier, he would now keep five; nor doubted that, before midsummer, he would have 5,000 in the field."

This menacing tone, however, was but of short duration. The self-willed earl soon saw that he had got into hands far too strong for him; and, as they passed through the county of Limerick, still accompanied by those lords and gentlemen who had joined them, the desolation they every where witnessed, the silent ruin that reigned around, told more forcibly

\* Letter of Sir Henry Sydney to the lords and council in England.



than could any eloquence, the havoc and misery brought by misrule on that devoted land.

On the arrival of the party at Killmallock, the ancient seat of the earls of Desmond, there wanted not omens to tell its lord, as he entered the gate, that he now was received there, not as master but as prisoner. Finding it useless to assume any longer a tone of defiance, he now had recourse to abject submission;—showing how kindred are the extremes of arrogance and servility, and how ready are those who play the despot towards others to shrink and quail in the presence of power themselves. When next summoned before the queen's representative, he sunk abjectly upon his knees, and freely confessing all his late misdeeds, remained voluntarily in that humbled position during the remainder of their interview. In consequence of the important results of this journey, Desmond was placed under strict custody; and, in this state, was led along by the lord deputy through Limerick and Galway to Dublin.

While the earl himself was thus cruelly paraded through the country, the fate of his countess, as described by herself, was hardly less painful and cruel. In a letter addressed by her to the commissioners in Munster,\* she describes the country as being in such a condition, that “few can trust a father, a son, or brother;” and adds, that she herself “can scarcely abide two days in one place, but is trudging by day and partly by night.” †

Whatever may be thought of that system of policy, on the part of England, which rendered such bold strokes of power necessary, the vigour and promptitude shown by Sydney on this occasion was worthy of the fame he bears as a statesman; and the striking manner in which his seizure was performed, is thus well described in his own words: “It seemed the more honourable way for her majesty to have him thus apprehended,

\* State Paper office.

† Ibid.

as it were, in the midst of his own dominions, and from thence publicly conveyed as a captive." \*

But this summary act of power, though highly commended throughout the Pale for its well-timed vigour and decision, was viewed by the queen with so much displeasure, that Sydney, anxious to explain and justify his conduct, entreated earnestly to be allowed to return to England. This request having been granted, he hastened to present himself at the court of Elizabeth, attended by his prisoner, the earl of Desmond, by the son of the late baron Dungannon, and likewise by O'Carrol, O'Connor Sligo, and other Irish chieftains. At the time of their arrival, the queen was residing at Hampton Court, and happened, as a chronicler of those days relates, to be looking out of the window when these lords and gentlemen made their appearance. Much surprised at this numerous cavalcade, she learned, on inquiring of her attendants, that it was the lord deputy of Ireland who came thus grandly escorted. "And well he may," remarked the queen, "for he holds two of the best places in the kingdom;" alluding to his being lord president of Wales as well as chief governor of Ireland. †

That Sydney succeeded in satisfying the queen on all those points connected with Desmond to which she had objected, may be implied from the results that followed. The earl himself was committed to the Tower; his brother, Sir John, being sent for to Ireland, was likewise, but as it seems unjustly, made prisoner; and Sydney returned with increased honour to resume a station to which his name and high character still continue to lend historical lustre.

The removal of Desmond from the scene of contention,

\* State Paper Office.

† "He held both the chief offices of Ireland and Wales together, which was as much honour as a subject could well have; those offices being never before or since held by any at one and the same time.—*Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sydneys.*

made little difference in the zeal and intensity with which it raged. His active kinsman, James Fitz-Maurice, who combined with equal fervour in the Irish cause, far more subtlety and address, as well as more skill in martial affairs, suffered no pause to chill the ferment which the late seizure of his popular kinsman had caused. He had acted hitherto rather as a partisan than a leader. But, seeing the head of his illustrious family led a prisoner to England, he felt that on him the task of vengeance had now devolved. Taking the command of his kin, the Geraldines, he joined in league with the Munster chiefs, and announced through his emissaries to the Catholic powers of Europe,\* that their call to arms had found a response in that sainted seat of the ancient creed of Christendom, Ireland.

To meet the dangers which this outbreak threatened, the earl of Ormond was sent over from England; and, raising a force at his own charge, as was the custom of this stately nobleman, proceeded to crush, before it got head, this daring movement. In the very face, however, of the earl's threats, Fitz-Maurice succeeded, by a native mixture of valour and cunning, in gaining possession of the rich town of Kilmallock; and, after burning it down all but the very walls, and carrying away all its treasures, contrived to escape with his booty and followers, to those strongholds among the hills, from whence he had often before laughed his pursuers to scorn.

\* At the time of Sydney's progress through Ireland, an Invasion under Fitz-Maurice was daily expected by the Irish. "It is reported," says Sydney, in a letter to the queen, "that James Fitz-Maurice is in readiness with force to invade this your realm. It is said he bringeth with him 4000 shot and dyvers principall gentlemen of France."—*Sydney Papers*.

## CHAPTER L.

### ELIZABETH.—(*continued.*)

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN IRELAND AND SPAIN.—CAUSES OF ALARM.—PRESIDENCY COURTS APPOINTED IN MUNSTER AND CONNAUGHT.—PAPAL BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION AGAINST ELIZABETH.—SUBMISSION OF NATIVE CHIEFTAINS.—SIR PETER CAREW AND THE CAVANAGHS.—VIGOROUS MEASURES ADOPTED BY SIR JOHN PERROT.—SUBMISSION OF FITZ-MAJRICE.—DESMOND LIBERATED FROM THE TOWER—HE IS COMMITTED TO PRISON IN DUBLIN.—SIR EDWARD FITTON.—FLIGHT OF CONNOR O'BRIEN, EARL OF THOMOND.—HIS RESTORATION TO ROYAL FAVOUR.—ABOLITION OF CHIEFTAINRY.—RETENTION OF THE TITLE OF "THE O'NEILL."—ENGLISH SETTLERS IN ULSTER.—FAILURE OF THE SCHEME.—RENEWED ATTEMPTS TO EFFECT THIS OBJECT.—OPPOSED BY THE LORD DEPUTY.—THE EARL OF ESSEX SAILS FOR IRELAND.—SKIRMISHES WITH THE NATIVES.—SEVERAL OF THE ENGLISH OFFICERS RETURN TO ENGLAND.—DISSENSIONS IN THE CAMP OF ESSEX.—ALLEGED TREACHERY AND CRUELTY OF ESSEX—HIS DEATH—SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN POISONED.—FINANCIAL SCHEMES.—REMONSTRANCE OF THE GENTRY OF THE PALE.—DELEGATES COMMITTED TO THE TOWER.—THE OBNOXIOUS TAX ABOLISHED.—BULL OF GREGORY XIII., DEPRIVING ELIZABETH OF HER TITLE TO THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.—SINGULAR ADVENTURES OF THOMAS STUKELY—HIS INFLUENCE WITH THE POPE—HIS EXPEDITION TO IRELAND—HE ACCOMPANIES SEBASTIAN TO AFRICA—HIS DEATH.—JAMES FITZ-MAURICE—HIS FOREIGN NEGOTIATIONS—OBTAINS ASSISTANCE FROM POPE GREGORY XIII.—SAILS FOR IRELAND—THEIR WELCOME BY THE NATIVES.—PROCLAMATION AGAINST FITZ-MAURICE AND HIS ASSOCIATES—HIS PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY CROSS—HIS ENCOUNTER WITH SIR WILLIAM DE BURGO—HIS DEATH—TRIBUTE TO HIS EMINENT QUALITIES.—SIR WILLIAM DRURY SUCCEEDS SYDNEY AS LORD DEPUTY.—THE O'CONNORS AND O'MOORES.—ROBY OGE O'MOORE—INEFFECTIVE ENDEAVOURS FOR HIS CAPTURE—OBSERVATIONS ON HIS CHARACTER.—DEPARTURE FROM IRELAND OF SIR HENRY SYDNEY.—MURDER OF DAVELS BY JOHN OF DESMOND.—SIR JOHN DESMOND ASSUMES THE COMMAND OF THE SPANIARDS AT SMERWICKE.—ACTIVE HOSTILITIES.—THE IRISH ROUTED.—DESMOND DECLARED A TRAITOR BY PROCLAMATION—HE ATTACKS AND PLUNDERS YOUGHAL—HIS FALLING FORTUNES—AMIALE CHARACTER OF HIS COUNTESS—EXECUTION OF HIS YOUNGEST SON.—LORD GREY DE WILTON SUCCEEDS TO THE GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND—HIS EXPEDITION INTO WICKLOW—DISASTROUS RESULT.—EXULTATION OF THE NATIVES.—ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS OF MEN, ARMS, AND MONEY.—THE GARRISON ATTACKED AND PUT TO THE SWORD.—DESTITUTION OF THE EARL OF DESMOND—RANCOUR OF ORMOND TOWARDS HIM—STORIES OF HIS WONDERFUL ESCAPES—REWARDS OFFERED FOR HIS HEAD—HIS DEATH—OBSERVATIONS ON HIS CHARACTER.

WE have seen that the spirit of religious strife which, in most of the kingdoms of Europe, had been called into life by the great schism of the Reformation, extended but slowly its disturbing influence to Ireland. It was not till the period we

have now reached, that the leading Catholic powers became alive to the obvious importance of enlisting Irish alliance in the formidable league which had long been gathering against the power and creed of England. When Shane O'Neill addressed his letter to Charles IX., requesting an aid of 5,000 or 6,000 French, had the state of public affairs been then ripe for such intervention, what a change might have been made in the course and colour of Ireland's destiny! It was to Spain that the confederate forces under Fitz-Maurice now looked for aid,\* and James Mac Caghwell, the titular archbishop of Cashel, was sent, accompanied by the youngest son of the earl of Desmond, as ambassador to the Spanish monarch, to ask his aid "for the rescue of their country from the tyranny and oppression of queen Elizabeth."

Between Spain and the south-western parts of Ireland, the communication, on matters of commerce, had been of very ancient date, and the habits of intercourse thus naturally induced between the two countries were now viewed by the English authorities with jealous suspicion and fear. To add to these panic alarms, some Spanish ships, it was said, had lately come to the earl of Clancarre, and, after leaving in his hands a large quantity of harquebusses, targets, sword-blades, and other weapons, engaged to return before Christmas with a further supply of arms. This recently created peer, whom Sydney well describes in one of his letters as being "a new earl made out of an old rebel," counted so sanguinely on the effects of Spanish intervention, as to take upon himself already the state and title of king of Munster.

Among the many useful changes and reforms which Ireland owed to the zeal and sagacity of Sir Henry Sydney, one

\* At the time of Sydney's progress through Ireland, the prospects of Fitz-Maurice were in their most promising state. "James Fitzmorris," he says, "lyeth in St. Maloes, and keepeth a great porte, himselfe and familye well appparelled and full of money. He hath oft intelligence from Rome and out of Spaine, and is oft visited by men of good countenance."—*Letters and Memorials of State*.



of the most important was that suggested by him in the year 1565, when, through his advice, there was established in each of the two provinces, Munster and Connaught, a presidency court, or inferior government, furnished with a council and all other adjuncts of royal authority, and wielding a power within its own district almost co-ordinate with that of the viceroy himself. The professed object of these new jurisdictions was, to extend to a wider range among the natives the presence and agency of English law. But, unluckily, it was only with the rigours of that law, and not with its civilising benefits, that the wretched Irish were made acquainted. In the hands of the president lay irresponsibly the power of life and death; and to cite but one instance of the enormous authority placed in his hands, to him was entrusted the power of torturing persons accused of high treason, in order to extort from them either confessions of their own guilt, or accusations of their accomplices.

At the time of the establishment of these new courts, Sir Warham St. Leger had been selected by Sydney for the office of lord president of Munster: but to this choice the queen strongly objected, giving as her reason that St. Leger favoured the earl of Desmond, and had shown himself hostile to Ormond. The appointment was therefore left in abeyance until the period we now have reached, when Sir John Perrot, who was said to be the natural son of Henry VIII., and had highly distinguished himself, not less for great bodily prowess than for his skill in political affairs, was chosen to preside over the council of Munster; while Sir Edward Fitton, whose known severity of character was not the least prized of his qualifications for the office, was made lord president of Connaught.

The bull issued by Pope Pius V., pronouncing sentence of excommunication against the queen, and releasing her subjects from the oath of allegiance, though little heeded even by the Catholic powers of Europe, was hailed in Ireland with feelings of pleasure and hope; and James Fitz-Maurice and his brave

confederates, notwithstanding the formidable Englishman they had now to contend with, prepared to encounter him in their own country style of warfare; to hover round every step of the intruder's course, and, if not prevent, at least embarrass and render inglorious his success.

The new lord president, Sir John Perrot, who arrived in Dublin early in this year, proceeded without loss of time to attack the insurgent force; and the short visit he paid to the ruins of the town of Kilmallock on his way, "the sight," to use his own words, "of its fair buildings all defaced," not a little whetted the stern purpose with which, it was well known, he had come prepared to act. While such was the adversary they had to contend with, they were, themselves, considerably reduced in strength, not only by the thinning process of the sword, but, still more destructively, by the defection or submission of some of their leaders. Thus, the earl of Clancarre, who lately, at the head of the southern chieftains, had proclaimed himself king of Munster, was now reconciled to the government, having come to a recent session of the parliament, and there, in the presence-chamber, and also at Christ Church, made, as the historian expresses it, "most pathological submissions on his knees." In like manner two of the brothers of the earl of Ormond, Sir Edward and Piers Butler, who had also taken part with the insurgents, were now, through the earl's mediation, graciously pardoned by the queen.

In Leinster, the spirit of resistance had been for a short time kept alive by a fierce struggle between the Cavanaghs, a powerful sept of that province, and Sir Peter Carew, an English knight, who had come to lay claim, by right of inheritance, to the barony of Idrone, which had long been in the possession of that warlike sept. He asserted a right likewise to some other Irish seignories, as well as to the title also of Marquis of Cork. But leaving these claims to future arbitrament, he now exerted his whole suit and urgency in the sole

case of Idrone; and, accordingly, by a decree of the lords of the council, which was confirmed by the lord deputy, this ancient barony, which had been taken from his family in the reign of Richard II., was now restored to his possession. The process of rooting out the native inhabitants from their homes and tenements to make way for the new settlers from England, was not accomplished without a sanguinary struggle. According to the usual course in Ireland, the work of the law was followed and finished by that of the sword; and the dexterous severity shown by Carew, in his mode of eradicating the native holders of the restored territory, so much recommended him to the governing powers, that, though coming originally on his own private concerns, he was shortly after, as governor of Leighlin, entrusted with military command.

The reduction thus to tranquillity of almost the whole of the kingdom by those able ministers, both civil and military, who then conducted its affairs, left to the insurgents under Fitz-Maurice little to hope except from foreign aid. Yet, how much they had been enabled to effect, though wanting all other resources, by hearts warm in the cause, and hands ready to second them, may be collected from the written avowal of their great enemy, Sir John Perrot, who complains heavily in his journal of the hard service in which he had been engaged against Fitz-Maurice: describes his marches by night, his sleeping on the cold grass like a common soldier, and enjoying no rest day or night from the daring incursions of this active rebel. It is clear also from another of the grievances complained of by him, that, among the lords and gentlemen of his army, there were some who secretly favoured the Irish, and often conveyed to them information; while, of the movements of the rebel force, he could seldom acquire any intelligence.

To extend our notice to the various skirmishes and encounters which took place, in the course of this war, between

the lord president and Fitz-Maurice, would be a task of as little instruction as pleasure. The menace of Perrot, that he would "hunt the fox out of his hole," affords some notion of the sort of struggle betwixt the pursuers and the pursued, by which, at this period, the whole of Munster was convulsed. It was soon after his arrival from England that Perrot first tried this mode of warfare, when, going in quest of the fugitive Fitz-Maurice, he marched a force through the defiles of Aherlow, a wooded district at the northern base of the Galtees. From that period the same sort of flying conflict continued to be waged between the parties; and a small accession of strength gained by Fitz-Maurice in some "Red Shanks," or Scottish Highlanders, enabled him still, though nearly exhausted, to maintain his struggle a little longer. How great were the sufferings endured by himself and his comrades in arms before they surrendered to their pursuer, may well be conceived from the picture left us of Perrot's frightful activity:—"In the bogs (says the chronicler) he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plains he fought with them, and in their castles and holds he besieged them."

Worn out, at length, both in frame and spirit, Fitz-Maurice saw that he had no other resource than to proffer submission and sue for peace; and the lord president happening to be then at Castletown Roche, in the county of Cork, there went to wait upon him two of Fitz-Maurice's chief confederates, the late seneschal of Imokelly and Ony M'Richard, who, bringing with them their leader's son, prayed the lord president to accept the boy as a pledge of the father's "repentant mind for his undutifulness" towards the queen. The reduced state to which Perrot himself had now been brought by the want of victuals and ammunition, rendered this proposal a welcome relief to him; and orders were issued that, within two days, Fitz-Maurice should meet him at Kilmallock.

There, in the church of that memorable town, which, but

a few months before, the Irish leader had sacked and burned, he now made his submission in the sight of all the people, kneeling down before the lord president, who held the point of his sword to Fitz-Maurice's heart. In this abject posture he proceeded to make his confession and submission; accused the earl of Clancarre and Sir Edmund Butler of having led him into rebellion, and declared that, "with the eyes of his heart sore weeping and bewailing, he acknowledged himself to have rebelled most wickedly against God, most undutifully against his prince, and most unnaturally against his native country." He then concluded thus passionately his oration:—"And now this earth of Kilmallock, which town I have most traitorously sacked and burned, I kiss, and on the same I lie prostrate, overfraught with sorrow upon the view of my most mischievous course."

From the time of Desmond's commitment as a state prisoner to the Tower, little appears to have been known or heard of him until the period we have now reached; when, although still detained in England, he had been released by the queen from prison, and was even occasionally received by her as a guest at Hampton Court. The contrast not uncommon in men of bold and adventurous lives, between the stormy character of their public course and the gentleness of their manner in private, was shown remarkably in the instance of Desmond, whose quiet and simple demeanour so far imposed even on the penetrating Elizabeth as to lead her to "have good hope of his truth and constancy." \*

But there was another sort of contrast, in which also this lord followed but too closely his predecessors,—namely, the enormous extent of his territorial possessions, and his almost total want of pecuniary means. We have seen that, in the

\* "Th' Erle of Desmonde hath bene before her majesty, whom her highness liketh well for his paynes; and hath good hope of his truth and constancie." Sir Thomas Smith to Lord Burghley.—*Wright's Original Letters*.



time of Henry VIII., so much distressed for decent apparel was the earl of Desmond of that day, that to the charity of the lord deputy, Sentleger, he was indebted for the clothes he daily wore: nor does the lord of whom we are now treating appear to have been in much better circumstances; as we find the queen at this time promising him some new apparel, with, likewise, a present of a sum of money.

Shortly after these occurrences, the earl and his brother were sent, accompanied by Sir Edward Fitton, to Ireland. They had been led, it seems, to expect that **their** destination was to Munster; but, when at sea, they learned, to their sorrow, that the ship was steering for Dublin, and, on their arrival in that city, were both cast into prison.

It was about the same time that the sons of the earl of Clanricarde, ever ready to join in revolt, and finding now abundant fuel for it in the intolerable severity of Sir Edward Fitton, broke out openly in rebellion, and summoned a thousand Scottish mercenaries to their aid. The earl himself, who was then in prison for a similar outbreak, made offer to the Government, that, if they would release him from confinement, he would lend them aid in controlling and pacifying his sons. To this proposal the lord president assented; but no sooner had the father and the sons got again together, than his promised mediation was entirely forgotten.

Among other unlucky victims of Fitton's rigour, was Connor O'Brien, earl of Thomond, who, unable to endure any longer such tyranny, concerted secretly with some other great lords a scheme of resistance and revenge. His plans were all arranged, and the mode of despatching the lord president was all prepared, when, on the eve of the intended revolt, a courteous message arrived from that personage, announcing his intention to come, attended by a few friends, to dine with Thomond on the following day. The earl's conscience being then restless and on the watch, this sudden announcement filled

him with alarm. All his plans, he took for granted, had been discovered. In the social proposal of the lord president he saw but a rebuke of his own treacherous plot; and the promised company, as viewed through his fears, were not guests, but armed avengers and foes. The only resource that, under this impression, he saw left for him was immediate departure from the kingdom. Accordingly, he fled without further delay into France, leaving the public, both Irish and English, to guess in vain the cause of his flight.

In the meanwhile his brother conspirators kept prudently their common secret; and when a sufficient time had elapsed to let the danger all blow over, the earl ventured to confess to Norris, the English ambassador, then in France, the whole of the circumstances of the case. Through the mediation of this minister he was graciously pardoned by the queen; and his public services were thenceforth worthy of all praise.

A favourable opening having been made by the death of O'Neill for the introduction into Ulster of English polity and law, measures were taken to effect that long-desired object; and in a parliament held at this time, by the lord deputy, an act was passed for the attainder of Shane O'Neill, by which more than half of the province of Ulster was resumed and vested in the crown. By another act of this parliament the old clannish system of chieftainry or captainship, on which the Irish so fondly prided themselves, was, together with the title and privileges conveyed by it, declared to be entirely abolished.

But, stringently as these measures of reform were meant to act, they proved, in the end, almost entirely ineffective; for, although the greater part of Ulster was declared to be forfeited to the crown, no immediate seizure was made. Even the abbeys and religious houses were still left in full possession of their lands, and the three northern bishoprics, Clogher, Derry, and Raphoe, continued to be granted by the Pope. No less

abortive was the law that had been passed for the abolition of Irish captainships, owing to the opening left for evasion by the exception of all such chieftaincies as should be granted by letters patent from the crown. Even the long-dreaded title of The O'Neill, which the act of attainder had marked out for extinction, declaring the assumption of it to be high treason, was allowed to be adopted by Shane's successor, Tirlagh Lynogh;—such vitality was there still inherent in the ancient customs and institutions of the land, and so unresistingly were even the proud ministers of Elizabeth forced to bow before their strength.

The course adopted by the earl of Sussex in the preceding reign, for the reduction into shires of all those lands so cruelly seized from the septs of Leix and Offaley, was now resumed, though with much less severity in the process, by Sir Henry Sydney, then lord deputy, who added seven more shires, provided with sheriffs and other ministers of the law, to those which had previously been constituted.

Still more to extend the range of English jurisdiction, those who desired to hold of the crown were empowered to surrender their estates and receive them back, to be thenceforth held by English tenures and services.

Among the plans suggested for remedying the still lawless state of Ulster, that of planting English settlers in those parts of the province lately forfeited to the crown, was thought to promise the most useful results; and a fair trial was afforded to this experiment by Sir Thomas Smith, a distinguished scholar and statesman, who, having obtained for his natural son a grant of lands in the peninsular territory called Ardes, sent him thither (A. D. 1572) with a body of colonists, and under circumstances which gave fair promise of success. But this experiment entirely failed; the number of the settlers being insufficient for self defence, they were overpowered by the natives, and young Smith himself was foully slain by one of the O'Neills.

In this scheme of Sir Thomas Smith, as well as in that which soon after followed, we find specimens, on a small scale, of that marauding spirit which, under the pretext of colonization, had at this period become prevalent. So much had that vast field for spoliation, which had been thrown open by the discovery of America in the preceding century, put to flight all honest notions of property and ownership, that, as in the instance afforded by Ireland, the right of the natives to their own lands was without any scruple superseded; and jobbing companies, or individual speculators, became the dispensers of landed property. The motives professed by Sir Thomas Smith, in his colonizing scheme, were "a feeling of compassion for neglected Ireland," and a wish "to humanise her semi-barbarous people." But whatever delusion this flattering project at first produced, it was but of short duration. Sir Thomas commenced his promised scheme for the edification of the natives, by despoiling them of all their lands, and planting in place of the native proprietors English horse and foot soldiers.

It is nowise surprising, therefore, that a people thus shamefully treated should in their turn resort to fierce, lawless revenge; and it was not long before the son of Sir Thomas Smith fell by the hand of one of the O'Neills.

Though such was the issue of this experiment, there still appeared in the colonizing scheme sufficient promise to attract the lovers of gain and enterprise; and Walter Devereux, lately created Earl of Essex, a nobleman looked to with high expectations by his own circle, made offers to the queen to aid in planting with English settlers the district of Claneboy, in Ulster. The number of settlers for this undertaking, comprising tenants and soldiers, was to be 2,000, one half provided by the queen, and the other by Essex; and the colony, as soon as complete, was to be equally divided between them. But when the design had advanced thus far, the increase of

power it would give to Essex began to be regarded with much jealousy; and more especially by Sir William Fitzwilliam, then lord deputy, to whom the presence in that country of a nobleman invested with independent authority, and supported by a large force, might prove a source, it was feared, of humiliation; if not of collision and strife.

While, for these reasons, no effort was spared by Fitzwilliam to prevent this threatened encroachment, it was, on the other hand, an object with Leicester, who wished to rid himself of so powerful a rival as the favoured Essex, to take this specious mode of removing him from the arena of court favour. This object he contrived to accomplish by inducing the queen to consent that Essex should receive his commission from the lord deputy; by which simple process the pride of the latter was duly consulted, while the minister enjoyed the advantage of having removed a powerful rival, and on a service in which success was hardly less fatal than failure.

In the summer of this year (A. D. 1573) the earl of Essex, having borrowed of the queen ten thousand pounds, on a mortgage of his lands in Essex, set out on his Irish expedition, having a short time before informed the lord deputy that he was coming to take possession of the forfeited lands in the Glens, Routes, and Claneboys. He likewise ordered that the frontiers of the Pale in that direction should be kept well guarded, and proclamation made that the object of his coming was, not to harm the Irish, but to expel the Scots. So strong were the hopes entertained of the result of this enterprise, that several persons of high rank and station, among whom were the lords Darcy and Rich, Sir Henry Knowles, and the three sons of the lord Norris, accompanied the earl in his journey, and, with all that confidence in their own views and hopes which ignorance is apt to inspire, landed at Carrickfergus.

Although the arrival on the northern coast of so numerous a force, and so nobly commanded, might well have terrified



even the dwellers of that hardy region, no such apprehension appears to have been manifested. The O'Neills, ready, as usual, at the sound of their national war-cry, assembled in force around their chieftain, Brian Mac-Phelim, who, together with Hugh, the son of Mathew earl of Dungannon, and Tirlagh Lynogh, the Irish lord of Tyrone, so much harassed the forces of Essex by constant skirmishes, in their country's manner, that at length the patience both of officers and of men was quite exhausted; and the lord Rich, Sir Henry Knowles, and other associates in the adventure, were glad to escape, on various pretences, back to England.

But not even from the natives did Essex suffer much more severely than from his own professed followers and abettors, many of whom, acting as it seems on secret instructions from England, were privately thwarting those very measures of their leader which they openly affected to sanction and approve. The consequence was, that the only results of this showy expedition, from which either honour or advantage could arise, were, first, the seizing from Con O'Donell that stronghold of the family chiefs, called the Liffer, and a brisk encounter not long after with Brian MacPhelim, in which nearly two hundred of the Irish were killed, and the chieftain himself and his wife made prisoners. To add still further to the earl's ill luck, those supplies of money which he had made such sacrifices to obtain, were now almost entirely exhausted.

The plan of appointing, in cases of emergency, a great officer, whether styled marshal or lieutenant, with powers equal nearly to those of the lord deputy, but ceasing with the immediate occasion, had been lately much recommended, as suiting peculiarly the fitful nature of Irish warfare, and likewise entailing no fixed burden on the public expenditure. But the success of this state expedient, as tried in the instance of the present earl marshal, was not thought likely to prompt a repetition of the experiment; for, notwithstanding the high

station and reputable character of that lord, his course, on the whole, appears to have been as inefficient as it was pretending and pompous. There are also charges against him of a far graver character. In the most trustworthy of our native annals, an act of atrocity is attributed to him, which, if the annalist may be relied upon, would prove that this earl, though apparently so feeble both in council and in the field, could yet be fearfully strong in treachery and crime. After the skirmish in which he defeated the Claneboy chief, Phelim Mac-Bryan, and made both him and his wife prisoners, articles of peace were concluded between them, which seemed for a time to promise quiet and mutual good will. But how false was this show of amity, on the part of the English, appears from the catastrophe which is said to have soon after followed. A grand festival was given by Bryan, at which the lord deputy and the earl of Essex attended as guests, and all for a while wore the appearance as well of good faith as of good cheer. But, on the third day of this lengthened feast, the earl suddenly seized, as his prisoners, Phelim himself, his brother and wife; and, before the chief's eyes, put all his people, men, women, and young maidens, to the sword. Phelim himself and his wretched relatives were then conveyed, it is added, to Dublin, where they were all executed and cut into quarters.

To dwell in detail on this second visit of Essex to Ireland, the main object of which was to aid the queen in their joint scheme for the settlement of Claneboy, would be a needless tax on the reader's patience. After some efforts to bring into shape their purposed plan, there arose a difference between them as to the proportions in which their 2,000 settlers were to be distributed; the earl requiring that 1,300 should be allotted to Ulster alone, leaving but 700 for the defence and service of the remaining parts of the realm. To this unequal distribution the queen strongly objected, and, after some fur-

ther discussion, the whole scheme was abandoned; not without a strong protest from Essex against the injustice, as he thought, inflicted not only upon himself, but on those loyal lords of Ulster, O'Donell, MacMahon, and others, "whom, on the pledged word of the queen, he had, as it were, undone, abused, and bewitched with fair promises."

At Dublin, from whence these complaints were addressed to Sydney, the earl was seized with an attack of dysentery, and died in that city (A. D. 1576). It was strongly suspected that he had been carried off by poison, through the procurement of his bitter enemy, Leicester; and this lord's marriage, shortly after, to Essex's widow, very much strengthened the suspicion. The historian, Camden, indeed, informs us that the person generally supposed to have been the poisoner, was once pointed out to him in public.\*

In order to meet the increasing expenditure of the government, a scheme of finance was, at this time, devised by the lord deputy, which put it in his power to levy assessments by royal authority, without any reference to the will or sanction of parliament. The discontent which this measure produced affords the first instance of open opposition to government which the history of the parliament of the Pale presents; and to Elizabeth, who found in her English house of commons all the pliancy of a Turkish divan, this restive defiance was the more irritating from the contrast.

Persevering, however, in their opposition, the gentry of the Pale sent agents to London to lay their remonstrance before the throne. But the only result that followed this step was the commitment of these Irish delegates to the Tower; and orders were sent at the same time to the lord deputy, to commit to custody, in Dublin castle, all who had signed the remonstrance. In this stern and defying manner did the queen assert the rights of her prerogative; though once, we

\* *Vidimus tamen hominem tanquam venerarium, digito publicè demonstrari.*

are told, during the proceedings on this question, so much was she touched by the picture presented to her of all the poor Irish had suffered from these exactions, that she exclaimed, "Ah, how I fear lest it be objected to us, as it was to Tiberius by Bato, concerning the Dalmatian commotions, 'You it is that are in fault, who have committed your flocks not to shepherds, but to wolves!'"

Whether from any such feeling, or, as seems more likely, from a fear of irritating too much the Irish in the present critical state of England's foreign relations, the queen, content with asserting her right to this form of tax, forbore from practically enforcing it. The cess ceased to be collected; a composition for seven years was readily agreed to by the lords and gentry of the Pale, and the malecontents were all discharged from prison.

In the bull of Pope Pius V. (1570), depriving Elizabeth of all right to the English crown, and absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, there was no mention made of Ireland. But his successor, Gregory XIII., supplied the omission; and retaliating upon England her aid to rebels both in France and in the Netherlands, declared (A. D. 1576) Elizabeth to have forfeited the crown as well of Ireland as that of England. This solemn instrument, which, in addition to its other powers, gave to those employed in executing it the privileges usually enjoyed by the crusaders, was attended, in this instance, with but little success; and among the few who combined to carry it into effect, were the ever-active and enterprising James Fitz-Maurice, and an English adventurer of strange life and fortunes, Thomas Stukely.

One of the earliest speculations of this scheming personage, was an expedition, in which he was joined by a number of enterprisers, for the discovery of "certain lands in the far west, towards Terra Florida;" and after this wild project had failed "for want of money," he contrived to inspire in the lord

deputy, Sir Henry Sydney,\* so warm an interest in his favour, that this eminent man recommended him strongly to the queen. With a quicker insight, however, into character than was shown by her minister, Elizabeth refused to extend to him her patronage; and after trying, but also without success, to obtain the stewardship of Wexford, he threw off at once all allegiance to the queen, and commenced a course of aspiring adventure far more akin to the freaks of fiction than to any events known in real life.

Having obtained from the Spanish ambassador some letters of introduction, he repaired immediately to the court of Spain; and finding that Philip's intended invasion of Ireland was to take place at the end of the spring, he lent all his aid to the project, and gave the monarch most cheering assurances of the zealous support of the Irish chiefs. We have seen that, on the outbreak of James Fitz-Maurice, in the year 1570, he despatched, as his emissary to Spain, Maurice Reagh, the Catholic archbishop of Cashel; and this prelate was now found by Stukely still in that country, enjoying a pension from the Spanish monarch, and waiting the turn of public events. It is clear, however, that though thus situated, the archbishop encouraged but little the scheme of invading Ireland; alleging as his reason that "he did not wish to see his country under the power of Philip." In like manner, when hearing the king boast, on Stukely's authority, of the glad reception his army would meet from the Irish nobility, the honest archbishop, it is said, quietly warned him "not to be too light of belief."

From Spain Stukely proceeded to Rome, and there ingratiated himself so quickly with Pope Pius, as to command, in

\* Such was Sydney's opinion of Stukely, that, during the height of Shane O'Neill's rampant career, he advised that the task of managing that restive subject should be committed to Stukely:—"I know no man," he says, "if the queen would have peace with O'Neill, that better could please him, nor no man, if her highness would have war, that more would annoy him."—*Letters and Memorials of State.*



a short time, his entire confidence. Entering eagerly into all Stukely's plans, his holiness lavished upon him a shower of Irish titles,\* creating him baron of Ross, viscount Murrough, earl of Wexford, and marquis of Leinster; and still more effectively to further his object, furnished him with eight hundred men, to be paid by the king of Spain, for his Irish expedition. On his way to Florence he had been admitted to close conference with the duke; and by him, as well as by the other dukes of Italy, was treated as a companion.

Thus furnished for his enterprise, Stukely sailed from Civita-Vecchia with his Italian force, and arrived in the Tagus just as Sebastian, with two Moorish kings, was preparing an expedition into Africa, to dethrone the emperor of Morocco. The young monarch was at first disposed to join in the Irish expedition; and had he fallen, in the cause of her sons, upon the shore of the Green Isle, his name might have lived in the national songs of another land besides his own. But, being in amity now with England, he abandoned, on further reflection, this design, and, on the contrary, insisted that Stukely should, with his Italian troops, accompany him into Africa.

Though assenting with much reluctance to the change, this remarkable man distinguished himself in the events that followed, as well by the wisdom of his counsel, as by his prompt and generous bravery. Having endeavoured in vain to check the impatient ardour of the young monarch, he stood foremost among his train at the great battle of Alcazar, and, fighting gallantly to the last, closed appropriately his life of adventure by falling on a field which could boast the glory of numbering three kings among the slain.

During these events, James Fitz-Maurice, whose course, as

\* The titles of Stukely, as given in his passport, are "Thomas Stewkeley, knight baron of Rosse and Idrome, viscount of Murrowes and Rinshelagh, earl of Gufort and Cathelonsi, marquis of Leinster, general of our most holy father Gregory XIII."

a champion of the Irish cause,\* presents throughout, in its steady singleness of purpose, a direct contrast to that of the versatile Stukely, had for more than two years been personally a suitor for his oppressed countrymen at all the Catholic courts of Europe.† Having first tried his fortune in France without any success, though offering to Henry the devoted allegiance of all Ireland, he next applied to Spain, and though with but little more real success, was recommended by the Catholic monarch to Pope Gregory XIII. Among the strangers then at Rome, were the titular bishop of Killaloe, the Jesuit Allen, and likewise the celebrated Dr. Sanders, in the capacity of papal legate; and through the aid of these zealous divines, Fitz-Maurice succeeded at length in procuring three ships, provided with arms and ammunition, a small supply of money, and a force of about one hundred men, consisting of Catholics of various nations. With only these means, and a banner consecrated by the Pope for the occasion, did these sanguine adventurers set sail on their mission for the relief and enfranchisement of Ireland.

Arriving at Smerwick (A. D. 1579), a small bay in the county of Kerry, they raised on their landing a small fort, which they hallowed by religious ceremonies; and shortly after the two brothers of the earl of Desmond came, attended by a crowd of followers, to welcome their arrival. Rumours of ships expected from Spain had lately been rife among the natives; and intelligence to the same effect having reached the government, vice-admiral Winter was sent with a fleet to watch on

\* See in Ellis, second series, one of the papal indulgences granted by Gregory XIII. for making war "gerendi bellum" against Elizabeth. It is granted to James Geraldino Domino de Kerleourthi, and dated from Rome, 25th February, 1577.

† The intense anxiety with which every movement of Fitz-Maurice was watched, shows, sufficiently, the importance attached to his missions. Sydney prides himself, in one of his letters, on "the spetial spial he maintains to attend upon James Fitz-Maurice;" and thus reports some of the results of his watchfulness:—"It is said he bringeth with hym 4000 shot and dyvers principall gentlemen of Fraunce. It is certelne he is retorned from Rome, where he was prince-lyke entertained."—*Sydney Papers*.

the southern coast ; but not hearing of any enemy, he had returned to England. As soon as intelligence of the actual landing arrived, Sir William Drury, then lord justice, issued forthwith a proclamation against Fitz-Maurice, and all who had abetted his daring attempt.

The small band, meanwhile, of adventurers who had entrenched themselves at Smerwick, finding that the natives did not repair to them, as they had been led to expect, began to express, at length, impatience and discontent ; and James Fitz-Maurice, after remaining there for a month, set off on a journey to the Holy Cross, in the county of Tipperary, for the purpose of performing a vow which he had made in Spain. The real object, however, of this pilgrimage, was to seek aid for the desperate adventure in which he had embarked ; and Tipperary being then the region in which, as the chronicler of that time tells us, the fuel of rebellion was always most ready to kindle, the anxious Fitz-Maurice thither directed his course. But he was not fated to extend any further his desperate career. When passing through the country of his near kinsman, Sir William de Burgo, he seized, for the purposes of his urgent journey, some horses belonging to that knight ; on which there ensued a short but furious skirmish between the two parties, in the course of which Theobald de Burgo and one of his brothers were slain, and a furious encounter also took place between Fitz-Maurice and a son of Theobald, which ended in each falling by the other's hand.\* Such, after all, was the miserable fate of this brave man ; one of the few of the illustrious race to which he belonged, who added talent to their other showy and popular qualities. Of the career of so desperate a rebel, it is hardly to be expected that an English historian should speak mercifully ; nor can we much wonder that while, in the Stories of the Wars of the Geraldines, he shines

\* According to Smith's account, Fitz-Maurice, being conspicuous from wearing a yellow doublet, was shot in the breast, and died in the arms of Doctor Allen.

forth as patriot and hero, the page of history, as written by the conqueror, should brand him as rebel and traitor. But, even in his own times, a generous tribute was paid to his character by a personal enemy, who, while denouncing his treachery and treason, admits readily that he was not only "courteous and valiant," but "of good credit and estimation through the whole land."

Such were the terms in which an Englishman did justice to this brave man, whose mangled remains were now borne to Kilmallock, and there, "as a memorial of all his treasons and perjuries," were set on the gates of that town.\* The service rendered on this occasion by Sir William de Burgo and his family were acknowledged in a gracious letter from the queen; and shortly after she created him baron of Castle-Connell.

While these latter events were in progress, a change had taken place in the Irish government, and the sword of state was delivered (A. D. 1578) by Sir Henry Sydney into the hands of Sir William Drury, late lord president of Munster. The hope which had long been entertained of securing quietly to the English crown those districts of Leinster called, in the old time, Leix and Offaley, which had been wrested in the reign of Mary from the native proprietors, was found to be hitherto delusive; and though but little had yet been done towards effecting this great object, the cost of reducing these two shires to obedience had already amounted to at least two hundred thousand pounds.

The two great septs, the O'Connors and the O'Moores, who had been despoiled thus cruelly of their family lands, though frequently chased to their fastnesses and woods, still re-appeared in alarming force; while their ally, and frequently

\* An interesting account of this ancient town,—the Balbec, as it has been pompously styled, of Ireland,—will be found in Mr. Crofton Croker's *Researches*, one of the many agreeable works connected with Ireland, for which we are indebted to that gentleman.

leader, Rory Oge O'Moore, though no longer so light and active as in those days when it was said of him that his station was like that of "a prince, who occupieth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will," possessed still such powers of almost omnipresent mischief as rendered him an object of constant terror to the harassed borderers of the Pale. For some time the number of his followers had very much decreased; and, of five hundred whom he could once command, there now remained to him not more than fifty. But the constant rumours, of late, from abroad, of fresh schemes of invasion, kept still alert both Rory's spirit of adventure and the watchful but vain pursuit after him by the government. So preternatural, indeed, seemed his powers of escape, that Sir Henry Sydney in a letter to the lords of the council, giving an account of a recent attempt to capture him, expresses some doubt whether such feats "were performed by swiftness of footmanship, or rather, if it be lawful so to deem, by sorcery or enchantment." "On some occasions," says Sydney, "so hotly was he pursued, and so hardly set, as to leave target, skull, sword, mantle, and all behind."

Among the most active of Rory's pursuers was Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, baron of Upper Ossory, whom, by conveying to him some false information, Rory had endeavoured to entrap into an ambush which he had laid for him. But the scheme entirely failed, or rather was turned, with much adroitness, against himself. For, with the help of the clue thus furnished by him, Rory was traced to his own covert in the woods; where, being found with but twenty or thirty followers, he was attacked by the lord of Upper Ossory's kerns, and slain on the spot. The only approach made by Rory Oge to the heroic character seems to have been his feat of burning down the town of Naas. But tradition has coupled his name with many a wild and elf-like exploit, which it would disturb much the gravity of the historic muse to recount.



The final departure of Sir Henry Sydney (A. D. 1578) out of Ireland, where, such was the estimate of his services, that he had been four times made lord justice, and three, by special commission, lord deputy, though a serious loss to that kingdom, was to himself a welcome and long-wished relief; and it is said that on entering the ship appointed to bear him from that land, he repeated, in allusion to Moses, when departing from Egypt, the words of the 114th Psalm, "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language."

It was about this time that a most frightful crime was committed,—the murder by Sir John of Desmond, and avowedly on factious and bigoted grounds, of an English gentleman, Henry Davels, his own most intimate and favourite friend. The particulars of this fearful act present a combination of some of the most odious feelings of depraved human nature; and the sole reason or pretext assigned for it by the perpetrator was, that, finding himself looked coldly upon by his brother rebels, in consequence, as he thought, of his friendship with Davels, he deemed it right, in order to remove this feeling of jealousy, as well as to prove how devotedly pledged he was to the cause, to sacrifice the life of his dearest friend. "Let this," he exclaimed, as, with hands yet reeking from the deed, he hastened to his confederates, "let this be to you and your cause the pledge of my faith."\*

On the death of James Fitz-Maurice, John of Desmond had assumed the command of the Spaniards at Smerwick, while Sir William Drury, whose whole disposable force amounted but to 400 foot and 200 horse, marched to the south, and arriving at Kilmallock, summoned Desmond and the chief persons of the neighbourhood to come forward and lend him

\* See, for further details of this atrocious act, *Lives of Illustrious Irishmen*, by Wills, part iii. Of Davels Sir Henry Sidney gives the following high character:—"Truly, my lord, he is a rare man for his painefulnes, upright friendlye dealinge, and bountie of mind everye waye."—*Letter to the Lords of the Council in England*.

their aid. Additional forces were sent from England; and Sir John Perrot, the late president, landed at Cork, bringing with him six ships of war to guard the coast.

While the government were thus actively occupied, the earl of Desmond, shut up in his castle at Askeaton, continued still in that state of pitiable indecision, too proud to proffer submission, too weak to risk resistance, which marked the whole course of his self-willed and worthless career.

But the work of rebellion had now openly commenced; and Sir Nicholas Malbie, who had succeeded Drury in the chief command, learning that the rebels were encamped at Conello, near Limerick, marched, with a part of his force, to attack them. John of Desmond, by whom the insurgents were commanded, showed much unwillingness to risk the chances of an engagement: but the zealous Allen pointed encouragingly to the papal banner, and all such fears at once vanished. In making his arrangements for the battle, Sir John was assisted by the veteran experience of those Spanish officers who had landed at Smerwick. Finding their position there untenable, they had abandoned the fort entirely, and were now employed in fortifying Desmond's castle, and disciplining his rude army for the field.

During the battle that followed soon after, the earl himself and the baron of Lixnaw stood to watch the course of the conflict from a wooded hill that commanded the scene of strife. From this position, so characteristic of his own indecisive nature, he saw success for a while attend the national banner. But a bold rally of the queen's troops soon turned the fortune of the day, and a general route of the Irish ensued. John of Desmond owed his escape to the swiftness of his horse; and Dr. Allen was found foremost among the slain.

Still pursuing his double course, the earl wrote to congratulate Malbie on his success. But such attempts to deceive and delay could no longer succeed. Papers had been found

on Allen's person which left no doubt of the earl's collusion with these designs, from the time of the landing of the Spaniards at Smerwick. Desmond himself at length threw off his flimsy mask by attacking in person the English camp at Rathkeale. There was now, therefore, an end to all further parley between the parties; a proclamation was immediately issued by the lord justice, declaring Desmond a traitor, and, on the same day, the earl had set up his standard at Ballyhowra, in the county of Cork. It is worthy of mention, that two members of the council, the lords Gormanstown and Delvin, refused to sign the proclamation.

Desmond's next daring exploit was to attack and plunder Youghal, of which town he held possession for five days. So effectually, too, did he finish his work of havoc, that, on the entrance of the queen's troops into the town, the only living human creature they found within its walls was a poor friar, who, with all the generous courage of charity, had brought the body of the murdered Davels from Tralee, to procure for it the rites of Christian burial. The touching contrast between this friar employed thus lonelily in his work of charity, and the scene of confusion, strife, and havoc around him, combines in itself at once a picture and a lesson.

The war against Desmond had now fairly commenced; and with the fixed purpose, on the part of the government, of making in his person so signal an example as should in future deter all proud and aspiring subjects from following in a path so sure to end in utter ruin. So little progress, however, had they yet made in humbling his tone, that we find him, in a letter to Sir William Pelham, not only avowing that he and his followers had risen in defence of the Catholic faith, and were promised aid from both the Pope and the king of Spain, but even proposing that Pelham himself should join in their enterprise. But this confident tone was sadly at variance with his real condition, which every day became more hopeless and

desperate. One after another, his numerous castles, Askeaton, Carrickfoyle, Ballyloghane, and others, were taken and garrisoned by the queen's forces. His principal strength, the castle of Carrickfoyle, which was defended by a force of nineteen Spaniards and fifty Irish, under the command of Julio, an Italian engineer, was, after a brave resistance, taken, and the whole garrison put to the sword or hanged.

With such rapidity was the work of destruction accomplished, that already this proud inheritor of so many estates and castles was become a houseless wanderer; and, with only his countess and the legate Saunders, who never forsook them, made their way from one mountain fastness to another, in momentary fear of being taken.

Through all these trials, it is far less the proud and weak lord himself that appeals to our sympathy, than his noble and womanly wife, who, while innocent of all share in the ambitious views that caused their ruin, bore meekly, and without repining, her part in the misery they had produced; watched tenderly over her wayward lord through every step of his ruin, and endeavoured to soften by sharing cheerfully his fall. She had already, this year, gone through the painful trial of taking her only son to the lord deputy, and placing the youth in his hands as a hostage for the frail fealty of his ill-fated father. Shame and misery, indeed, seemed now to alight upon all who bore the once towering name of Desmond. The youngest of the earl's sons, whose birth had been so joyously celebrated three-and-twenty years before, when, as we have seen, the earl of Sussex stood as his godfather, and hung round the child's neck a chain of gold, was now apprehended in the act of taking a prey of cattle, and, although already mortally wounded in the fray, was executed with every aggravation of cruelty and insult.

Such was the posture of public affairs when lord Grey de Wilton was sent (A. D. 1580) to assume the government of

Ireland, with orders, according to the usual form, to take the best means of reducing that restless realm to peace. So eager was this new pacificator to commence his mission, that, without even waiting to receive the sword from his predecessor, he made preparations for an expedition into the county of Wicklow, in order to dislodge from their mountain-holds a body of insurgents who had collected under the command of the viscount Baltinglass. The two great public questions upon which this lord had appealed to the sword against the government, were (as the chronicler unceremoniously couples them) "Religion and the Cess;"\* and his chief allies in the cause were Pheon Mac-Hugh, chief of the O'Byrnes, and captain Fitz-Gerald, a kinsman of the earl of Kildare. This officer, having been entrusted with a corps of infantry for the defence of the county of Kildare, had joined with this force the rebel warriors of the glens, and was now encamped with them in the valley of Glenmalure.

Such was the position, and guarded on all sides with every natural defence that steep hills, impervious thickets, and yawning ravines could supply, that the new lord deputy, impatient to distinguish himself, now proceeded to attack,—going himself with a party of horse to scour the plains, while the infantry were to enter the deep glens. The result of this foolhardy enterprise was, in every respect, such as might have been expected. The doomed troops had to make their way through a dark marshy valley, where at every step the soil sunk beneath the foot, while large rocks and other obstructions beset their way, which, even without the encumbrance of arms, it would have been most difficult to surmount.

The English officers, who saw from the first the certain ruin to which their commander was leading them, submitted in silence to his orders; while Fitz-Gerald, no less aware of

\* Of this very unpopular impost, the Cess, a detailed account and defence may be found in a letter from Sir Henry Sydney to the queen, 1577.—*Sydney Papers*.



the infatuation of his assailants, was fully prepared to turn it to deadly account. Concealing himself and his soldiers among the trees, on each side of the valley, no sooner had the English, proceeding warily in their march, reached the place of his ambush, than a heavy fire was suddenly opened upon them, volley after volley, and with the most murderous effect. The party in advance, both officers and soldiers, were almost all slain; and among the distinguished victims of the day are named colonels Audley, Moore, Cosbie, and Sir Peter Carew.

The feeling of hope awakened in the insurgents by this success was further increased by the landing at Smerwick, shortly after (A. D. 1580), of 700 Spaniards and Italians, who, taking advantage of the temporary absence of Winter's fleet, blown off by the violence of the weather, effected a landing at the same spot, which had been made memorable by their former visit. Besides arms for 5,000 men, and ammunition, they brought with them money to a large amount, which they had been directed to convey to the hands of the earl of Desmond, his brother Sir John, and Dr. Saunders. Having attended to this important trust, they proceeded deliberately to finish the fort which had been begun by James Fitz-Maurice and their countrymen, calling it the Fort del Ore; and, when summoned by the lord deputy to surrender, declared that they held that post for the Pope and the king of Spain. An attack was accordingly commenced, on the land side, by lord Grey, and by admiral Winter from the sea; and after a protracted, though not very vigorous defence, the fort was at length taken. Thus far all had proceeded in the ordinary course of civilised warfare; but the outrage that immediately followed, produced every where, abroad as well as at home, a strong feeling of horror. The garrison had sought to obtain terms; but Grey, insisting that they had no commission, either from the Pope or the king of Spain, and were only private adventurers, refused to

grant their entreaty. The wretched garrison then hung out the white flag, and exclaiming with one voice, "Misericordia, misericordia," surrendered at discretion. But they were all inhumanly put to the sword; and the renowned Raleigh, then an officer in the English service, was the chief actor in this horrible scene. The queen, while professing to lament the slaughter of the garrison, still pronounced it to have been a "useful act of severity;" while, on the continent, the horrid details of this transaction drew down every where fresh odium on the English name and cause.\*

We have now briefly to follow the ill-fated Desmond through the two remaining years of his strange and wretched existence. Born the lord of a vast palatinate, with possessions, as we have seen, extending through nearly four counties, and containing more than 570,000 acres, he was now a fugitive without house or home, seeking a shelter for the passing day in some wretched hovel among the woods, and leaving it stealthily in the dead of night to elude the pursuers who were upon his track. Through all this course of peril and suffering, his wife was ever watchful by his side; except when her presence might risk the discovery of his secret haunts, or when, as sometimes occurred, she ventured fearfully within the precincts of the court to ask for interviews with such persons in power as she thought might help in obtaining terms for her fallen lord. Even the consolation of seeing sometimes their only child was now denied her, the boy having been sent a state prisoner to the Tower of London.

The low and abject condition in which Ormond now saw his once proud rival, instead of awakening in him any of that

\* Camden.—Of this frightful affair a very different account is given in a letter written at the time, by Sir Richard Bingham, one of the most distinguished soldiers of Elizabeth's reign. By this contemporary authority the statement made by Camden of the foreigners having been massacred in cold blood, by order of the council, seems to be wholly disproved. See, for the letter of Bingham, Wright, v. 2. The poet Spencer endeavours to vindicate Lord Grey; and Baker, in order to soften the act of the lord deputy, tells us that he wept when he gave orders for the executions.

sympathy which a generous spirit so readily extends to a fallen but gallant foe, appears, on the contrary, to have renewed and quickened in him all the energies of his first hate; and the queen, by appointing him governor of Munster, and specially trusting to him the service against Desmond, lent every encouragement to this rancorous feeling. If on Desmond's part there existed a similar hatred towards his rival, we may fully believe the traditional story told of these earls, that, on some occasion when, under the decision of a special commission, they had agreed to a public reconciliation, an aperture was cut in the door for them to shake hands through, lest one should poniard the other.

Being fearful of trusting himself within any house or castle, Desmond continued to wander about in the woods, from one hiding-place to another, attended at first, wherever he went, by a band of faithful galloglasses, about sixty in number, who more than once engaged in skirmishes with his pursuers, and saved him from being taken. For some time the place of his concealment was within the fastnesses of Aherlow Wood; and Ormond, impatient to hunt the victim out of his lurking-place, sent more than once a force in quest of him through the defiles of that wooded region.

But although he still contrived to evade his pursuers, the small band of his attached followers was now almost totally destroyed. They had been surprised, in the dead of night, by a detachment from the garrison at Kilmallock, and, while some were asleep, and some feeding, it is said, upon a horse which they had just stolen, they were almost all slain. The next intelligence heard of Desmond was, that he had been met upon the mountains by lord Roche's servants, with no other attendants than two or three horsemen and a priest. Small in number as had been, from the first, the earl's body-guard, such were the hopes with which it was looked to by the people, as a rallying-point of the national cause, that with its destruc-

tion all hopes of success vanished ; and the Munster rebels were so much disheartened, that all disturbances in that province ceased.

Among the numerous stories of his narrow escapes at this time, we are told that, on one occasion, while "keeping his Christmas" in Kilquane Wood, near Kilmallock, an attempt was made to surprise his countess and himself in a miserable cabin on the banks of a river, where, for a time, they had taken up their abode. Hearing a noise, in the middle of the night, as if of some persons entering, the earl and his lady, full of alarm, got out of their cabin into the river, and there, screened by the thick bushes upon the bank, remained immersed in the water, until their pursuers, despairing of finding them, abandoned all further search.

During the whole of this time large rewards were publicly offered for Desmond's head ; and at length accident led to the result which no proffer of gold, or even pressure of famine, could hitherto effect. During the course of his dreary sojourn in the woods, Desmond's sole means of daily subsistence arose from those preys or seizures of cattle to which his followers were but too well accustomed, and which alone preserved them all from utter starvation. In a late expedition of this nature they had taken the cattle of a poor woman named Moriarty, her only property ; and she and her brother had followed the course of the plunderers. Being joined on the way by others, and having appointed a man named Kelly to be their captain, they came at length to a winding pathway, which led them down into the deep and wooded valley of Glanakilty. The glimmering light of a fire at a little distance attracted their notice, and, approaching it cautiously, they perceived through the windows of an old half-ruined house five or six persons sitting by a wood fire. Suspecting strongly that these were the party who had committed the plunder, they retired for a moment to consult as to the manner in which they should pro-

ceed. On their return, however, they found that all had departed excepting one man, of venerable appearance, who lay stretched before the fire. Kelly then struck at this old man with his sword, and almost cut off one of his arms; on which he cried out, "Spare me—I am the earl of Desmond." But the appeal came too late, and Kelly, fearing lest the earl's followers should haste to rescue him, bade him prepare himself for death, and immediately smote off his head (A. D. 1583). The body was kept for some weeks concealed, and then interred in the small chapel of Killanamanagh, not far from Castle Island.\*

Among those champions of the cause of Ireland whom the long struggle of her people for freedom has raised into eminence, the earl of Desmond, although in many respects the most showy and popular, must, in all that lends dignity or moral strength to so high a vocation, take rank on the very lowest level. It was, however, far more in weakness of understanding and violence of temper than in any natural depravity, that the reckless excesses and headlong arrogance of this lordly demagogue had their source; and a great statesman of that period,—one whose opportunities of studying the character of this lord were many and searching,—has left on record his opinion that Desmond's "light and loose dealings proceeded rather from imperfection of judgment than from malicious intent." To the same cause—a helpless want of common sense—may fairly be attributed most of the anomalies and inconsistencies of his strange career. Hence was it that, though born to a rank almost princely, he herded chiefly with his lowest dependents; inheriting estates that spread through nearly four counties, he was yet distressed for the means of daily subsistence; and, though

\* Relat. Girald. "C'est ainsi," says the abbé Geoghegan "que finit cette illustre maison des Fitz-Geralds de Desmond, ces Maccabées de nos jours, après avoir soutenu et glorieusement la cause Catholique jusqu' à l'effusion de leur sang et la perte de leurs biens."



circled wherever he went by crowds of followers, could **not** boast one single friend.

The termination, by Desmond's death, of this long rebellion, came at a juncture peculiarly timely and fortunate; for, not many weeks after, two Spanish ships arrived off the coast, with the titular bishop of Killaloe and another agent of the earl of Desmond. They were bringing to the aid of the rebels supplies of men, arms, and money; but, on learning the unfortunate issue of the struggle, these visitors hastily departed.

## CHAPTER LL

### ELIZABETH—(continued.)

SIR JOHN PERROT APPOINTED LORD DEPUTY.—TRANQUILLITY OF THE COUNTRY.—HUGH O'NEILL—HE IS CREATED EARL OF TYRONE—SUSPECTED OF DISAFFECTION.—RECALL OF SIR JOHN PERROT—HIS DEATH IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.—TREACHEROUS CAPTURE OF YOUNG HUGH O'DONELL—HIS RESTORATION TO HIS "COUNTRY"—HE IS RAISED TO THE CHIEFTAINSHIP OF TYRCONNEL.—HOSTILE APPEARANCES.—MILITARY REINFORCEMENTS.—ASSUMPTION BY TYRONE OF THE TITLE OF "THE O'NEILL"—ACTIVE HOSTILITIES.—TYRONE, O'DONELL, AND THEIR ASSOCIATES PROCLAIMED TRAITORS.—TYRONE SECRETLY TREATS WITH SPAIN.—NATIVE IRISH IN THE ENGLISH RANKS.—POLICY OF COMING TO TERMS WITH THE IRISH CHIEFS.—COMMISSION APPOINTED FOR THIS PURPOSE.—EARL OF TYRONE'S SUBMISSION.—CONNECTION OF RELIGION WITH THE DISTURBANCES IN IRELAND.—RECALL OF SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL.—APPOINTMENT OF LORD BROUGH AS LORD DEPUTY.—DEATH OF SIR JOHN NORRIS.—FREE PARDON GRANTED BY THE QUEEN TO TYRONE.—RENEWED HOSTILITIES.—DEFEAT AND ROUT OF THE ENGLISH FORCES AT BEAL-AN-ATH-A-BUIDH—EFFECTS OF THIS SIGNAL VICTORY.—ALARMING CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH INTEREST.—THE EARL OF ESSEX ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND.—INCREASED STRENGTH OF THE ENGLISH FORCES.—MISERABLE POLICY OF THE NEW LORD DEPUTY.—HE MARCHES INTO ULSTER.—CONFERENCE WITH TYRONE.—TRUCE CONCLUDED.—ANGRY LETTER OF THE QUEEN TO ESSEX—HIS RASH PROJECTS.—APPOINTMENT OF LORD MOUNTJOY AS LORD DEPUTY—HIS MILITARY REFORMS.—MEANS FOR PREVENTING TYRONE'S RETREAT INTO ULSTER—HE ACCOMPLISHES HIS OBJECT.—TREACHERY OF THE IRISH CHIEF, O'MOORE.—PACIFICATORY POLICY OF LORD MOUNTJOY.—CRUELITIES EXERCISED UPON THE PEOPLE OF LEIX.—SIR GEORGE CAREW'S VIGOROUS MEASURES.—PROPOSED PLAN OF SETTING THE NATIVE CHIEFS AT VARIANCE AMONG THEMSELVES.—"THE SUGAN EARL"—HE IS ATTACKED BY THE ENGLISH CAVALRY, AND OBLIGED TO FLY.—JAMES FITZ-GERALD SENT TO IRELAND—HIS WELCOME—HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND, AND DEATH.—DECLINING POWER OF THE IRISH CHIEFS.—SUCCESS OF MOUNTJOY'S OPERATIONS.—EXPENSIVENESS OF THE IRISH WARS.—FAILURE OF A SCHEME FOR DEBASING THE COIN OF IRELAND.—THE LORD PRESIDENT AUTHORISED TO GRANT AN AMNESTY TO THE REBELS.—THE WHITE KNIGHT.—CAPTURE OF THE SUGAN EARL.—THE LORD DEPUTY'S MARCH INTO THE NORTH.—CONFLICT WITH THE NATIVES.—FATE OF THE SUGAN EARL.—FLORENCE M<sup>C</sup>CARTHY.—RUMOURS OF A SPANISH INVASION.—ARRIVAL OF THE INVADERS.—REINFORCEMENTS FROM ENGLAND.—SIEGE OF KINSALE.—REBELLION IN MUNSTER.—MOVEMENTS IN TYRONE.—DIFFICULTIES OF THE ENGLISH.—GENERAL ACTION.—DEFEAT OF THE REBELS.—PARLEY WITH THE SPANISH COMMANDER.—ESCAPE OF O'DONELL TO SPAIN.—REMARKS ON THE POLICY OF DON JUAN—HIS OPINION OF THE IRISH.—HONOUR PAID TO O'DONELL IN

SPAIN.—THE LORD DEPUTY'S MARCH INTO THE NORTH.—CONFLAGRATION OF TYRONE'S MANSION.—THE WAR IN MUNSTER.—TAKING OF DUNBOY CASTLE.—IRISH ENTHUSIASM.—DESPERATE ENCOUNTER.—DEATH OF O'DONELL IN SPAIN.—GENERAL DESIRE OF PEACE.—SUBMISSION OF TYRONE.—DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

AMONG the instructions to Sir John Perrot, now appointed lord deputy (A. D. 1584), he was required, as the instrument expresses it, to consider "how Munster may be repeopled, and how the forfeited lands in Ireland may be disposed of to the advantage of queen and subject." To record the successes of daring injustice, forms, in general, a large portion of the historian's task. But, in the instances of the two great forfeitures to which Ireland, in this reign, was subjected, their utter failure in accomplishing their object was almost as remarkable as the principle on which they were founded was demoralising and cruel.

Such was the tranquillity into which the whole kingdom now subsided, that the queen, counting on a long continuance of this quiet, had recalled numbers of her officers and soldiers from Ireland, and sent them to serve in the Low Countries. To Sir John Perrot, whose strict but equitable conduct as governor had won for him the confidence of all classes, the office of lord deputy was again entrusted; and, with the exception of a family outbreak among the ever-restless clan of the Burkes, the calm that prevailed continued for some time unbroken. But a new claimant of political distinction had now begun to attract attention; one who was destined, not only to rally round him the hearts of his fellow-countrymen, but to show for once to the world an instance of Irishmen conquering in their own cause.

This remarkable man, Hugh O'Neill, was the son of the late Mathew, baron of Dungannon; and being, by the law of English descent, the immediate successor of his father, was thereby entitled to the earldom of Tyrone. In the late wars against Desmond, he had commanded a troop of horse in the

queen's service; and, having distinguished himself highly as a soldier, was, at the time we have reached (A. D. 1587), petitioning the Irish parliament to be allowed to assume the title and take the possessions of the earldom of Tyrone.

While thus affecting to look to a peerage as the sole object of his ambition, he was already contemplating purposes of a far higher aim, nor yet had made up his mind as to which of the two paths, now opening before him, he should commit himself;—whether, as a peer, he should still court distinction only through English channels; or whether, placing himself at the head of his powerful sept, he should renounce the hollow loyalty he had hitherto professed, and assume openly the national title of The O'Neill. Meanwhile, the position he held between the two rival parties was such as to enable him, without much apparent duplicity, to turn to account the credit and influence he had acquired with both. The English authorities were proud to claim, as attached to their service, an officer known to stand so high with his own fellow-countrymen; and the chieftains of Ulster, then the stronghold of Irish patriotism, forgave willingly his seeming adhesion to the cause of the enemy, as long as they saw reason to believe that his heart was wholly theirs. But, however favourable to his ambitious views was this double aspect of his political character, it naturally fostered in him those habits of evasion and duplicity which, notwithstanding his great public merits, brought much discredit on his after career.

The rank and title of the earldom of Tyrone were, without much difficulty, conceded to him; but the possessions, he was told, must depend on the pleasure of the crown. He therefore resolved to appeal to the queen; and, repairing immediately to the English court, succeeded, by his address, frank manner, and well-disguised subtlety, in obtaining the object of his petition. The princely inheritance of his ancient family was restored to him, without any reservation of rent;

and, among the conditions required of him, the only one that savoured at all of distrust, was that which stipulated that he should claim no authority over the lords bordering on his country.

The first occasion that seems to have awakened any serious doubts of the earl's loyalty, occurred at that memorable crisis when, the Spanish armada having been dispersed by a violent tempest, seventeen of the ships were wrecked on the coast of Ulster. It was then asserted, and generally believed, that the earl of Tyrone, while affording shelter to the shipwrecked strangers, had appealed to their sympathies in favour of his countrymen, and had received from them a promise of Spanish aid.

In the spring of this year (A. D. 1588), that able and honest statesman, Sir John Perrot, was, at his own earnest desire, recalled to England. Disliked and thwarted by the queen, and rendered unpopular among the English by his honest reforms, he found the natives, as he owned, the most manageable of the three parties with whom he had to deal. He had let fall, as it appears, some expressions disrespectful to the queen and her ministers, and though accompanied to the shore, when he embarked, by the tears and plaudits of a grateful people,—grateful for having been treated with common justice,—he went to encounter the frowns of a sovereign who, whatever her general claims to admiration, was assuredly feminine in nought but her vanity and caprices. After the lapse of two or three years, a secret inquiry was made into his conduct while ruler of Ireland, thus enabling all whom he had thwarted in their malpractices to take revenge, by furnishing materials for his ruin. Though obviously innocent of the crime of treason, he was kept for six months with the sentence of death still hanging over him, and then died of a broken heart in the Tower.

Not long before Perrot's departure from Dublin, he left his



sanction, unluckily, to a stratagem no less impolitic than it was mean and treacherous, for the purpose of seizing young Hugh O'Donell, the son of the great northern chief, and keeping him as a hostage in the hands of the government for his father's fidelity. To effect this purpose, orders were given that a ship, laden with Spanish wines, should take its course up, by Donegal, to O'Donell's country; and there, anchoring near the chief's castle, should invite young Hugh and some other youths of high rank, who were then his visitors, to come on board. The object of this scheme was to tempt O'Donell to indulge freely in this foreign beverage, so as to render him a helpless victim in their hands; and no sooner was their purpose effected, than the hatches were shut down, the sails spread to the breeze, and the youth and his two companions, the sons of Shane O'Neill, were conveyed prisoners to Dublin. For more than three years the young O'Donell was kept cruelly in this state of bondage, during which the hatred he had been early taught to feel towards England took deeper root in his young heart and memory; nor was it long before Red Hugh—for so he was called, from a natural mark he bore from his youth—succeeded in earning for himself a name which not only graces his country's history, but still lives freshly in the popular tales of her romance.

The feeling of gratitude the queen had inspired in Tyrone by her late gracious act in restoring to him his "country,"—for so the vast estates of the great Irish lords had hitherto been styled,—was much disturbed on finding that the innovation, adopted from England, of forming the countries into shires, and then subdividing them into baronies, was about to be imposed upon Tyrone. So much loathed, indeed, by the natives was the office of sheriff, that at the Treaty, near Duncalk, a few years after, exemption from sheriffs was the general wish and prayer.

But a source of disturbance far more serious to him, as ex

tending its influence over his future fate, was a marriage which he now formed with a sister of Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of Ireland. The charge made against him by Bagnal was, that he had carried away his sister, and forced her to marry him while his rightful wife was still living. But Tyrone, repelling this charge, declared that he had been legally divorced from the first wife, and then married, with her own free consent, the other. The rankling effects of this family feud, between the two rival leaders, continued to mark every stage of their clashing careers.

Thus far Tyrone had continued to profess loyalty to the queen; and it is not improbable that, down to this period, his professions may have been sincere. But the onward impulse his ambition had received could not easily now be checked; and his cause had lately received an important accession in one who brought to it all that sincerity and singleness of purpose in which he himself was so strangely deficient. This new ally was young O'Donell, or Red Hugh, who, having escaped from his long confinement in Dublin Castle, by letting himself down, on a dark night, from the battlements, had, after a variety of romantic adventures, reached safely his own home on the hills of the north, where a welcome from parents and friends, to whom he had long been as one lost, fondly awaited him. With his father's full consent, and amidst the acclamations of all his tribe, he was raised to the chieftainship of Tyrconnel, and solemnly invested with that high rank, according to the old traditional ceremonies.\*

The coalition now formed by Tyrone with this young chief appeared to promise a more trustworthy spirit in his own dealings. But the petty ambition of making both parties his dupes still possessed him; and he wrote a letter, not long after, to the English council, saying that he had "brought over O'Donell to the queen's allegiance, and would persuade

\* Relat. Giraldin.

him to loyalty;" but, "in case he should prove obstinate, would serve against him as an enemy." The natural consequences of such double-dealing soon showed themselves. O'Donell, informed of this new artifice, launched a menace at the unscrupulous earl, that "if he did not declare himself openly, he would treat *him* at once as an enemy."

At length, from motives not very elevated—however important and popular were the results—Tyrone assumed a tone and attitude somewhat more worthy of his great cause and himself. It appeared that the lord deputy, Sir William Russell, had let fall, in public, some threatening language against the earl, which, whatever may have been its import, awakened in him serious alarms for his own safety, and led him, for the first time as he afterwards owned, to adopt the decisive policy of taking his stand, along with O'Donell and the other lords of the north, in joint defence of their honours, liberties, and estates.

Of his sincerity in this resolution there seemed to be no grounds for harbouring a doubt. But as any effort of the Irish themselves, unbacked by foreign aid, would but bring upon them further oppression and suffering, it was deemed necessary to wait the supplies, both of men and money, which had been promised to them as well from Italy as from Spain. Fixing his residence now at Dungannon, the earl affected to turn his attention from public affairs, and to employ himself solely with his own territory. But although deferred, his main purpose was not forgotten, nor his subtle schemes permitted to slumber. Either at this time, or somewhat earlier, he had been allowed, for the purpose of preserving the peace of his county, a guard of six hundred foot-soldiers; and according as these became trained in military exercises, he dismissed them and levied others in their place. He was thus enabled, without exciting much suspicion, to spread a knowledge of the use of arms among the most trusty of his vassals and followers. It

was also his habit to import occasionally large quantities of lead, wherewith to cover, as he pretended, the battlements of his new castle at Dungannon, but, in reality, to furnish materials for bullets.

Notwithstanding the insidious calm that now ensued, it was manifest to all parties that a trying crisis was near at hand. So alarming to the queen's ministers appeared the aspect of public affairs, that the state of Ireland was one of the reasons most strongly urged by them in recommending the speedy recall of all the troops then serving abroad; and Sir John Norris, who had much distinguished himself in Brittany, was sent (A. D. 1597), with the novel title of Lord General, to take the command of all the forces in Ireland.

Little daunted by these preparations, Tyrone again put forth his strength with renewed spirit; and, knowing how potent in such a cause are old national recollections, began at once by the bold and defying step of proclaiming himself The O'Neill.\*

On the death, as we have seen, of his kinsman, the formidable Shane, this national title, which, as borne by him, had long been regarded as the badge and rallying-point of rebellion, was by the law pronounced to be treasonable; and so much did the public, at least of the Pale, concur with this act of the law, that Tyrone himself, when suing to the queen for his peerage, affected to adopt the same views, and gravely assured her that "nothing could proceed rightly or peaceably until she had put down the barbarous title of 'The O'Neill.'" Notwithstanding this strong declaration, he now not only assumed this forbidden distinction, but declared with national pride, that he would "rather be O'Neill of Ulster than king of Spain."

Learning that fresh supplies of troops were daily expected,

\* *Generalem fœderis sui et belli ducem agnoscunt eum et honorant.*—*Pet. Lombard.*

more especially 2,000 old soldiers who had served under Sir John Norris, in Brittany, and finding likewise that English garrisons were about to be placed in some of the castles commanding his territory, he saw that his moment for taking the field had now arrived; and having entered into alliance with various branches of the O'Neills, Magennises, Mac Mahons, and Mac Donells, was appointed by them commander-in-chief of their joint forces. Being thus supported, he felt himself emboldened to strike the first blow, and suddenly assailed the fort of Portmor, which stood upon the verge of the river Blackwater, on the side leading to the county of Tyrone. Having razed this fort and burnt down the bridge, he marched his force with banners displayed into the Brenny, and commenced the siege of Monaghan, the castle of which was garrisoned by the English. On learning these rapid events, Marshal Bagnall, at the head of 1,500 foot and 250 horse, marched from Newry and encamped at Eight-mile church; from whence, on the following day, he forced his way, after a conflict that lasted three hours, through a narrow pass which Tyrone had fortified, and defended it in person. Proceeding from thence to Monaghan, the English army compelled the insurgents, after some resistance, to raise the siege of that town. Having effected this object, and reinforced the garrison in the castle of Monaghan, they commenced their march homewards. But in the meanwhile Mac Guire and Mac Mahon had joined their forces with the corps of Tyrone, forming altogether a body of 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, and posted on each side of a valley or hollow through which the English had to pass. Here a conflict ensued in which ninety of the English were wounded and twenty slain; while of the insurgents about 300 fell in the battle.

Though thus engaged in actual hostilities, the earl, trusting in the forbearance and favour so often extended to him, wrote letters to the earl of Ormond and Sir John Norris, re-



questing them to plead with the queen for his pardon. This art of evading by prompt submission the punishment due to his successive outbreaks, was one in which he afterwards became an adept. But the audacity he had now exhibited was thought to call for severe measures; and a proclamation was accordingly issued, denouncing Tyrone, O'Donell, Mac Guire and others, as traitors. At the same time the English troops advanced threateningly to Armagh; on which the earl withdrew the forces he had stationed near Portmor, burnt the town of Dungannon, set fire to the surrounding villages, and then retired into the recesses of his deep woods.

In addition to these open and notorious offences, it was now discovered that he had lately written to the king of Spain, making him an offer of the kingdom of Ireland for a supply of 3,000 men and a certain sum of money. Such was the queen's indignation on learning this intelligence, that she declared "she would never again pardon the earl;" and this resolution, says a learned chronicler of her reign, she kept to her dying day. But such was by no means the fact. Although his repeated breaches of faith had rendered hopeless all reliance on his pledges and promises, he was far too strong to be treated with rigour; and there concurred at this juncture, as well abroad as at home, a number of circumstances and influences which favoured peculiarly the views and objects of a popular champion of Ireland.

The same sanguine and onward feeling had spread itself among the natives in general, and was much increased by the skill and confidence in the use of arms which they had been gradually for some years acquiring. The rash mistake of putting into the hands of such a people so sure a means of yet redeeming themselves from bondage, is by our historians imputed chiefly to Sir John Perrot, who, always anxious to lighten the public expenditure,—a main object with his royal mistress,—armed the Irish of Ulster against the Island-Scots, and thus

familiarised them with military service. In the same manner the present lord deputy, Sir William Fitz William, had lately taken a great number of natives into the army, and sent others into the Low Countries, where, says the chronicler, "they became excellent soldiers, and returned to be stout rebels." The instances of Irishmen serving in the English ranks, had, at this time, become very common; and on a late occasion, when the lord deputy marched against the Ulster insurgents, two Irish chieftains bore alternately his military ensign, O'Molloy on the first day, and O'Hanlon, the hereditary standard-bearer of Ulster, on the second.

Unwilling as the queen naturally felt to stoop again to the humiliation of making terms with the rebel earl, the serious danger with which Ireland was threatened by the continuance of the strife in Ulster, left her no other alternative, and she was again compelled to enter into conditions with the insurgent chiefs. The danger that at this moment most alarmed her, was the reduced state of the English force; more especially as that of the insurgents was fast increasing, and now amounted, in Ulster alone, to 7,250 men.

After a truce of about two months, employed in hearing the complaints of the chiefs, and receiving their submissions, a conference was held to settle all contested points, and finally a commission was entrusted to Sir Henry Wallop, "treasurer at wars," and Sir Robert Gardener, chief justice of Ireland, to collect the general results of the whole inquiry, and submit them to the consideration of the queen.

Tyrone now (A. D. 1596) signed a most humble submission, and, to use his own strong language, "craved her majesty's mercy and pardon on the knees of his heart." Among the conditions demanded of him, the following were the most important;—that he should make his country a shire, and admit a sheriff; that he should rebuild Blackwater fort, dismiss all his forces, give in sufficient pledges, and pay whatever fine the

queen should think fit to impose. On the part of the chiefs, several demands, or rather stipulations, were likewise made, and among them was an important proviso for "the free exercise of religion."

In reference to this latter point, a writer of that period remarks, that "never before had this free exercise of religion been either punished or inquired after."\* That such was the case with regard to Ireland, there can be no doubt; although, by most Catholic historians, the wars of Ireland, during this reign, have been represented as having originated almost solely in religious differences. But so far was religion from holding as yet this ascendant place, in their views, that at the time when Tyrone commenced his public career, some of the most powerful of the old Catholic nobility (without taking into account the declared apostates from the faith) were found arrayed on the side of loyalty and the queen. The facility, indeed, with which some of the great Irish lords, O'Neill, O'Brien, and others, acquiesced in the first steps of the Reformation, had set an example, which, though not very orthodox or dignified, continued for a long time its calming influence; nor was it till the period we have now reached, that religious strife began to extend its rage to Ireland, or first kindled up that war of creeds between the two races, by which both have been, almost equally, disgraced and demoralised.

In the spring of this year (A. D. 1597), Sir William Russell was recalled to England, and Thomas lord Borough † sent

\* Moryson.—We find in the fiercely Catholic O'Sullivan "a deplorable catalogue," as he styles it, of Irish lords and chieftains professing the Catholic religion, who, having compounded for their several established principalities, during the administration of Sir John Perrot, adhered faithfully to the royal interest, and fought against the pope, the king of Spain, and O'Sullivan himself in favour of a heretical queen. See, for some sensible remarks on this subject, the writings of Doctor O'Connor, under the name of Columbanus.

† The only circumstance at all memorable that connects itself with this lord's name is the doubt that exists as to the manner of spelling it;—some writing it *Burke*, while Camden makes it *Borough*, and the owner of the name himself wrote *Bourgh*.

as lord deputy, with additional powers, in his place. The fate of the gallant Sir John Norris, whose death occurred about this time, must not be suffered to pass unnoticed. Removed to Ireland from a sphere of action in which his services had been so distinguished as to rank him among the first captains of the time, he now found himself subjected to the will of the lord deputy, who, being invested with supreme authority, as well military as civil, not only treated his views and counsels with slight, but even ordered him away to Munster, to "look after his presidency, and not to stir from thence without leave." Disgusted and mortified by such treatment, this brave man pined away without any apparent disease or public mark of grief, and expired quietly \* in the arms of his brother, Sir Thomas, by whom he was succeeded in the government of Munster. One of the causes, it seems, of the disfavour into which he fell, was the friendly intercourse known to subsist between him and the earl of Tyrone,—a friendship the more generous on the part of Norris, as the rebel leader had mainly contributed to throw those obstacles in his path by which his views were all crossed, and his proud spirit broken.

The fort of Blackwater, commanding the passage into Tyrone's territory, and therefore an object of constant contention between the two parties, was at this time besieged by the insurgents; on hearing which the lord deputy marched to the relief of the fort, and by his mere appearance dispersed the rebels to their woods and fastnesses. But being ambitious of performing a feat which no lord deputy had ever before, it seems, attempted, that of reaching the chief's principal mansion, he continued his journey onward. Being seized, however, with illness on the way, he was taken back in his horse-litter to Newry, and there breathed his last.

\* The following is the high character which Camden gives of this able general:—

"Viri sane magnus, et inter maximos nostræ gentis hoc ævo duces celebrandus."

After much deliberation and reluctance, the queen consented to grant to Tyrone a free pardon on his own terms. But the hopes of aid from Spain, by which he had so frequently been beguiled, having again lately revived, he scorned to avail himself of his pardon; and renewing hostile measures, changed the siege of Blackwater fort into a blockade, and resolved to reduce it by famine. For two or three weeks the flesh of some horses they had in the fort, and the wild weeds they found in the ditch, formed their only means of subsistence; and they were driven almost to the last extremity, when marshal Sir Henry Bagnall, seeing the exigency to be most pressing, marched with the flower of the English army to their relief. On the part of Tyrone no less strenuous exertions were rapidly made, and the forces of horse and infantry amounted on each side to more than 5,000 men; the army of Bagnall being composed of veterans who had fought under Norris, in Brittany, together with the forces of the Pale, and some native septs allied with the English. To oppose this formidable force, the Irish leader had formed a junction with O'Donell, M'Guire, and M'William, this latter chief commanding a body of the troops of Connaught.

The deadly hatred which their family feud had engendered between the two leaders, lent additional impulse to their mutual onset in the field; and Tyrone, singling out his detested brother-in-law in the thick of the fight, directed against him the whole bent of his fury. The fate of the field hung suspended on the turn of their conflict. But the first charge decided all: for Bagnall fell by the hand of his antagonist; and the English troops, struck with panic by the loss of their leader, fled in confusion before the triumphant Tyrone. Maelmorra O'Reilly, an active auxiliary of the English, endeavoured repeatedly to rally the flying troops; and was, at last, slain in endeavouring to cover their retreat. Thirteen valiant captains and fifteen hundred soldiers fell in that short but de-



structive fight (A. D. 1598),—the most memorable for the numbers slain, on the part of the English, of any fought by them since their first landing in this realm.

Under any circumstances, a victory so brilliant and well-timed must have been hailed with exultation. But to the Irish banner success had long been a stranger, and its visit was therefore as welcome, as for ages it had been rare. Nor was it at home alone that the effect of this great victory of Beal-an-ath-a-buidh was felt. By foreign nations Tyrone was hailed as the deliverer of Ireland; from the pope, through the hands of the Spanish envoys,\* he received a number of indulgences, and, still more precious, a hallowed plume, said to have been “formed from the feathers of a phoenix.”

While abroad so strong an impression was produced by this great victory, the feeling aroused by it among the Irish themselves was such as to fill with serious alarm their English masters. All Ulster, says a contemporary witness, rose in arms; revolt spread throughout Connaught, and the rebels of Leinster swarmed into the Pale; while the English, shut up in their garrisons, so far from assailing the insurgents, lived in constant apprehension of being assailed themselves.

In this alarming state of affairs, the choice of a statesman to whom might be entrusted the rule of that realm at such a crisis, became a matter of serious and pressing consideration; and the person first thought of by the queen for this high trust, was Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who, although hitherto more ambitious of shining in literature than in arms, was, with a prescience fully confirmed by after events, selected by her majesty as, of all her court, the most fitly qualified for such a station. But the earl of Essex, the reigning favourite of the day, had set his heart on obtaining this office for himself; and at length succeeded not only in this object, but was invested with larger powers, and likewise furnished with more splendid

\* Martin de la Cerva, and Matthæo Oviedo, titular archbishop of Dublin.

allowances, than had ever before been conferred on any lord lieutenant (A. D. 1599).\*

But to these pompous preparations, the results of his government formed a most lamentable sequel. Rarely, if ever, indeed, had there been witnessed, in any military expedition, a more wretched contrast between the promises and the performances of its leader; or a wider departure in the field from the plans settled in the council. Provided with an army the largest that Ireland had ever witnessed on her shores,† consisting of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, his obvious policy, and at first his purpose, was to march directly against Tyrone, and grapple at once with the strength of the rebellion in its great source and centre, the north.

Instead of pursuing this course of policy at once, the boldest and most safe, he squandered both time and reputation on a march of parade into Munster, and the sole result of his mighty enterprise was the reduction of two castles, and the feigned submission of three native chiefs. When passing through Leinster, in his way back to Dublin, he was much harassed by the O'Moores, who made an attack upon his rear-guard, in which many of his men and several of his officers were killed; and, among the few traditional records we have of his visit, it is told that, from the quantity of plumes of feathers on which his soldiers were despoiled, the place of action long continued to be called the Pass of Plumes.

That this lord, though so inefficient as the leader of an army, was not wanting in sense or talent, is shown by some letters he wrote from Ireland at this period, which afford insights somewhat curious into the state of public feeling then in that kingdom. He wrote in a spirit indeed but too pro-

\* Moryson.

† "Thus," says Moryson, in describing the departure of Essex from London, "at the head of so strong an army as did ominate nothing but victory and triumphs, yet with a sunsh'ne that was as did ominate nothing but victory and triumphs, yet this lord too and his journey."

spective, when he announced in one of these letters to the queen, that, "if her majesty resolved to subdue the rebels by force, they were so many and so framed to be soldiers, that the war of force would be great, costly, and long."

Having wasted in worse than inaction three months of the summer, Essex, at length, compelled by an angry and bitter letter from the queen, commenced his march into Ulster; and, with an army much weakened by disease, and trembling at the very name of Tyrone, arrived on the banks of the Brenny. Here, on the borders of the chief's territory, he took up his position, while the earl and his numerous army were seen ranged on the opposite hills. But, instead of assuming a hostile attitude, the Irish leader, fully aware of the sort of personage he had to deal with, sent a messenger to request an interview with him, and named the Ford of Ballyclinch for the place of their meeting. To this proposal the viceroy readily assented; and, at the time appointed, both came, without any attendants, to hold their conference across the river. As soon as Essex appeared on the opposite bank, Tyrone, with a frank and soldierly feeling which his chivalrous adversary could well appreciate, spurred his horse into the river, to give him greeting, and so remained immersed in the water up to his knees during their conference.

The following day a truce was concluded between the two leaders which was to be renewed every six weeks during the winter, but might be broken on a fortnight's notice by either party. It is said, by English historians, that Tyrone at that time made humble submission to the viceroy. But for this statement there exist no grounds. Though well practised in such subterfuges, it was certainly in no submissive tone that he negotiated on this occasion; for, among the demands which he required to be transmitted to the queen, were,—that the Catholic worship should be tolerated; that the principal officers of state and the judges should be natives; that the O'Neill,

O'Donell, Desmond, and their associates, should enjoy the lands possessed by their ancestors for the last 200 years; and that one half of the army in Ireland should consist of natives.

If such a spoiled child of fortune as the queen's favourite could be reached or touched by mere reproof, the letter launched at him by his angry sovereign at this juncture might well awaken in him bodings of fall and ruin. In noticing the excuses he had made for his proceedings, she says, "If lack of numbers, if sickness of the army, be the causes, why was not the action undertaken when the army was in a better state? If winter approach, why were the summer months of July and August lost? If the spring was too severe, and the summer that followed otherwise spent, then must we surely conclude that none of the four quarters of the year will be in season for you." \* The earl having laid the blame of some public act upon his council, she reminds him how utterly powerless they had become in his hands—that "their subscriptions were but his echoes;" and then bitterly summing up the worth of his services as compared with their cost, she adds, "whosoever shall write the story of this year's action, must say that we have been at great charges to put our kingdom to hazard, and you have taken great pains to effect but perishing purposes."

On reading this letter, the first impulse of the angry viceroy was to embark a body of cavalry, land his force on the coast of Wales, and, hastening to London, drive all his enemies, political and personal, from the court. But, upon calmer consideration, this rash design was relinquished; and calling to mind the example of a former favourite, Leicester, who, when fallen in like manner under the shadow of the royal displeasure, was yet graciously restored to favour, he indulged in more cheering hopes; and, repairing immediately to England,

\* Letter of the Queen to the earl of Essex.—*Journal of Fynes Moryson.*

was on his knees at the feet of the queen before any one thought of his intention of coming.

The remainder of this lord's tragic story belongs solely to English history; but, in Elizabeth's mind, his name to the last was associated with Ireland; and among the subjects she chiefly talked of in her dying moments, were Essex and the Irish wars.

As Mountjoy had now no longer a court favourite to contend with, his merits were left to their own natural influence; and, with the approbation of the whole English community, he was raised to the office of lord deputy (A. D. 1599); while Sir George Carew, already practised in Irish warfare, was made lord president of Munster. In order to consult with the southern chiefs on this new state of affairs, Tyrone proceeded to Munster; and, zealously aided by James Fitz-Thomas, the titular earl of Desmond, and Florence MacCarthy, one of the most active and designing demagogues of the south, he left no scheme or effort untried to rouse and organize the rebel strength of that province. Nor, while thus wakening up the friends of the national cause, were they less strenuous in branding and shaming its enemies; and the lord Barry, who, although an accomplice in Desmond's rebellion, had now stood forth as a staunch partisan of the queen, was one of the objects of Tyrone's bitterest hate. To this lord's influence he attributed the loyalty by which the higher classes of Munster continued to be distinguished; and in a letter which he now addressed to him, dated from his camp, thus brings this charge: "You are the cause why all the nobility of the south, with each of whom you are linked either in affinity or consanguinity, have not joined together to shake off the yoke of heresy and tyranny, with which our souls and bodies are oppressed." \*

\* *Pacata Hibernia*.—Lord Barry in answer to this letter, declares that "her highness had never distrained him for matters of religion;" and adds, "though ye, by



While Tyrone was thus occupied in Munster, the new lord deputy, who saw that his sole hope of success lay in a complete change of the military policy of the government, proceeded at once, with a strength and decision till then little known in Irish affairs, to effect such changes and reforms as he deemed necessary for his general object. One of the causes of the ill success which had generally attended the English arms in Ireland, was the scattered and desultory nature of their warfare. This, like many other habits and practices of the Anglo-Irish, had been taught them by the native people; and, in adopting this light and partisan mode of warfare, the English had lost much of the strength and collectedness which their large masses of disciplined troops had before afforded them. To remedy this and other such sources of weakness, Mountjoy adopted now the scheme of planting garrisons throughout the whole country, not only as seats of military strength,\* but as forming links of communication between different parts of the kingdom; and, having garrisoned in this manner Dundalk, Ardee, Wells, and Carlingford, he left in charge with Sir Philip Lambert 1,000 men to guard the Pale, and hastened himself to seek out and encounter Tyrone.

Extensive and various as were the accomplishments which the new lord deputy was known to possess, it was still but on trust that his qualifications for the arduous post he was about to assume could be received. But his Irish opponent—himself a brave and accomplished soldier—soon saw how able and formidable was the new viceroy he had to contend with; and to add to his own difficulties, he had not yet, at the time when Mountjoy arrived, succeeded in getting back to his own terri-

some overweening imaginations, have declined from your dutiful allegiance unto her Highnesse, yet I have settled myselfe never to forsake her."

\* "The Irish," says Ware, "were thus attacked by a flying army, and surrounded by garrisons on every side."

tory, but was still, with the force he had brought from Ulster, and the aid of the rebels of the south, holding possession of the whole of the western parts of Munster. Perceiving the advantage that might be taken of the chief's position, thus cut off from his own resources, Mountjoy, assisted by the earl of Ormond, who then commanded in Munster, adopted all means of which they were masters to obstruct and render impossible his return. His only way, it was thought, of effecting his retreat, was either across the River Shannon—a passage which the earls of Thomond and Clanricarde might easily prevent, or else by the westward borders of the Pale, where, if Mountjoy occupied with his forces the towns of Athboy, Mullingar, Ballymore, and Athlone, it seemed to be impossible for the chief and his army to escape. Meanwhile, precautions were taken in every direction to intercept the great rebel's march. Orders were sent to the mayor of Limerick to station ships and boats to hinder his passage, and the mayor of Galway received similar instructions.

Such at the time was the general excitement caused by this event. But, notwithstanding all these efforts, the chief, by long and forced marches, with which the army under Ormond endeavoured in vain to keep pace, succeeded in reaching his own territory; and, so daring and wonderful was this feat considered—the chief having traversed in his march the whole length of the kingdom—that the queen, in a letter to the lord deputy, declared that “the terror of this proud attempt of Tyrone's to pass over the whole kingdom had stricken into the hearts of all her subjects.”

It was soon after this event that Sir George Carew, when on his way to assume the government of Munster, was invited by the earl of Ormond to attend a conference, about to be held by him near Kilkenny, with the young chief of the still powerful sept of the O'Moores. The troops by which each of the parties came accompanied, having been removed to some dis-

tance, the conference commenced between the earl and the young chief, and was continued for some time without leading to any result.\* But among the persons who came with O'Moore was a well-known Jesuit, named Archer, with whom Ormond fell into dispute on matters relating to religion, and getting irritated, went so far as to pronounce the Jesuit a traitor, who, "under the pretext of religion, was drawing her majesty's subjects into rebellion." While this angry scene was passing, the troops of O'Moore, which had taken their station in a neighbouring wood, began to emerge out of their covert, and, closing gradually around, mingled with the earl's company. Taking alarm at this threatening movement, the lord president called to Ormond to make his escape; but just as the earl was turning his horse for that purpose, he was seized by the chief's men and made prisoner. Almost at the same moment O'Moore had got in his grasp the lord president; but the earl of Thomond, who was well mounted, rushing vigorously upon him, compelled him to loose his hold, and the two lords both escaped with no other hurt than a slight wound from a pike which the earl of Thomond received in his back. Ormond remained with O'Moore a prisoner until the following June, when he was liberated on delivering hostages for the payment of £3,000.

It was remarked, as the reader may remember, by Sir John Perrot, that he found the native race of the land far more tractable than either the English or the Anglo-Irish; and lord Mountjoy, in writing to England, declared, with a similar feeling, that he found it "more difficult to govern the subjects than to suppress the rebels." After dwelling, indeed, on such scenes of strife and bloodshed, as form, in general, the fearful drama of Irish history, it is some relief to light upon any, even the slightest, incident with which better and kindlier feelings are found associated; and such was a banquet given

\* *Pacata Hibernia.*

at this time by the lord deputy in honour of St. George's Feast, where the guests were all rebel chiefs whom he had lately succeeded in conciliating, and whose vanity he was thus wisely enlisting on the side of order and power.\* Among these were some names of high renown in the annals of insurrection—Ever Mac-Cooly, chief of the Fearnly, O'Haulon, regal standard-bearer of Ulster, and Donald Spaniagh, of the Kavanaghs.

But to administer laws justly that are themselves wrong and unjust, is of course a hopeless endeavour. Power founded only on force—and such alone did the English exercise in Ireland—could only by force be maintained; and in the hands of a vigorous soldier, such as Mountjoy, this mode of governing was sure to be actively administered. But that mild and thoughtful humanity which should ever temper the soldier's fire was in him lamentably wanting; and the cruelties which he allowed to be perpetrated on the wretched people of Leix have entailed disgrace upon his name.

This numerous sept, which occupied the district called the Queen's County, though inhumanly visited in the reign of Mary by those two instruments of English vengeance, confiscation and the sword, had so far retrieved, in the course of time, their ruined condition, as to have become once more tranquil and thriving. The improved state into which their territory had then been brought is thus described by a cotemporary and eye-witness:—"It seemed incredible that by such inhabitants the grounds should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so numerous inhabited, and the highways and paths so well beaten." The writer accounts for this prosperous change, by adding that years had then elapsed "since the queen's troops had been among them." †

\* Ware. "His lordship," says Moryson, "kept St. George's feast, at Dublin, with solemn pomp, the captains bringing up his meat, and some of the colonels attending on his person at table."

† Moryson.

But, at the time we have now reached, this happy state of affairs had totally changed. The late violent act of the young chieftain O'Moore—encouraged secretly, it was surmised, by Ormond himself—lent a pretext for new inroads on that harassed people; and they were again subjected to one of those visitations of cruelty which left nothing to mark their course but desolation and silence. Among other instances of the wanton havoc thus perpetrated, the following is mentioned by the eye-witness already cited:—"Our captains, and, by their examples, the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels' corn, to the value of £10,000 and upward, the only means by which they were to live."

Although the lord deputy's vigorous scheme of planting garrisons throughout the kingdom had already been carried largely into effect, he had not yet succeeded in forcing the Ulster chief to admit a garrison at Lough Foyle. The first step, indeed, of Tyrone, when he found the government bent on carrying this object, was to repair to his own castle at Dunganannon, and call a meeting of the lords of the North, in order to consult on the means of resisting this threatened encroachment on their territory. But his effort proved wholly fruitless; a thousand veterans were sent from Dublin to occupy Lough Foyle, taking along with them an additional force, intended to garrison Ballyshannon.

A strong curb on the chief's movements was thus obtained, which lessened considerably his means of defence, as well as of aggression; while, at the same time, the new lord president, Sir George Carew, commenced that vigorous course of policy of which his own pen has transmitted to us so ample and interesting a record.\* We have seen that Tyrone, while engaged in arousing the spirit of Munster, was attended and aided by Florence Mac Carthy, and the titular earl of Desmond, styled most commonly the Sutan Earl, or Earl of

\* In his work entitled *Pecata Hibernia*.



Straw; and it was to these two adventurers that the rebels of Munster principally looked for the further advancement and ultimate triumph of their cause.

The state of affairs which arose naturally out of these circumstances, cannot be more aptly depicted than in the language of the lord president himself, who described the war then (A. D. 1600) raging around him, as "a monster with many heads;" and came to the conclusion (to use his own words) that "if the heads themselves could be set at variance, they would prove the most fit instruments to ruin one another." The avowed policy of thus embroiling the hapless natives among themselves, in order to weaken their means of resistance to the English, was in itself sufficiently unprincipled and selfish. But even still darker avowals have reached us from the same pen; and a scheme which Carew confesses himself to have planned for the assassination both of the Sугan Earl and his brother John, adds another to the numerous instances given in these pages of the slight account in which human life was held at that time, when standing in the way of any determined scheme of passion or self-will. By the merest chance, the earl and his brother were saved from the fate intended for them; and such was the horror with which they were haunted by this design, that they never after ventured to live together in one place, or even to appear at the head of their troops.

Although the time had now gone past when the Sугan Earl was generally regarded as "the most mighty and potent of all the Geraldines," still, from the affection felt by the people for the old title which he bore, and their recollection of his once princely possessions, he was looked up to by most of the natives as their legitimate lord and leader. But in assuming this memorable title, he had also drawn upon himself much of the misery that seemed the fate of his ill-starred house; and the active vigilance of the lord president and his numerous garrisons left to this brave but unlucky man scarcely a mo-

ment of safety or rest. Having been forced to fly from Kerry, he was on his way with a force of 600 men, hoping to reach in safety the strong fastness of Aherlow, when a small troop of English horse, sallying forth upon him from the garrison of Kilmallock, attacked so vigorously his main body, that after a short conflict he was forced to fly in confusion, leaving, says the chronicler, "sixty of his chiefest men and leaders dead on the field."

Notwithstanding this severe reverse, by which he was driven, with the few remains of his scattered force, to take refuge in the woods, so strong was the influence which the mere name of Desmond still exercised throughout Munster, that it was thought expedient, as a means of detaching from him his favourites and followers, to send over to Ireland James Fitz-Gerald, the young son of the great rebel earl, who from his infancy had been kept prisoner in the Tower. Carefully educated as a Protestant, and secluded from all political intrigue, this youth was regarded as uniting in his person so many safe claims to popularity as could hardly fail to combine the suffrages of both parties in his favour. Being, therefore, restored—though still but provisionally—to the earldom of Desmond, he was sent over to Ireland, and made his first public appearance in that ancient seat of his noble forefathers, Kilmallock. Nor did the greeting that hailed his entrance into that venerable town fall short of the most sanguine hopes that had been formed of his welcome.\*

Preparations having been made for the occasion by Sir George Thornton, who then commanded in Kilmallock, the young lord was escorted by a band of soldiers to that officer's house; while, as we are told, a "mighty concourse of people," filling the streets, doors, windows, and even the tops of the houses, gave him loud and re-echoed welcomes as he passed along. On the following day, however, which happened to be

Sunday, very different was the sort of reception which he had to encounter; when, instead of accompanying the people to mass, as they fully expected, he was seen directing his steps to the Protestant place of worship. Surprised and shocked to behold the son of the great earl of Desmond thus estranged from the faith of his fathers, they crowded around him, and in their own expressive language implored him not to desert his country's creed. But the young lord, who was as little acquainted with their language as with their religion, proceeded quietly, in the midst of their cries, to the Protestant church; and the lauded idol of the preceding evening sunk suddenly into an object of hatred, or rather contempt,—no further notice being from thenceforth taken of him than if he had been a perfect stranger. The only class who regarded his proceedings with any interest, were the undertakers or holders of the forfeited lands, who, in the event of his being restored to his inheritances, would have become his tenants, and paid their rents no longer to the crown, but to him. The sole service that, during his short and useless visit, he performed, was the recovery of Castlemain \* for the crown by his negotiations with Sir Thomas Oge, the constable. Having obtained the surrender of this fort, which was strongly opposed by Florence MacCarthy and the Sagan Earl, young Desmond returned to the English court, and there (as was strongly suspected, from poison) very soon after died.

The reign of Elizabeth had now entered the forty-fourth year of its long and memorable course; and so few and brief, during that period, had been the pauses from civil strife among the Irish, that a state of rebellion might almost have been regarded as the habitual and natural condition of that people. Nor, indeed, could better results have been expected from so

\* The ancient castle from which this town takes its name is said to have been built at the joint charge of MacCarthy More and one of the earls of Desmond as a place of defence between their respective frontiers.

near a neighbourhood between two nations, whose strange destiny it seems to remain through all ages as wholly alien to each other in character as in language, religion, and race. In foreign aid now lay the sole hope of the Irish people; but the succours long promised from Spain were still delayed: and whatever confidence they had hitherto felt in their own unaided efforts, was, by the failure of the late movements in Munster, almost entirely extinguished. As the lord deputy himself expressed it, the hope of Spanish aid was "the only fuel of this last blaze of rebellion;" and so successful had been the lord president in putting down all power of resistance, that, as he himself boasts, "not a single castle in Munster held out against the queen," and of all that army of rebels, no less than 7,000 strong, which had bid him defiance when he took the field, the sole remains now left unsubdued, the only "relics of rebellion" were those five fugitives, the Sugaun Earl and his brother John, the baron of Lixnaw, Pierce Lacy, and the Knight of the Valley.

Among those despotic privileges which the government of the Pale possessed, few were more abused, in their exercise, than that which enabled them wholly to ruin any too popular chief by despoiling him of his ancient title, and even possessions, and bestowing them upon his thanist, or elected heir. In this manner two of the most distinguished of the Irish lords, O'Donell and Maguire of Fermanagh, were now extruded from their rank and rights; while two pretenders, under the sanction of the English authorities, were allowed to usurp their stations. In these two instances, however, the power of ridicule a good deal repaired the wrong done by injustice; and the ready nicknames of "the Queen's O'Donell" and "the Queen's Maguire," applied to these titular chieftains, soon reduced them to their proper level. Among a people endowed with so lively a sense of ridicule, there is little danger of absurd injustice long maintaining its ground.

During the autumn of the year 1600, the Ulster chief had been nearly reduced to total inaction by the circle of garrisons which watched his movements in the north; and the lord deputy was thus enabled to apply his attention to the troubles of the Pale. In the districts of Kildare and Carlow he met with considerable resistance, and had a horse shot under him in a skirmish with the rebels. But having succeeded in quieting that quarter, he was enabled to attend to Ulster.

Meanwhile Tyrone was strongly entrenched in the neighbourhood of Armagh, and, amidst the bogs and fastnesses with which that country abounded, bade defiance to all Mountjoy's efforts to dislodge him from his strongholds. But though thus baffled by the brave patience and perseverance of his adversary, Mountjoy was able to take his revenge on the surrounding country, and at length, by the distribution and rapid movements of his force, succeeded in awing into submission "every corner but Tyrone." There, in his own unvanquished realm, where neither the law nor the lawyers of England had ever yet found their way, the Ulster chief took boldly his stand, resolving to await with patient hope the expected succours from Spain.

The great expense of her Irish warfare was to Elizabeth a constant source of care and annoyance; and the expedient to which she was now driven, of ordering a base coinage to be sent into Ireland, and there accepted as sterling money, brought disgrace alike on herself and her advisers. This scheme had been first recommended by Sir John Perrot, and for a reason which he deemed applicable only to Ireland. "As imbasings of coin," says this statesman, "like other such dangerous innovations, may breed harm in well-governed states, so in Ireland, being all out of order, it can do no harm at all." The two great objects of this bold and dishonest measure, were to relieve the queen's treasury, and bring distress and embarrassment upon the rebels; and in both these objects it doubtless



succeeded. But it also impoverished and spread discontent through the army; and, as a writer of those times remarks, "none but the treasurers and paymasters had cause to bless the authors of that invention."

In the spring of the present year (A. D. 1601), the Spanish monarch had raised a force of 5,000 men, with the view of employing them, according as circumstances might arise, either in the Low Countries or in Ireland; and such was the importance attached by him to the latter object, that "could he, for the time," as he declared, "work his purpose in Ireland, he would think the 5,000 men well bestowed, even though he should lose them all at the year's end." At the time we have reached, however, the utter failure of the late rebellion in Munster had very much lowered, in the eyes of Europe, the value of Irish alliance; and to this feeling it doubtless was owing, that, instead of the adequate aid from Spain which Tyrone had been taught to expect, there had reached him only two small ships, which, casting anchor in the bay of Kilbeg, near Donegal, conveyed to him some arms and ammunition, and likewise a supply of gold coin. This seasonable relief, which, although scanty, was to be followed, it seemed, by more, Tyrone shared with the confederates of Munster; and all being cheered and reanimated by even so trifling a succour, the chief and his followers were again full of spirit and hope.

In order to temper by some conciliatory measure the rigorous course which had been hitherto pursued, a letter was written by the queen to the lord president, giving him authority to grant an amnesty to all who sought her mercy, with the exception still of the five fugitives already excluded from forgiveness. However frequent among the Irish, in all times, have been acts of bloodshed and violence, deceit or treachery is rarely found among their vices; and even in the most lawless times, so sacred have they held the claims of hospitality, that men for whose heads large rewards had been publicly offered,

might sleep safely and trustingly under the poorest peasant's roof. Tyrone himself had been thus twice proclaimed; £2,000 having been offered to any man who should bring him in alive, and £1,000 to any one who should surrender him dead. Yet, large as was this bribe, "so much revered was he in the north," that, as an enemy of his assures us, "none could be induced to betray him."

Still more cordial, though far less founded on respect or deference, was the feeling entertained through Munster to the Sугan Earl. The recollections, still recent, of those days when his single war-cry called to the field eight thousand warriors, and, at the head of his brave Geraldines, he bade defiance to the power of England,—these remembrances, while strongly binding to him the hearts of his countrymen, brought also with them saddening contrasts, which but deepened the misery of his present state. After his total defeat and rout at Kilmallock, he contrived for a while to elude his pursuers by taking refuge among the glens and fastnesses of Aherlow, where he could change, as occasion required, from one lurking-place to another; and a poor harper, who had often sat at his feasts in happier days, was now the only one of all his former companions who ventured to afford him shelter. It was under this harper's roof that a party of soldiers, one night, nearly surprised him as he sat at supper with his host and hostess; and his mantle, which he left behind when taking flight, alone discovered to them that the earl had been of the party. Among those most active in pursuing him was the White Knight, once his intimate friend, and the most zealous adherent to his cause, but now compelled, and at the peril of his own "life and lands," to take part in this cruel pursuit.

Having, at length, received intimation that "the caitiff earl"—as Mountjoy bitterly styled him—had taken shelter in a cave in the mountain of Slewgor, and was there lurking, with his small party, the White Knight proceeded reluctantly to

perform his task. Coming to the mouth of the cavern, he called upon the earl in a loud voice to come forward and surrender himself; and had this lord, reduced and broken as he was, shown any weakness under such circumstances, it would have been but natural and pardonable. But, on the contrary, he showed himself worthy of the gallant race to which he belonged. "Presuming," says the English relater, "on the greatness of his quality, he came forward to the mouth of the cavern, assumed command over the whole party, and boldly ordered that the White Knight should be seized and secured. Instead of attending, however, to his command, they instantly disarmed and secured both himself and his foster-brother, and conducted them away to the castle of the knight, who received for this service £1,000.

Notwithstanding the active exertions of Mountjoy, in Ulster, the forts of Armagh and Portmor remained still in Tyrone's possession; and, towards the end of the month of May, the lord deputy departed from Dublin, with the view of recovering those forts, and finally establishing the English power in the north. Among the incidents, rather than exploits, which marked his progress, one or two may be selected as worthy of some notice. While encamped near the Blackwater, Mountjoy examined with much attention the different positions in that neighbourhood, and more especially the memorable field on which the flower of the English forces fell vanquished before Tyrone. Frequently, too, while the royal army lay here encamped, the rebel earl and his bold followers would show themselves from the opposite woods, and, by sounding trumpets and waving in the air old English banners, which they had kept as trophies of that great encounter, defied and mocked their self-confident foes.

A few days after, Mountjoy drew out a regiment of Irish, commanded by Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, and, passing the Blackwater, marched to Benburb, the old mansion of Shane

O'Neill, "which," says the writer of the account, "lay on the left hand of our camp, at the entrance of great woods. There our men," he adds, "made a stand in a fair green meadow, naving our camp and the plains behind them, and the wood on both sides and in front. The rebels drew in great multitudes to these woods; while we in the camp, being ourselves in safety, had the pleasure to enjoy the full view of a hot and long skirmish, our loose wings sometimes beating the rebels on all sides into the woods, and sometimes driven back by them to our colours in the midst of the meadow; and this skirmish continued, with like variety, for some hours."

A principal object of the lord deputy in this expedition was to discover a road or pass into Tyrone's territory; no guide having ever been tempted by any reward to betray that secret to the English. By cutting down, however, a broad pass through the depth of the woods, Mountjoy succeeded in reaching the river, where he resolved to build a fort, with a bridge; and from thence to Dungannon, the chieftain's mansion, was less than four miles, all level ground.

The sequel of the painful adventures of the Sугan Earl remains to be told. It was found that, in addition to his other acts of treason, he had written letters to the Spanish monarch, in the year 1599, assuring him that Nero, in his time, "was far inferior to the queen of England in cruelty;" and imploring aid in "money and munition," to enable the Irish to crush her power. Being indicted for treason at Cork, he was convicted, and condemned to be executed. But a motive of policy, which he himself suggested to the government, was the means of saving his life. He reminded them that as long as he lived, his brother John could not succeed to the title; and, as this appeared of the two the lesser danger, they permitted him to live.

About the same time a fate somewhat similar attended another notorious personage, Florence MacCarthy, who, having

been arrested, by the lord deputy's order, at Cork, was likewise committed to the Tower. Beginning his career more as a speculator than an actor in the general strife, MacCarthy was fitted by this neutral start for the double path that afterwards opened upon him. Following in the wake of either or any party, so long as they served his selfish purposes, he gained for a time acceptance with all; nor was it till the hollowness of his professions became notorious, that the delusion was fairly dissipated. About a year before his final fall this chief submitted to the lord president; and the abject terms of his submission show how low must have been the standard of self-respect among the gentry of those days. After pledging himself to send to the lord president occasional accounts of his brother rebels, he moreover engages to "do him all the best underhand services he possibly can."

The large reward held out by the queen for Tyrone's head had hitherto failed, in spite of the medley mob of adventurers he had around him, to induce a single desperate arm to aim at that chieftain's life. He was far more in danger, however, from another and more civilised quarter. In the month of August this year, an Englishman, whose name is not mentioned, went and offered to Sir Charles Davers, the new governor of Armagh, to take the life of Tyrone. He gave this officer no intimation as to the manner in which he intended to effect his purpose, nor required from him any assistance; and the only help he appears to have received was the leave given him, at his own request, by the governor, to pass by the English sentries when going, at night, into Tyrone's camp. When brought afterwards before the lord deputy, at Knockfergus, he acknowledged having once drawn his sword to kill the chief, and was pronounced to be of unsound mind, "though," as the lord deputy gravely added, "not the less fit on that account for such a purpose."

The reports which had long been current of the intention



of the Spanish court to make a descent, with a large force, on some part of the Irish coast, had been lately, with much confidence, revived; and so secretly had the preparations for this enterprise been conducted, that down to the moment of the actual landing of the invaders, conjecture was still kept alive as to the place of their destination.\* At Cork they would not be likely, it was thought, to land, as that place would not be tenable when they had got it; nor at Limerick, although in some points well fitted, from its being too far into the kingdom. The great facilities afforded by Galway—itsself a focus of rebellion—for acting in concert with the northern insurgents, inclined many to suppose that thither the Spanish invaders would turn their views; while some, much nearer the mark, conjectured that Waterford would be the port chosen, on account of “the goodly river, and the people’s affection to Spain.” In this state of uncertainty was the public mind, when, on the 22d of September, 1601, the lord deputy and the lord president, then sitting at council with the earl of Ormond, in Kilkenny, received intelligence, by the line of posts then newly established, that a Spanish fleet had made its appearance near the Old Head of Kinsale. Two days after arrived the further information, that the Spanish forces amounted to 5,000 men, were under the command of Don Juan D’Aguila, and had taken possession of the town of Kinsale, as well as of the castle of Rincoran, seated close upon the harbor. The commander of the invading force had gained much honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and brought with him the reputation of being one of the greatest soldiers of Spain. In the present instance such was his confidence in his own good fortune, that, shortly after his arrival, he sent back to Spain the greater part of his fleet.

The English authorities, though by rumours sufficiently warned of the event, were so ill prepared for its actual occur-

\* *Pacata Hibernia.*

rence, as to have at the time, by their own confession, "scarce so much powder as would serve for a good day's fight." But, with a commander so prompt and able as Mountjoy, this failure in foresight would not be long unredeemed; and the first object of serious contention between the two parties was the possession of the castle of Rincoran, which Don Juan had seized and garrisoned with upwards of 150 Spaniards and as many Irish. After a defence maintained with desperate perseverance for nearly four days, this important post was at length surrendered; its brave alfiere, or commandant, having required, as an essential condition, that he should be permitted to give up his sword to the lord deputy himself. It was during these events that a letter was addressed by the queen to Mountjoy, containing the following characteristic passage:—"Tell our army, from us, to make full account that every hundred of them will beat a thousand, and every thousand theirs doubled." Scarcely a fortnight elapsed from the date of this letter, when the English army marched towards Kinsale, and encamped within half a mile of the town.

Among the reinforcements now arriving, were thirteen ships laden with troops,—supposed, at first, to be Spanish; but, on nearer approach, found to be a force brought from England by that loyal lord the earl of Thomond, consisting of 1,000 foot, to be placed at Mountjoy's disposal, and 100 horse, under the command of the earl himself.

But among the leaders to whom, at this juncture, public attention was anxiously directed, none awakened so eager an interest, either at home or in foreign nations, as the great champion of the Irish people, Tyrone. To this lord, as well as to O'Donell, letters had been sent by the Spanish archbishop of Dublin, shortly after the arrival of his countrymen at Kinsale, entreating them earnestly to hasten their coming, and likewise to bring with them a supply of horses, of which the invaders were much in want. Some delay occurred in attend-

ing to this request; and the lord president, in one of his letters, more than insinuates that O'Donnell "had no inclination to hazard his troops in fight." But the delay of the chief's march was caused solely, as we learn from the president's own account, by violent floods of rain, which had rendered the passage of the mountain of Slewphelim wholly impracticable either by horse or carriage. In the course of the night, however, there came on a sudden and intense frost, of which O'Donnell promptly availed himself for the continuance of his march, and, though pursued with almost equal speed by the lord president, succeeded in distancing his pursuer; thus performing, without any rest, two-and-thirty Irish miles,—“the greatest march, with the encumbrance of carriage,” says the relater, “of which there exists any record.”

The arrival in Kinsale harbour of ten ships of war, under the command of admiral Sir Richard Levison, brought an accession of spirit and confidence to the besiegers; and, after a breach made in the town walls, which gave occasion to several brisk encounters, the town was summoned to surrender. But the answer of Don Juan was, that he “held the town, first, for Christ, and next for the king of Spain, and so would defend it, *contra tutti inimici*.”

This encouraging tone on the part of the Spaniards was further emboldened by the arrival, at Castlehaven, of six Spanish ships, bringing with them a large store of ordnance and ammunition, and soon to be followed, as was generally announced, by an equal amount of supplies.

The tranquil state to which Munster had been reduced by the stern and vigilant rule of the lord president, remained for some time undisturbed. But, with all his skill in coercion, the rebel spirit had become too powerful for even his practised hand to curb it; and between their abettors abroad and their ruthless masters at home, the hapless natives were at once lured and goaded into rebellion. Among the chances of

speedy deliverance which they now counted upon, the foremost was Tyrone's march into Munster. "We look hourly for Tyrone," says the lord deputy, in one of his despatches; and the same eager and watchful feeling kept the eyes of all parties directed towards the north. But though in Munster, as we have seen, a great many of the leading provincials had declared for the Spaniards, there were still numbers, even among the Catholics of that province, who rejected all fellowship with Spain, and many more who, awaiting the issue of the pending conflict, continued still neutral.

There was yet another class of persons to whom the excitement caused throughout Munster by the announcement of Tyrone's coming brought, for the time, occupation and livelihood,—men with little or no means, though many of them gentlemen by descent, who, although not soldiers, were professed swordsmen, and hired out their services as military adventurers to any person in any cause for which such aid might be required. That this strange vocation was not discountenanced by the higher powers, there exists no doubt, as we find the lord deputy earnestly advising his royal mistress to take some of these swordsmen into her service against Tyrone; and, to meet satisfactorily her accustomed objection on the score of expense, this knowing statesman suggests, that they "would spend but little of her majesty's victual," and might be paid in new base coin.

Meanwhile Tyrone continued his march, and having been joined on his way by Tyrrell and other insurgents of Leinster, arrived at length with his wearied forces in the vicinity of the besieged town. It had been always Mountjoy's opinion, that among the woods and fastnesses of his native north lay the true sphere of Tyrone's military genius, and that in the tactics which suit an open and level country he would be found less successful. That such was the chief's own conviction, appears through the whole of this last stage of his career

To the woods of Armagh, and the wild strengths of Lough-lurken, he now looked back, as the true bulwarks of his dominion, and at every step that further removed him from those regions felt a consciousness of diminished spirit and power.

Resolved to pursue, however, as far as circumstances would admit, his own accustomed system, the chief took possession of some bogs and fastnesses which lay in the rear of the English army, about six miles from Kinsale, and there, entrenching himself strongly, meant to await the favourable moment for action. How advantageous for his own purpose was the choice of position, may be judged from the manner in which it is complained of by his adversary, Mountjoy, who says, in describing the relative position of the three armies, "We find Tyrone lodged in woods and inaccessible strengths, very near the English camp; and his neighbourhood on the one side, and the Spaniards, in Kinsale, on the other, keep us at bay from proceeding in our approaches and battery."

Had the chief been left unthwarted to persevere in his own course, there appeared every prospect, it was thought, of his gaining another such victory as had been achieved by him, some years before, at the battle of the Blackwater. But the impatience of the Spanish commander, who, eager for immediate aid, however obtained, wrote constantly, urging Tyrone to attack the English camp; the self-sufficiency of the Spaniards, under Tyrrell, and the impetuous ardour of O'Donell, all united to overrule the Fabian counsels of the Ulster chief. At the very time, too, when he was surrendering to them his own views, so much distressed for want of provisions were Mountjoy's troops—owing to the neighbourhood of Tyrone, who had intercepted all his supplies—that, the very day before the battle, it had been resolved by him in council to send all his horse away from the camp.

On the night of the 23d of December, the lord deputy re



ceived the welcome intelligence, that Tyrone had broken up from his strong position, and was then on his march to join with the Spaniards in an attack on the English camp. The night, as described by persons who witnessed the whole scene, was rendered as clear almost as noon-day by constant flashes of lightning; and the English horsemen on their watch could see lights, as it seemed to them, burning at the points of their staves or spears. In the midst of these bewildering flashes, Tyrone's guides missed their way, and instead of arriving, as was expected, about midnight, did not reach the appointed place till break of day.

To describe in detail the confused battle which then ensued, were a needless trespass on the reader's patience. On the side of the Irish, Captain Tyrrel led the vanguard, in which were the 2,000 Spaniards who had larded at Castlehaven. Tyrone himself commanded the main body, or, as it was then most commonly called, the battle, and O'Donell the rear. In the short but momentous conflict which ensued, the forces of the Irish and their Spanish allies were totally defeated; and the first cause of the general panic which seized the native army, was the sudden flight and rout of their horse, which, being composed for the most part of gentry and heads of septs, rendered the contagion of such an example the more catching and fatal. The Irish, says a record of that day, "left dead on the field 1,200 bodies, besides those that were killed in two miles' chase."

While such is the report given by the English of the loss of "the enemy," the amount of the injury suffered by themselves was, they say, only one cornet killed, and three or four soldiers wounded; a disparity of loss not easily conceivable, though generally assumed, by English chroniclers, as the due balance of the amount of slaughter between their countrymen and the Irish. The earl of Clanricarde, who had highly distinguished himself in that day's action, having slain, as we

are told, hand to hand, twenty kerns, or foot soldiers, was knighted on the field for his deeds of prowess; and received soon after, through the lord-deputy, this gracious message from the queen: "Let Clanricarde know that we do most thankfully accept his endeavours."

Being thus left at Mountjoy's mercy, by the entire and hopeless rout of his Irish allies, the Spanish commander had no other alternative than to propose a parley; and the task of negotiating between the two parties having been entrusted to Sir William Godolphin, it was agreed, after several conferences, that the Spaniards then in possession of the towns of Kinsale, Baltimore, Castlehaven, and Beerhaven, should "surrender those places, and depart from the country."

Tyrone, himself severely wounded, and borne in a litter, had, together with the chief MacMahon, who was also wounded and helpless, succeeded in reaching the Blackwater; but, venturing to cross before the waters had fallen, lost not only most of his carriages, but 150 of his soldiers, who were drowned in the hurry of crossing. His ally, O'Donell, whose headlong ardour had done such injury to the people's cause, by urging them on prematurely to the late fatal battle, had now no other resource left than to make his escape to Spain; and in a list of the names of the Irish who sailed at this time from Castlehaven we find "O'Donell and his train."

Of the line of conduct pursued by Don Juan while in Ireland, some further account may not be thought superfluous. Having commenced, as we have seen, his operations by the absurd step of landing an army in the south, to assist a rebellion whose principal seat was in the north, he continued to follow up this strange blunder by a course of proceedings no less misplaced and preposterous. On the first coming of these strangers there was every prospect of friendly relations between them and the natives; "nor was this," says a writer of that day, "at all surprising, considering what power religion

and gold hath in the hearts of men,—both which the Spaniards brought with them into Ireland.”

But this friendly feeling survived not long the short noviciate of first acquaintance; and Don Juan soon transferred to the natives themselves all the hatred with which he had been taught to regard their English rulers. So little, too, did he deem it necessary to conceal this change of opinion, that, in his very first conference with Sir William Godolphin, he pronounced the Irish to be “not only weak and barbarous, but, as he feared, perfidious friends;” and the bitter sarcasms which he afterwards gave vent to, in stating his case to the English negotiator, however unjust towards his fallen and fugitive allies, may, for their oddity and humour, be thought worth preserving. “Presuming,” he said, “on their promise, that, in a few days, they would join, I expected long, in vain sustaining the brunt of the viceroy’s arms. I then saw these two counts take their stand, within two miles of Kinsale, reinforced with some companies of Spaniards, and every hour repeating their promise to join us in forcing your camps. After all this, we saw them at last broken with a handful of men, blown asunder into divers parts of the world—O’Donell into Spain, O’Neill to the furthest part of the north; so that now I find no such Counts *in rerum natura*.”

But, while the enemies of the Irish cause were indulging these scoffs at the two fugitive chiefs, there arrived from Spain such glowing accounts of the cordial welcome given to O’Donell in that country, as somewhat sobered the hostile triumph of the scoffers. On his landing in the Asturias, he was nobly received by the Conde Caracena, who “evermore,” it was said, “gave him the right hand, which he would not have done to the greatest duke in Spain.\*” On the following day he went to the church of St. James of Compostella, where he was received with much magnificence by the prelates, citizens, and

\* Relat. Giraldin.

religious persons; and, on learning his arrival, the Spanish monarch addressed a letter to the Conde Caracena, giving directions for his guest's reception, and briefly adverting to the affairs of Ireland. "It was," says the relater, "one of the most gracious letters that ever king directed; for by it was plainly shown, that he would endanger his kingdom to succour the Catholics of Ireland." \*

Being now free to turn his attention to the north, the lord deputy took the field in full force; and, marching his army through Dundalk and Armagh, to the Blackwater, built a bridge over that river, and likewise a fort close adjoining, which he called Charlemount, after his own Christian name. Here he planted a garrison of 150 men, under Sir Toby Caulfeild—an officer who had much distinguished himself in the Low Countries and in Spain, and who, many years after, was created Baron of Charlemount.

The place where they were encamped was about six miles from Dungannon; and, the country that lay between being open and level, they could see from their camp that both the town and Tyrone's mansion were on fire;—a sure, and to them joyful, sign that the chief's reign, in that realm of the O'Neills, was near at hand. The lord deputy accordingly despatched Sir Richard Moryson, with his regiment, to take possession of Dungannon. That the chief had long meditated this conflagration, appears highly probable; for, on the surrender shortly after to the lord deputy of the strong fort of Enishlanghen, which was seated in a vast bog, and only accessible through pathless woods, an immense store was found of plate and other valuables belonging to Tyrone himself and other lords of the north.

Among the many notable incidents that marked the viceroy's progress, was a visit to be paid to Tullagh Oge, the chief residence of the ancient clan of O'Hogan, where, after destroy-

\* Relat. Giraldin.

ing the corn of Tyrone and all the adjoining country, he rendered his visit still more hatefully memorable by breaking in pieces the Stone Chair, in which, from remote times, the successive sovereigns of Ulster had been inaugurated into the title of the O'Neill.\*

While thus insultingly the queen's representative was making his progress in the north, the war in Munster had lately received a fresh impulse from the efforts made by Daniel O'Sullivan, the lord of Beare and Bantry, to regain possession of the castle of Dunboy,† which had belonged from time immemorial to his family. This important post, which, with several others, had fallen into the hands of the Spanish general on his arrival, was afterwards claimed as one of those which he agreed to surrender on his capitulation, and was now on this ground about to be seized upon in the name of the queen. But the lord of Bantry, who acknowledged no right, in either the queen or the Spaniard, thus to wrest from him the "sole key," as he called it, "of his inheritance," resolved to possess himself of the castle before any surrender could be made.

Collecting, therefore, a large party of his followers, and being assisted also by the Jesuit Archer, the lord of Lixnaw, Captain Tyrrel, and others, he caused a hole to be made in the wall of the castle, through which about eighty of his people succeeded in effecting their entrance. Thus possessed of so strong a post, and receiving constantly assurance of aid from Spain, the small garrison, under the command of Richard MacGeoghegan, constable of the fort, prepared for a long and obstinate defence.

The lord president saw the importance of getting posses-

\* "Several stones, said to have been fragments of this royal chair, were in the glebe land belonging to the Rev. James Lowry, rector of Desert-Creagh, about the year 1768."—*Stuart's Armagh*.

† "This strong castle, upon an excellent haven, O'Sullivan kept for the king of Spain, having sixty warders with him at first, and three pieces of ordnance."



sion without delay of this valuable post, the only strength then left to the Spaniards in Ireland; and although, among others, the earl of Ormond had represented to him the risks of such an enterprise, he still, with that stern self-will which in him was generally justified by success, persisted in his first purpose. Towards the latter end of April he marched his army from Cork, and encamped the same evening at Owneboy, the very place where Tyrone fixed his quarters at the time when he suffered his great overthrow near Kinsale.

While all, on both sides, were preparing anxiously for their approaching struggle, the welcome intelligence reached the Irish that a Spanish ship had just arrived near Ardee, bringing supplies of the kind most wanted by them—arms and money; and having on board Owen M'Eggen, the titular bishop of Ross, who, besides being the bearer of cheering news, had likewise brought with him, for distribution among the insurgents, the sum of twelve thousand pounds. These timely reinforcements, as well as some recent successes gained by the garrison, had inspired in them fresh confidence; and letters, too, were received by them from anxious friends without the walls, which show to what a pitch Irish enthusiasm could then, as well as in our own days, be elevated. Thus, in a letter from James Archer to his brother Jesuit, Dominick Collins, at Dunboy, we find the following passage:—"In the meanwhile, whatever becomes of our delays or insufficiencies, be ye of heroical minds; for of such consequence is the keeping of that castle, that every one there shall surpass in deserts any of us here; and for noble valiant soldiers shall pass immortal throughout all ages to come;—and, for the better encouraging, let these words be read in their hearing." In another letter, addressed to the lord of Lixnaw, by John Anias, "a little before his execution," the writer says,—“My death satisfies former suspicions, and gives occasion hereafter to remember me; and, as I ever aspire to immortalise my

name upon the earth, so I would request you, by that ardent affection I had toward you in my life, you would honour my death by making mention of my name in the Register of your country."

This memorable siege owed much of its importance to the crisis at which it occurred, and the general impression felt abroad, that on its results depended the question whether Ireland was to belong to England or to Spain. Of the whole progress of the siege a detailed account has come down to us, if not from the pen of the lord president himself, at least from his dictation and authority, as none but an eye-witness could have described so distinctly such a succession of strange and stormy scenes. Our attention, however, must be confined to the last closing struggle, when, all offers of surrender having been rejected, the wretched garrison knew that they were to expect no quarter, and therefore fought with all the fury of despair.

From opposite turrets, besiegers and besieged cannonaded each other; every floor, or landing-place, was made a scene of murderous encounter; till, at length, driven before their assailants, the wretched garrison fled to the cellars beneath the vault of the castle. There all conflict ceased, for they were now at the mercy of their pursuers; and a battery was but waiting the signal to fire down among them into the cellars, when about forty of the destined victims cried aloud that they would surrender. Attending, at length, to this cry for mercy, several English officers went down to receive their submission; when MacGeoghegan, the constable, who lay on the floor mortally wounded, was seen to rise from thence slowly, and, having seized a lighted candle, was dragging himself over to an open barrel of gunpowder,—one of nine deposited in that part of the castle. This desperate attempt to blow up himself, the castle, and all within it, was prevented only by an English officer, named Power, who, springing forward, seized the con-

stable, in his arms, and there held him till, by one of the soldiers, he was slain within his grasp.

On the same day, fifty-eight of the ward, or garrison, were executed in the market-place; and of the whole number, amounting to 143 "selected fighting men," not a single one escaped; but all were either slain, executed, or buried among the ruins; and, to cite the words of the original narrator, "so obstinate and resolved a defence had never before been seen in this kingdom."

Such was the importance attached in Spain to the loss of this castle, that, although a large fleet was then assembled at Corunna, ready to sail with a force for Ireland, orders were sent by the Spanish court to Caracena, governor of Corunna, to countermand, till further instructions, all preparations for this purpose; and the chief, O'Donell, through whose ever-active zeal this powerful armament in aid of Ireland had been obtained, saw all his hopes again blighted and crushed. One effort more, however, was due, he felt, to the great cause in which he had so long laboured. He therefore resolved to appeal again to the Spanish monarch, and earnestly implored of him to send the promised succours. But when on his way to Valladolid, where the king kept his court, he was seized with sickness at the town of Simancas, within two leagues of that city, and there died, having then reached only his twenty-ninth year.\*

The immense power which Tyrone exercised for so many years—a sort of rebel reign—formed altogether a course of affairs which could not be paralleled in the history of any other country. Even his means and mode of living were, throughout a great part of his career, on a scale of lordly grandeur. Such was the natural wealth of the soil, that though the country was ill-inhabited, with little industry stirring, and large tracts of land all lying waste, the chief was yet able, it is said

\* Relst. Giraldin.

in the time of his wars, to raise upon Ulster no less princely a revenue than £80,000 a-year.

But this flow of success was now rapidly ebbing. After his total defeat at Kinsale, being wholly unable to make any stand against his enemies, he sought refuge, for a time, in Castle Roe, on the Bann; from whence, eluding still his pursuers, he escaped with a small body of infantry, and about sixty horse, to a fastness of great strength, near Lough Ern, named Gleann-cin-cein, or the remote Head of the Glen; and there entrenching his little army, resolved to await the turn of events. Meanwhile, so indefatigably did Mountjoy, and the active commanders under him, Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Henry Dockwra, and many others of high repute, continue to hunt, harass, and slaughter the unfortunate natives, that at length all resistance ceased, the sword and famine had done their work, and the march of the victors had nought to obstruct it but heaps of dying and dead. "We have left none," says an actor in this fearful scene, "to give us opposition, nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses."

While such was the course pursued towards the bulk of the natives, the wanton insults heaped on their gentry and great lords were even more deeply galling to them. The fate of MacMahon, the potent and popular lord of Monaghan, had given awful warning to his brother chiefs of the utter ruin resistance would bring upon them. In venturing to assert his right to his own property,—an offence not easily forgiven,—he had "dared," we are told, "to stand on high grounds;" and, for this sole offence, though he was otherwise suing for mercy, the lord deputy ransacked and laid waste his whole country.

To embroil the chieftains with each other, and thus weaken them by their own dissensions, was another of the arts of misrule in which English viceroys became proficient; and it may even be suspected, from some dark hints in a letter of the

queen's about this time, that those services were not always bloodless by which the new liegemen of the English crown now earned their adoption to that privilege: "None is to be pardoned," says the royal writer, "but upon service done; and not only upon those they particularly hated, but upon any other, according as they shall be directed."

But, notwithstanding that these and other such sources of strife were still in full activity, a thirst for peace had begun to show itself in all quarters, from the throne down to the rebel's hut. Tyrone himself had, through the medium of the lord deputy, made, in the early part of this year, some movements towards a mediation; and Mountjoy, though, as he owned, not liking to negotiate with Tyrone in any other way than with the sword, saw clearly that a moment was come when such interposition ought to be no longer delayed. The great difficulty hitherto felt by him and Cecil, in all their dealings with this formidable chief, was the strong repugnance expressed by the queen to receiving any suit in his favour whatsoever; her proud fear being, that she might expose herself to scorn, by making him an offer which he would not deign to accept; or, as her feeling is more fully described, in a letter from Cecil,— "Her majesty has the prejudice in her own thoughts, that he would insult her, when it came to the upshot, and that so her opening herself by offer of a pardon would return unto her a double scorn." By the skilful management, however, of Cecil and the lord deputy, this repugnance, though strong and stern, was at length surmounted. Tyrone surrendered himself, at Mellefont, to the queen's representative, and, having made humble submission on his knees, renounced the title of the O'Neill, abjured all dependence on foreign authority, and prayed for the restoration of his English rights and honours. In return, on the part of the queen, Mountjoy granted a full pardon to him and his followers, and promised that his lands and his former title should again be vested in him by a patent



from the crown. After the ceremony of the earl's submission, Mountjoy, accompanied by him, rode to Drogheda, and from thence, still leading him along, proceeded to Dublin. The day following that of his arrival, accounts were received of the queen's death; and, on hearing this intelligence, he was observed to shed tears; whether, as some supposed, from remembrance of her former kindness to him, or, as others viewed it, regret that he had not delayed a little longer his submission, and thus afforded himself a chance of better terms under the new sovereign.

## CHAPTER LII.

### JAMES.

THE ACCESSION OF JAMES WELCOMED IN IRELAND.—HOPES OF THE CATHOLIC PARTY.—THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT.—REFRACTORY CITIES OBLIGED TO SUBMIT TO THE ARMS OF MOUNTJOY.—PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL INDEMNITY AND OBLIVION.—TYRONE AND OTHERS PETITION FOR TOLERATION OF THEIR RELIGION.—MOUNTJOY RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—RECEPTION OF THE EARL OF TYRONE AND RODERICK O'DONELL BY THE KING.—PROCEEDINGS OF SIR GEORGE CAREW, THE KING'S DEPUTY.—RENEWAL OF THE ACTS OF SUPREMACY AND UNIFORMITY.—DELUSIVE HOPES OF THE CATHOLICS.—RIGOROUS MEASURES AGAINST THEM.—ABOLITION OF TANISTRY AND GAVELKIND.—SYSTEM OF ESPIONAGE EMPLOYED AGAINST TYRONE.—THE CHIEF'S INCREASING DIFFICULTIES.—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DONOGH O'CHANE AND TYRONE.—CHARGES AGAINST TYRONE.—VIOLENCE OF HIS CONDUCT.—HIS DESPERATION.—DECEPTIVE TRANQUILLITY OF THE COUNTRY.—SUSPECTED INTRIGUES OF TYRONE WITH THE COURT OF SPAIN.—DEPARTURE OF TYRONE AND TYRCONNEL FROM THE KINGDOM.—MYSTERY IN WHICH THIS EVENT IS INVOLVED.—CONDUCT OF TYRONE ON HIS DEPARTURE.—HIS UNBOUNDED INFLUENCE WITH THE CATHOLIC POWERS OF EUROPE.—ACCOMPLICES OF TYRONE.—SIR CAHIR O'DOHERTY.—SURRENDER TO HIM OF CULMORE FORT.—COLONIES IN IRELAND.—THEIR EFFECTS.—CONNECTION OF THE CITY OF LONDON WITH THESE COLONIES.—CHARACTER OF JAMES CONSIDERED IN CONNECTION WITH IRELAND.—INVIDIOUS DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE NATIVES.—PARLIAMENT SUMMONED IN IRELAND.—REMONSTRANCE OF THE LORDS OF THE PALE.—TRIAL OF STRENGTH OF THE OPPOSITE PARTIES.—DISGRACEFUL EXHIBITION OF PARTY FEELING.—SECESSION OF THE RECUSANT PARTY.—PREROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.—PROTOTYPE OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.—RECEPTION OF THE IRISH DELEGATES.—THEIR DISMISSAL.—COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.—BILL OF SUBSIDY.—COMPLYING SPIRIT OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.—THE CATHOLICS CONSENT TO THE ATTAINDER OF TYRONE AND HIS FELLOW-EXILES.—REPEAL OF OBNOXIOUS STATUTES.—ENFORCEMENT OF THE FINE FOR ABSENCE FROM CHURCH.—REMONSTRANCE OF THE CATHOLICS.—OPPRESSIVE CHARACTER AND ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF THE FINES LEVIED ON THE CATHOLICS.—INTOLERANCE OF DOCTOR USHER.—ARTICLES OF FAITH ISSUED BY HIM.—OBJECTS OF JAMES IN ESTABLISHING THE IRISH COLONIES.—HIS RAPACITY.—GREAT UNCERTAINTY OF TITLES TO LANDED PROPERTY IN IRELAND.—INQUIRY INTO THIS SUBJECT INSTITUTED.—OPPRESSIVE ACTS OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE ALLOTMENT OF FORFEITED LANDS.—CASE OF THE BYRNES OF WICKLOW.

In Ireland, the accession of James (A. D. 1603) was hailed as the opening of a new era of civil and religious peace. No longer subjected to a ruler of foreign origin, they now pledged their willing homage to a direct descendant of their own Milesian princes; and a strong hope was even entertained by them

that he would ere long declare his fidelity to the ancient faith. They called to mind his exceeding lenity towards the rebellious Catholic lords; the favours lavished by him upon Beaton, the popish archbishop of Glasgow, and his grateful feelings to all those who remained faithful to the queen his mother. These and other remembered proofs of the king's religious bias were now recalled, and fondly dwelt upon by his Irish subjects, as giving earnest of his future zeal in their holy cause; and the sovereign of Waterford, in writing to Mountjoy, to excuse himself and his brother townsmen for having restored their ancient worship, declared they had been induced to take that step by supposing the king to be a Roman Catholic. To this Mountjoy merely replied, that he "could not but marvel at their simplicity." \*

Presuming upon the example of Waterford, the people of Cashel, Clonmel, Limerick, and other cities, ventured to exercise their religion publicly, and even seized upon some churches for their own use. But the mere presence of such an army as Mountjoy's soon curbed these rash movements; and again the ancient churches of the land passed into the hands of foreigners and foes. It was not wholly, however, without some struggle, enough to mark their strong sense of the wrong done to them, that the people of Waterford, at length, surrendered the city. For, on Mountjoy arriving with his army at Grace-Dieu, within the liberties of Waterford, he found the gates closed against him; —the principal citizens all refusing to admit his army, on the plea that, by a charter of king John, they were exempt from quartering soldiers. A famous Jesuit also, Dr. White, a native of that city, came attended by a young Dominican friar, ‡ into the English camp; and, proceeding to the

\* "James's complaisance to Rome," says Reaumer, "arose much more from fear of Jesuitical intrigues and murders than from conviction of the necessity and utility of more general toleration."

† Moryson.

‡ The friars, says Cox, had the confidence to come in their habits, with the cruci-

lord deputy's tent, asserted boldly the right of the people to maintain their own religious views, without the sanction of any public authority,—“all of which,” says the relater, “his lordship did most learnedly confute.” The actual results, however, of this strange controversy were, that Mountjoy angrily rated the two theologians; threatened to “draw king James's sword and cut the charter of king John to pieces,” and finally warned them that, if compelled to enter the town by force, he would utterly destroy it, and “strew salt upon the ruins.”

In a similar manner, Cork, Clonmel, Limerick, and other refractory cities were, by the terror of Mountjoy's arms, reduced successively to submission; till, at length, a false and feverish peace, the work of the sword, was enforced throughout the whole kingdom. It was soon felt, however, how much more dangerous than open warfare were those suppressed, but still unquenched hostilities which civil dissension seldom fails to leave behind. With the view, therefore, of enlisting law on the side of peace—a rare event in the history of Irish legislation,—a Proclamation of General Indemnity and Oblivion was issued, which, though falling very far short of the results promised by its title, was yet of much use in calming the minds of the people, among whom, in that general confusion, there were few who had not, in some way or other, offended against the law. The same proclamation announced to the “Irishry,” who had heard but rarely such cheering words from the throne, that they were all received by the king into his immediate protection; and this “bred,” we are told, “such comfort and security in the hearts of the people, that thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace that ever was seen in Ireland.” \*

Taking courage from this state of affairs, Tyrone and the

fix exalted before them, and to tell the deputy that “the citizens of Waterford could not in conscience obey any prince that persecuted the catholic faith.”

\* Davies.

other great Irish lords felt themselves emboldened to petition the king for toleration of their religion. By James, however, it was deemed sufficient that the penal laws should not be executed, but remain, as they were then, in effect, suspended, by a connivance differing little from toleration. In such evasive and shifting expedients lay the whole secret of that gift of "king-craft" upon which this monarch so much prided himself; and which enabled him to become from thenceforth far more reserved in his concessions to the Irish.

Having planted a strong garrison in the town of Cork, given orders that the castle of Limerick should be fortified, and quietly settled all the other cities and towns of Munster, Mountjoy, who had been lately made lord lieutenant of Ireland, left Sir George Carew as the king's deputy during his absence, and, attended by the earl of Tyrone and Roderick O'Donell,—the latter the brother of the late chief, Red Hugh,—proceeded, laden with honours and praises, to England. The king received the two Irish lords with marks of favour, and Tyrone was confirmed in his titles and possessions; while O'Donell was created earl of Tyrconnel, and had a considerable estate in that territory bestowed upon him.

The favour thus graciously shown to these two popular chiefs diffused a general feeling of pleasure throughout Ulster, and served to prepare the minds of the people of that province for the great change they were about to undergo, by the introduction among them, for the first time, of the forms and principles of English law. It was during the government of Sir George Carew that this useful reform was commenced, and by him were made the first sheriffs ever appointed, in Tyrone and Tyrconnel. Shortly after, Carew sent thither Sir Edward Pelham and Sir John Davies, (the latter at that time celebrated, no less as a poet than as a lawyer,) who were the first judges of assize that ever sate in those countries; and though to the higher rank such visitors were somewhat distasteful, they were



hailed with welcome by the bulk of the natives, "than whom," says Sir John Davies himself, "there is no nation of people under the sun that doth better love equal and impartial justice."

How fallacious had been all those hopes with which the Catholics had looked to James, if not for approval, at least for tolerance of their worship, was now beginning to be made manifest. Instead of experiencing any remission or mitigation of their wrongs, they saw those two penal statutes, the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity, re-imposed upon them with refreshed rigour. By the former of these statutes,—one of the first-fruits of the Reformation,—an oath was required affirming the king's supremacy in all spiritual and ecclesiastical causes. Without taking this oath, no one could be preferred to any degree in a university, or plead at the bar, hold the office of magistrate, or sue out the livery of his lands. The new monarch, indeed, had been but a short time on the throne, when orders were sent by him to Dublin that the oath of supremacy should be administered to all Catholic lawyers and justices of peace, and all the laws against recusants put in strict execution. Accordingly, of sixteen aldermen and citizens of Dublin who had been summoned before the privy council, nine were censured in the castle-chamber; six of the aldermen were fined each one hundred pounds, the other three fifty pounds each, and they were all committed prisoners to the castle during the pleasure of the court. It was also ordered, about the same time, that none of the citizens should hold any office until they had conformed.\*

Notwithstanding these penal proceedings, the people still continued to feed their hopes with the fond and weak delusion that the king was at heart a Catholic. In the speech he made to his first parliament,—one of those odd and loquacious displays which had gained for him among his flatterers the title

\* Harris's History of the City of Dublin.

of "the British Solomon,"—he had, in speaking of the Church of Rome, styled it "the Mother Church;" and the tender leaning towards the old faith which this expression was thought to imply, awakened in the Catholics a fresh feeling of comfort and hope. In vain their adversaries reminded them, tauntingly, that on his first entrance into England, he proclaimed liberty to all prisoners, except "those confined for papistry or wilful murder." Whether from policy or self-delusion, they still continued to count confidently on his favour towards the ancient faith, and not only celebrated their rites openly,\* but began to repair their old abbeys and monasteries in several parts of the kingdom.

But not long were the people allowed to indulge in this wilful error. Threats soon got abroad (A. D. 1605) of yet sterner measures "to suppress the insolence of the papists;" and, shortly after, a proclamation was issued, commanding all Catholic priests to quit Ireland under the penalty of death. This rigorous measure filled with alarm the great English families of the Pale, who, strongly denying its legality, sent to the government a firm remonstrance on the subject. They also preferred a petition for freedom of religious worship, which happened to be presented to the council on the very day when they received intelligence of the gunpowder conspiracy. This circumstance being thought suspicious by the king's ministers, as indicating some understanding between the conspirators and the Catholics, the leading petitioners were all confined in the castle of Dublin; and their principal agent, Sir Patrick Barnewall, was sent to England and committed to the Tower.

In the same year, the ancient customs of Tanistry and Gavelkind were by judgment in the court of King's Bench

\* To such an extent had this impression gained ground, that a joint letter was addressed to the king by the archbishop of Dublin and the bishop of Meath, expressing their opinions of the dangerous attempts likely to be made to induce his majesty to favour the Romish religion.

abolished, and Irish estates made descendible according to the course of the common law. These changes in the law of tenure could not but influence much the relations and distribution of political power. Hitherto, patents for English tenures had been granted only to great lords and chieftains, whose vassals, subject to them alone, and still retaining their old laws and usages, were by no link of allegiance or service attached to the crown. This system of clanship was now abolished. The people in general surrendered their lands, and received them back as English tenures. The jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the chiefs was set aside, and their followers taken immediately under the protection of the crown. The land held in demesne by each chief was all that now was granted to him; while, upon the part occupied by his tenants, a certain rent was fixed, which he received in lieu of former exactions.

From this change it was sanguinely hoped that important benefits would be derived as well by the people as by the sovereign; and that the king would be thenceforth looked to as the protector of the whole community. But the result by no means realised these specious hopes. The change weakened, indeed, the dependence of the people on the higher classes, but did not the more strengthen their attachment to the crown. Meanwhile, the security lent to property by this new investiture led the measure to be generally welcomed by the landed interest, and their example was soon adopted by many of the trading towns and corporations, which surrendered their old titles, and received new charters from the crown.

The calming effect produced for a while, as well on the government as on the people of Ireland, by the kind and gracious reception given to Tyrone at the English court, had now nearly passed away; and again was revived, throughout the Pale, all that hatred to the chief himself, and envy of his large possessions, which had long marked him as a destined victim

and prey. In this persecution of the people's favourite, the government took, of course, an active part. Wherever he went his haunts were tracked by official spies,—a class of men whom we find described by the attorney-general of that day as being so expert in their odious calling that the harassed natives endeavoured in vain to elude their vigilance. "The spy," says Davies, "knows not only how they live, and what they do, but can even foresee what they purpose or intend to do;" and Tyrone himself was heard to complain, that so numerous "were the eyes watching over him, that he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof within a few hours afterwards."\*

But difficulties far more trying had now gathered around his path. The intrusion, for such he considered it, of English law into Ulster, had embarrassed very much his position, both territorial and political; and a lawsuit concerning lands, in which he was involved with Sir Donogh O'Chane, a powerful neighbouring chief, not only exposed, by its searching disclosures, the reduced state of his present resources, but showed how hollow had been the foundation of much of that structure of wealth and power which, through a long series of years, he had managed so marvellously to maintain.

The case in question between the two chiefs was submitted for judgment to the council chamber; and after taking into consideration the claims of the respective parties, it was found that by neither could any title to the inheritance in question be proved; that ever since the eleventh year of Elizabeth's reign, it had been vested in the actual possession of the crown; and that it was owing as much to the lands "lying in such remote parts," as to the "ignorance and negligence of officers," that O'Chane and his followers had been suffered to intrude thus on the royal possessions.†

\* Sir John Davies's Hist. Relat.

† The particulars of this case of O'Chane, which appears to have been one of those

The claim to these lands advanced by Tyrone was founded upon a grant from his grandfather, Con Baccagh. But it was discovered that in those lands and other parts of the disputed territory, Con Baccagh had only a chiefry of a certain number of cows, and was not owner of the land in demesne. It appeared, also, that by a statute of 11 Elizabeth the land in demesne had been settled in the crown, and had never since then been granted to the earl or any other subject. It was, therefore, open, of course, to Tyrone to sue by petition to the king for his chiefry, but to the possession of the lands themselves he had no colour of right whatever.

Among other charges brought against Tyrone in the course of this inquiry, he was accused of having possessed himself, in the range of his sweeping encroachments, of the greatest part of the bishopric of Derry;\* and, Donogh O'Chane having brought forward some written proofs of this charge, Tyrone violently, before the whole council, snatched the papers out of his hands. This intemperate conduct could not be suffered to pass unrebuked, and, at the ensuing meeting of the council, the offending chief made humble submission for the outrage.

This derangement of all his affairs, combined with the feeling, ever uppermost in his thoughts, of deadly hatred to the English name, decided Tyrone to abandon all hope except from foreign swords, and to lose no time in preparing his countrymen for the struggle. In all his efforts towards this object, the faithful Tyrconnel still continued his ever-watchful co-operator; nor was it long before they found in Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, a ready associate in their national enterprise. This young lord had early been schooled in bitter

difficulties that drove Tyrone to sudden flight, may be found in a letter from Sir John Davies to Salisbury, July 1, 1607.—S. P. O.

\* We find in the State Paper Office a letter of Tyrone to the king, asserting that the lands claimed by the bishop of Derry had always belonged to Tyrone's ancestors. See also letter from the lord-deputy to Salisbury, May 26, 1607.—S. P. O.



enmity to the English, having been brought up in the Tower by his mother, who shared voluntarily there her husband's imprisonment. It was at Maynooth, the ancient seat of the earls of Kildare, near Dublin, that these lords held the meetings at which they concerted their plans; and in the garden of the same mansion it was that Tyrconnel first proposed to Delvin to take a part in their daring designs.\* How painful to that noble family were the suspicions thus incurred by them, may be judged from a letter addressed to Salisbury, some time after, by Mabel, countess of Kildare, expressing her sorrow "that the late treasons should have been plotted at Maynooth," and strongly protesting her own innocence.

While thus secretly this plot was gathering, there reigned every where, through the whole realm, an appearance of perfect tranquillity. Tyrone, though thus anew engaged in conspiracy, still continued his social relations with the lord deputy; and, to judge of the state of the country from the account given of Munster by Sir John Davies, seldom had a calm so settled and promising prevailed throughout the kingdom. "It was quite a miracle," he says, "to perceive the quiet and conformity of the people."

But, in the midst of this general tranquillity, an event occurred which, as much from the mystery thrown around it as from its own intrinsic importance, spread alarm throughout the whole country; and the vigilance which it awakened in the ruling powers added considerably to the danger and difficulties of Tyrone. An anonymous letter, directed to Sir William Usher, clerk of the privy council, had lately been dropped at the door of the council chamber, mentioning a design then in contemplation for seizing the castle of Dublin and murdering the lord deputy;—these acts to be followed, as the letter stated, by a general revolt, assisted by Spanish forces. For this intelligence the English authorities were not wholly unpre-

\* Delvin's confession—taken 6th of November, 1607.

pared, having already, through various channels, both at home and abroad, received such accounts of Tyrone's practices with the court of Spain as rendered them aware of the stirrings of mischief in that quarter (A. D. 1607); and the secret informant by whom principally these warnings were conveyed, was the earl of Howth, a recent convert to the new creed.\*

We now approach the last stage of this remarkable man's public career. About three months after his submission in the council chamber, the people of Ireland heard with surprise, in which, soon after, all Europe joined, that Tyrone and Tyrconnel had suddenly departed from the kingdom, taking along with them their families and a large number of followers, and leaving no clue whatever to intimate why or whither they thus had fled. This sudden flight of the two popular chiefs produced, at the time, a strong sensation throughout Europe; and to Spain it was generally supposed they would bend their course, as that court had long encouraged their brave resistance to the power of England, and more than once had furnished them secretly with money. There had been rumours also abroad that the titular archbishop of Dublin, who enjoyed a pension from the Spanish monarch, had been sent from Lovaine to Spain to procure assistance for Tyrone. It was soon learned, however, that the fugitive lords had embarked, with their train of followers, at Rathmulla, a small town in the north of Ireland, and from thence set sail to the coast of France.

The cause and motives of this precipitate flight have ever since remained involved in mystery. In vain have efforts been made to find in contemporary writers some solution of the difficulty, and historian after historian have fruitlessly tried to supply, by mere conjecture, their want of evidence on the sub-

\* Letter from the lord-deputy Chichester to the earl of Salisbury, September 8th, 1607. There are also some curious details of this event, "drawn from sundry discourses had with the lord Howth between the 29th of June and 25th of August."—S. P. O.

ject. All this time, however, there have been lying, unnoticed, and apparently unknown, in the great repository of our State Papers, some letters written by Sir John Davies, at the very time of Tyrone's flight, and containing some curious details of that event, which help to clear away most of the mystery that hitherto surrounded it. That, at this time, the chief had again embarked in treasonable schemes, though still living on friendly terms with the lord deputy, these letters leave no room to doubt. But, broken down in his means and resources, and harassed by the numerous law-suits in which he was engaged, he saw all that structure of wealth and power which he had so marvellously conjured up, sinking rapidly from under his feet. Some of the many reverses and trials that now pressed upon his mind, and at length drove him into headlong flight, will be best described in Sir John Davies's own words. "It is certain," he says, "that Tyrone repines in his heart at the introduction of English government into his country, where, until his last submission, he ever lived like a free prince, or rather like an absolute tyrant. But now the law of England and the ministers thereof were shackles and hand-locks unto him; and the garrisons planted in his 'country' were as thorns in his side. Besides, to wrest any part of that land from him, which he hath heretofore held after the Irish manner, was as grievous to him as to pinch away the quick flesh from his body."

By which of these various vexations he was at length driven into headlong flight, does not very clearly appear; but the following is the strange account which Sir John Davies gives of the departure of the whole party:—

"The Saturday before (A. D. 1607), the earl Tyrone was with the lord deputy, at Slane, where he had spoken with his lordship, of his journey into England, and told him he would be there about the beginning of Michaelmas term, according to his majesty's directions. He took leave of the lord deputy

in a more sad and passionate manner than was usual with him. From thence he went to Mellifont and Garret Moore's house, where he wept abundantly, when he took his leave, giving a solemn farewell to every child and every servant in the house, which made them all marvel, because in general it was not his manner to use such compliments. On Monday he went to Dungarvon, where he rested two whole days, and on Wednesday night they say he travelled all night. It is likewise reported that the countess, his wife, being exceedingly weary, slipped down from her horse, and weeping, said 'she could go no further.' Whereupon the earl drew his sword, and swore a great oath, that 'he would kill her on the spot if she would not pass on with him, and put on a more cheerful countenance.' When the party, which consisted (men, women, and children) of fifty or sixty persons, arrived at Lough Foyle, it was found that their journey had not been so secret but that the governor there had notice of it, and sent to invite Tyrone and his son to dinner. Their haste, however, was such that they accepted not his courtesy, but hastened on to Rathmulla, a town on the west side of Lough Swilly, where the earl of Tyrconnel and his company met with them." From thence the whole party embarked, and landing on the coast of Normandy, proceeded through France to Brussels. Davies concludes his curious narrative with a few pregnant words, in which the difficulties that England had to contend with in conquering Tyrone are thus acknowledged with all the frankness of a generous foe:—"As for us that are here," he says, "we are glad to see the day wherein the countenance and majesty of the law and civil government hath banished Tyrone out of Ireland, which the best army in Europe, and the expense of two millions of sterling pounds, had not been able to bring to pass."

From the peculiar position held by this able man, as the authorised representative of the Irish people, such was the sta-

tion long maintained by him in Europe, that, in any league of the great Catholic powers against England, the name and influence of such an ally must naturally have ranked among their most useful resources. From this commanding, though strange and anomalous position, so suddenly did he now sink into utter oblivion, that of the remaining years of his life little certain is known. Fixing his residence at Rome, he received from the pope a pension of 100 crowns, and of 600 from the king of Spain; and while, on the hills of his native land, the threat of "the O'Neill is coming," still continued to be the war-cry of his countrymen, the chief himself, old, blind, and worn down by misfortune, dragged on the remainder of his wretched days, and died in the year 1616. A few years after, his son was assassinated at Brussels, and in him the most distinguished branch of the great Irish house of Hy-Nial became extinct.\*

Among those seized and imprisoned as having been accomplices in Tyrone's conspiracy, was the lord Delvin, who, having been committed to the castle of Dublin, was tried and condemned. But, through the negligence, or probably, collusion of the constable† of the castle, ropes were privately conveyed to him, by the help of which he descended the wall, and, a fleet horse being in readiness for him, reached safely the castle of Clochnacter. A proclamation was immediately issued for his apprehension, and Sir Richard Wingfield, marshal of the army, was sent in pursuit of him. But he continued to elude the marshal's force, and it was not till the fol-

\* See *Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen*, by Mr. James Wills. The view taken by this well-informed writer, of the whole course and character of Tyrone, is highly worthy of the attention of all inquirers into Irish history.

† "The negligence or corruption of an unworthy officer hath not only overthrown much of my labours, but brought new work upon me. For the constable of this castle, notwithstanding my charge, watch, and directions, hath suffered Delvin to escape. I can as yet learn no otherwise the manner of it but that it was by a rope of thirty yards, by which he passed over the wall, which is of great height." Letter from Lord Chichester, S. P. O. According to this account, Delvin fled to the mountains of Slewcarberle.



lowing year, that, presenting himself voluntarily before the king, he was not only pardoned, but graciously raised to the higher dignity of Westmeath.

As by the state it had been deemed expedient that the complaint made by the two fugitive lords of their having been persecuted for their religion, should be publicly denied, a proclamation was issued by the king, wherein he affirms that "they had not the least shadow of molestation, nor was there any purpose of proceeding against them in matters of religion;—their condition being to think murder no fault, marriage of no use, nor any man valiant that does not glory in rapine and oppression; and therefore 'twere unreasonable to trouble them for religion, before it could be perceived by their conversation that they had any. His majesty adds, "that in all matters of controversie they were favoured, except in such cases where they designed to tyrannise over their fellow-subjects; that they did stir up sedition and intestine rebellion in the kingdom, and sent their instruments (priests and others) to make offers to foreign states for their assistance; and that, under the condition of being made free from English government, they resolved also to comprehend the extirpation of all those subjects now remaining alive within that kingdom, formerly descended of English race."

The unwonted but welcome tranquillity which prevailed through the whole kingdom, after the flight of the two earls, was, in the spring of this year (A. D. 1608), interrupted by the insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Doherty, the young chief of Inishowen, then little past his twentieth year, in whom the hatred of England and Englishmen, so common among his countrymen, had lately been roused into fiercer activity by personal insults to himself. He had been accused by the lord deputy Chichester of having been privy to the late conspiracy of Tyrone; and, still more galling, Sir George Paulet, the governor of Derry, had, in some angry altercation with the young chief,

dishonoured him by a blow. But the revenge he took for these insults was bloody and treacherous. Under the guise of hospitality he invited the governor of Derry, his intended victim, and likewise Hart, the commandant of Culmore Fort, and his wife.

In the course of the feast the English officer was suddenly seized by armed men, who threatened him with death if he did not instantly surrender the fort. This the commander firmly refused; but, unfortunately, his wife was likewise in their power, and her they led to the gate of the fortress, conjuring her to use all her influence with the garrison, and likewise sternly reminding her that she had now no other choice left than either the death of her husband or the surrender of the place. The appeal of the wife, assisted doubtless by the fears of the besieged, effected easily the young chief's purpose. The lives of Hart and his wife were spared; but the garrison were instantly massacred; and, after this work of slaughter, Sir Cahir, at two o'clock in the morning, having been supplied at Culmore with artillery, arms, and ammunition, surprised and took by storm the town of Derry and its castle. Being flushed with all this success, and even flattered into a hope that Tyrone himself was coming with a large force to his relief,\* this youth maintained for five months after a brisk but desultory struggle; and was killed at last by an accidental shot, in a rencounter with the troops of marshal Wingfield. This battle, it may be remarked, affords a proof that the practice of employing Catholics in the English service, which, in the late queen's time, had been allowed to a great extent, was still permitted under the present monarch.

By the flight and outlawry of the two earls, and the total ruin of O'Doherty's party, no less than 800,000 English acres, comprising almost the whole of the six northern counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Coleraine, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh,

\* *Bellum statuit ducere usque ad adventum O'Neill.—Sullivan.*

had escheated to the crown. This unexpected accession of territory,—not the less welcome to the peaceful James for having been bloodlessly acquired—came now most seasonably, as helping to further the one great object of his present thoughts and dreams,—the plantation of a colony in Ulster. In the late reign an attempt had been made, but not successfully, to form such a settlement in this province; and James himself, in reforming his Scottish dominions, had sanguinely counted on making his Highlanders thrifty and sober by planting among them colonies from the more industrious countries.

But to the present enterprise he brought not only his own skill and experience, but the aid and counsel of all the most eminent men of that day. Even lord Bacon was formally called upon to lend assistance to the royal project. But, being ill versed in Irish affairs, this great man fell into some mistakes which we find thus gravely noticed by the official commentator:—"This is not so exact as the rest of lord Bacon's writings." Of all his assistants, however, by far the most useful was Sir Arthur Chichester, afterwards baron of Belfast, and at this time lord deputy. In addition to his general capacity and knowledge, few persons were so well acquainted with the fit territories to be planted, the condition and habits of the people, or the pretensions and expectations of the different chiefs. To the care of this officer, therefore, was wisely entrusted the completion of the royal plan.

However law may have sanctioned the principle upon which this act of spoliation was founded,—an act by which six out of the thirty-two counties of Ireland were indiscriminately proscribed and plundered,—it was wholly impossible that such sweeping injustice should not work out its own punishment, or that aught but corruption and demoralisation among the people should be the result of such rapacity on the part of their rulers.

According to the scheme devised finally for this settlement,

the lands to be planted were separated into three portions: the first or least portion containing 1,000 English acres; the second or middle portion, 1,500; and the third, 2,000 acres. Of these lots, the largest was reserved for undertakers and servitors of the crown—these servitors being of two sorts, either the great officers of state, or else rich adventurers from England. The second division or portion was allotted to servitors of the crown in Ireland, with permission to take either English or Irish tenants; and the third lot was distributed indiscriminately among the natives of the province.\*

The lively interest taken in this enterprise by the city of London, conduced considerably to its success. The corporation, having accepted of large grants in the county of Derry, —which from thenceforth received the title of London-Derry, —engaged to expend upon the plantation £20,000, and likewise to build the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine. For the protection of the infant colony, a military force was thought to be necessary; and, in order to enable the king to raise the money required for this purpose, a scheme was devised by Sir Anthony Shirley, which first led to the institution of the order of Baronets. This hereditary dignity was to be conferred by patent, at a fixed price, and for the support of the army in Ulster. The number created was not to exceed two hundred, all gentlemen of three descents, and in the actual possession of lands to the yearly value of £1,000.

To consider James, says a great historian,† in the most advantageous light, “we must take a view of him as the legislator of Ireland;” and one of the benefits really due to him in this capacity was the abolition of all those old laws and usages to which the great bulk of the Irish people had still eagerly clung. Besides the customs of Tanistry and Gavelkind, already mentioned as having been abolished by him, the

\* Harris's *Hibernica*.

† Hume.

whole system of the Brehon law, with all its exactions and uncouth usages, was now declared to be wholly annulled.

This important reform, by which the way was first thrown open for the diffusion of English law throughout all Ireland, forms an era in that country's civilisation. But far otherwise was it regarded by the people themselves, who saw in these enactments but the work of hands which had seldom before been ever raised except to harass and coerce them. Had the royal reformer, before he released them from the restraints of their own country's code, begun by initiating them in the use of another and better, the process of change would have been more gradual and safe, and the very transition would have been in itself a course of instruction. But, as if to render their state of outlawry complete, while thus forbidden the use of their own country's law, they were still shut out as aliens and enemies from the law of their masters.

The same suspicious and jealous feeling was manifested in the position assigned to the natives in this new settlement. The custom hitherto of the better classes was to fix their dwellings on the rich, open plains, leaving the natives to swarm, unwatched, in their rude fastnesses on the hills. But far more cautious was the plan adopted by these new colonists; for, while to the gentry were allotted lands upon the heights and in places of strength, the native settlers were lodged chiefly on the plains, where watchful eyes could be ever upon them.

Such was the state, comparatively tranquil, into which the country had subsided, when the lord deputy (A. D. 1613) deemed it expedient to hold a parliament, the first held in that kingdom during an interval of seven-and-twenty years; and likewise the first that extended the sphere of its representation beyond the small and exclusive limits of the English Pale.\*

\* See for some comments on James's parliament the speech delivered by the earl of Clare, in the Irish House of Lords, on his own motion for the Union. "I repeat,"



During that period important changes had taken place, and many new elements of strife and mischief had been introduced, among which the most active was the watchful rigour with which the penalties on recusant Catholics were enforced. From the new parliament measures even still harsher were dreaded; and late events, by increasing the power of the government, had added considerably to their means of coercion and oppression. Since last a house of commons had assembled in Dublin, seventeen new counties had been formed, and forty boroughs incorporated;\* and, in fabricating these boroughs, so little had either law or honesty been consulted, that most of them consisted of only a few scattered houses, built by the undertakers in Ulster.†

Against this mockery of legislation several of the lords of the Pale spiritedly remonstrated, complaining that they, the ancient nobility and gentry of the Pale, “were set at nought and disgraced by men lately raised to place and power; that the new boroughs had been incorporated with the most shameful partiality, and that their representatives were attorneys’

he says, “without incurring the hazard of contradiction, that Ireland never had any assembly which could be called a parliament until the reign of James I.”

We find in the “*Desiderata Curiosa Hibern.*” the following account of the opening of this parliament:—“There were the lord-deputy, with all the peers of the realm and the clergy, both bishops and archbishops, attired in scarlet robes very sumptuously, with sound of trumpets; the lord David Barry, viscount Buttevant, bearing the sword of state, and the earl of Thomond bearing the cap of maintenance; and after all these, the lord-deputy (now baron of Belfast) followed riding upon a most stately horse, himself attired in a rich robe of purple velvet, which the king’s majesty had sent him, having his train borne up by eight gentlemen of worth. They rode from the castle of Dublin to the cathedral church of St. Patrick to hear divine service and a sermon preached by the reverend father in God, Christopher Hampton, archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland.”

\* These boroughs were accordingly styled by the catholics “*tituli sine re et fligmenta sine rebus.*”—*Cox.*

† In a remonstrance addressed to the king, by the Lords of the Pale, on the fabrication of these new boroughs, they observe that “the managing of elections for that parliament, had generally spread so grievous an apprehension as is not in their power to express, arising from a fearful suspicion that the project of erecting so many corporations, in places that scarcely pass the rank of the poor villages of the poorest country in Christendom, do tend to nought else but that by the voices of a few selected for

clerks, and servants." These lords concluded by manfully demanding that all laws which had for their object to force consciences should be repealed. Their bold appeal, however, proved unavailing. The lord deputy continued to furnish new boroughs, according as they were wanted; and many of them were not incorporated, until the writs for summoning a parliament had already issued. Notwithstanding these active exertions on the part of the government, so nearly balanced were the two parties, or so uncertain still their relative strength, that the Catholics counted sanguinely on a majority; nor was it until the meeting of parliament that, to their great mortification, they found they had miscalculated their numbers. Of the 232 members returned, six were absent, 125 were Protestants, and 101 formed the recusant or Catholic party. The upper house consisted of sixteen temporal barons, twenty-five Protestant prelates, five viscounts, and four earls; and of these a considerable majority were friends of the administration.

The first trial of the strength of the parties was on the election of the speaker;—the competitors for this office being Sir John Davies, the Irish attorney-general, and Sir John Everard, a respectable recusant who had been a justice of the king's bench. Before they proceeded to the election, a question was raised by Everard's party, whether those returned for boroughs illegally constituted had not thereby forfeited their right of electing. The altercation on this point was becoming angry and disorderly, when Sir Oliver St. John, master of the ordnance, remarked that controversies of this description were best decided by votes, and that the affirmative party usually went out of the house, while the negative kept their seats. He therefore called upon those who voted for Sir John Davies to attend him to the lobby, and was followed thither by all his party.

that purpose, under the name of burgesses, extreme penal law should be imposed on his majesty's subjects."—*Desiderat. Curios. Hibern.*

Meanwhile the recusants, whether believing or merely presuming that they were the majority, proceeded to elect Sir John Everard; and having hurried through the accustomed forms, placed him triumphantly in the speaker's chair. They were then rejoined by the government members, when another and still less dignified scene took place. Exclaiming against this outrage, they declared Davies to be duly elected, and after in vain endeavouring to force the sturdy recusant from the chair, seated their speaker in his lap.

This strange scene was followed soon after by the secession of the recusant members; and their example was promptly adopted by the lords of their party, all refusing to accept Sir John Davies as their speaker, or to acknowledge the right or authority by which he was elected. The restless spirit which these events kept consantly alive, was regarded with the more apprehension, from the scanty means now left to the government of preserving the public peace; the whole military force of the kingdom having been lately reduced to the trifling amount of 1,700 foot and 200 horse.

Finding it impossible to make any progress with an assembly so constituted, the lord deputy prorogued the parliament, and shortly after a deputation from the Irish Catholics proceeded to London, to lay their petition at the foot of the throne. It was at first designed that this mission should consist only of the lords Gormanstown and Dunboyne, on the part of the Catholic peers, and two knights and two baronets, in the name of the commons. But, as their hopes began to brighten, the deputation was gradually enlarged to eight peers, and about twice as many members of the lower house

It may here be remarked, as one of the proofs of the sad sameness of Irish history, that nearly 200 years after these events, when, by the descendants of these Catholic lords and gentry, the same wrongs were still suffered, the same righteous cause to be upheld, it was by expedients nearly similar that

they contrived to resist peaceably their persecutors. In the separate assembly formed by the recusants, we find the prototype of the Catholic Association; while the large fund so promptly raised, to defray the cost of the deputation to England, was, in its spirit and national purpose, a forerunner of the Catholic Rent.

The reception given at first to the Irish delegates had been harsh and insulting. The English council had tried to intimidate them, and two of their number, Talbot and Luttrell, were committed prisoners, one to the Tower, the other to the Fleet (A. D. 1613). By the king the delegates were rated in his own peculiar fashion. The letter which the lords of the Pale had addressed to him,—“a few men,” as he contemptuously styled them, “who threatened him with rebellion,”—he declared to be “rash and insolent;” and with respect to those returns to parliament of which they had complained, “nothing faulty,” he said, “was to be found in the government; unless they would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of heaven.” To the complaint made of the numerous boroughs constituted by him, the royal reply was, “What is it to you, whether I make many or few boroughs? my council may consider the fitness, if I require it. But, what if I had made forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs? the more, the merrier; the fewer, the better cheer.”

Finally, he dismissed the Irish delegates with a severe reprimand, telling them that their proceedings had been “rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment; which, however, by reason of their submission, he would forbear,—but not remit, until he should see their dutiful carriage in this parliament.” Meanwhile, a commission of inquiry was granted; the complaints made by the recusants were promptly attended to, and, among other important admissions, it was conceded, that members for boroughs incorporated after the writs were issued had no right to sit during the session.

At the close of these sessions of parliament, all was peace and amity on both sides. In pursuance of the royal edict, an act of general pardon and oblivion was vouchsafed, and the whole proceedings were closed by a bill of subsidy, granting to the king, his heirs and successors, from every personal estate of the value of three pounds and upwards, two shillings and eightpence in the pound; from aliens twice this sum; and out of every real estate of the value of twenty shillings and upwards, four shillings in the pound. In returning thanks for this bountiful grant, his majesty said he "could now clearly perceive that the difficult beginnings of his parliament in Ireland were occasioned only by ignorance and mistakings, arising through the long disuse of parliaments in that kingdom." "We, therefore," he added, "have cancelled the memory of them, and are now so well pleased with this dutiful confirmation of theirs, that we do require you to assure them from us, that we hold our subjects of that kingdom in equal favour with those of our other kingdoms, and that we will be as careful to provide for their prosperous and flourishing estate as we can be for the safety of our own person."

When parliament again assembled, the angry feeling displayed by both parties, at their first meeting, had almost entirely subsided. The skilful management of the lord deputy was visible in the altered tone of the whole assembly, and as it was known that Sir John Everard and other members of the popular party had announced their intention of aiding the measures of the government, little doubt was felt of a peaceful and amicable result. Still more to secure this object, the examination of all contested elections was suspended, by common consent, during the present session; and it was likewise understood, that whatever new laws had been intended, none directed against the professors or teachers of popery were to be proposed.

In return for these specious concessions, the Catholic party



weakly consented to lend their countenance to an act,—the bill for the attainder of Tyrone and his fellow-exiles,—which, in itself unjust and vindictive, assumed, as sanctioned by their party, a still more odious character, and left a stain upon the record of their proceedings during this reign. To this measure, much to their shame, the whole of the Catholic party gave their assent; thus sacrificing to an unworthy compromise all those national hopes and sympathies with which, for upwards of thirty years, the name of Tyrone had been deeply associated. Still more faithless was it in those spiritual lords, who had hailed this chief as the chosen champion of the Catholic church, to forsake him now in his fallen condition. Yet such was ultimately the result of this hollow and time-serving coalition. In the commons the bill was moved by Sir John Everard, a recusant knight, and passed unanimously; while, in the upper house, only one courageous prelate, the titular archbishop of Tuam, gave his vote against the attainder.

Another of the important acts passed in this parliament was the repeal of all those old statutes which had been enacted against the natives of Irish blood, while yet they were considered as enemies. They were now admitted to all the privileges of English law as dutiful subjects of the same monarch. It was by acts of this description, that James proved himself not wholly unworthy of those flowery praises which his attorney-general so lavishly bestowed upon him. By acts like this it was that Davies, who had not wholly sunk the poet in the lawyer, was led to anticipate a period when such healing legislation would “bring comfort and security to the hearts of all men;” when Ireland “would be as fruitful as the land of Canaan,” and when “the strings of the Irish harp, being thus fingered by the civil magistrate, would make good harmony in the common weal.”\*

But, however brightly a courtier's pen might thus colour

\* Davies.

up the future, to those versed in the real signs of popular feeling, far different must have been the aspect which the state of Ireland at this time presented. Nor did the change of administration that now took place, hold forth much promise of amendment. The late lord deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, having received from the king a grant of the whole territory of Inisowen, was now created baron of Belfast, and ominous rumours already announced that his successor, Sir Oliver St. John, had come with instructions to enforce rigorously the legal fine for absence from church (A. D. 1623); the most obnoxious of all the exactions wrung from the people, on the score of religion, and therefore always the most harshly and unrelentingly extorted. How grievously this tax on conscience was felt by all classes, appears strikingly from a speech delivered by Sir John Everard, while still in full favour with the court for his recent service. Referring to the subsidies lately granted, with no sparing hand, to the king, he humbly prayed of him, "on the knees of his heart," in behalf of his country, that the statute of the 2d of Elizabeth might be something moderated for a time, which being granted, he added, "if the king were willing to demand two, three, or four subsidies, he doubted not of any denial hereafter."

Though the penal code, that bitter fruit of the Reformation, had not yet attained all that fulness of venom into which it afterwards matured, we find in a remonstrance put forth by the Catholics, at this period, sufficient proofs of the baleful maturity it had then attained. In this memorial, the remonstrants complain "that their children were not allowed to study in foreign universities, that all the Catholics of noble birth were excluded from offices and honours, and even from the magistracy in their respective counties; that Catholic citizens and burgesses were removed from all situations of power or profit in the different corporations; that Catholic barristers were not permitted to plead in the courts of law; and that the

inferior classes were burdened with fines, distresses, excommunications, and other punishments, which reduced them to the lowest degree of poverty.” \*

While thus, in their civil concerns, the Catholics were met at every step by some degrading disqualification, some insulting obstacle, the wrongs and humiliations they had to endure on account of their creed were still more degrading and intolerable. Nor were the jurors who had to try these cases of recusancy always sure that they would not be tried and punished themselves; as any reluctance on their part to find a verdict for the crown was regarded as suspicious, and therefore generally punished. “The star-chamber,” said Chichester, “is the proper court to punish recusants, who will not find for the king upon good evidence.” Although the sum levied each time for non-attendance at public worship was no more than twelve pence, the amount thus raised in both kingdoms appears to have been enormous; and it was usual, we are told, for Elizabeth to allow these penalties to run on for several years, so as to levy them all at once, and thus ruin those who had incurred her displeasure.†

In Ireland this penal tax was of course enforced with the utmost rigour; and from the illegal manner in which the statute was executed, the fees were always five times the amount of the penalty; so that, instead of the twelve pence fine, intended by law to go to the poor, ten shillings were always exacted by clerks and officers for fees. Thus the only redeeming feature of the tax—the appropriation of its product to the works of charity—was shamelessly evaded; and the defence set up by Chichester for this robbery of the poor, whether meant by him in earnest or in jest, is characteristic both of the man and the times;—“the poor of the parishes,” he said,

\* Lingard.

† By means of this tax, says Hume, twenty pounds a month could be levied on every one who frequented not the established worship.

“are not fit to receive the money, being Catholics themselves; and therefore ought to pay the like penalty.”

It was shortly after the arrival of the new lord deputy, that doctor James Usher, the great ornament of the church of Ireland, preached a sermon before him, which, from its text, “He beareth not the sword in vain,” as well as its general tendency, was strongly objected to as breathing a spirit of religious intolerance and persecution. That to this charge he was in some degree open, may be inferred from a letter addressed to him by primate Hampton, in which, reprehending, with much mildness, some parts of his sermon, he advised him to retract voluntarily all that was objected to, and more especially the offensive threat of drawing the sword.

A convocation being held in Dublin at this time, it was deemed expedient by them that the church of Ireland should promulgate, in the manner of other churches, a creed or public confession of its faith, and to doctor Usher, by common consent, the task of drawing up the articles of this Protestant creed was entrusted. But, although commenced under such high auspices, the attempt proved a total failure; \* the creed compiled by this eminent man being a medley of confused doctrines, in which, together with the views of Whitgift, as embodied in the Lambeth articles, were mixed all those fancies of the French Huguenots, identifying the pope with Antichrist; and these, with other peculiar notions of his own, were all incorporated into the articles of the church of Ireland. Being approved of in convocation, and afterwards confirmed by the lord deputy Chichester, this strange creed, which, thirty years after, it cost the church so much thought and trouble to get

\* In speaking of this strange enterprise of Usher, Doctor Heylin remarks, “The book was so contrived that all the Sabbatarian and Calvinian rigours were declared therein to be the doctrines of that church of Ireland.” Another of Usher’s objects in this creed is thus explained by himself. “The Irish nation,” he says, “at that time, were most tenaciously addicted to the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome, and must therefore bend to the opposite extreme, before they could be straight and orthodox in these points of doctrine.”

rid of, became for the time the accredited creed of Irish Protestantism.

While the dignitaries of the English Pale were thus employed, the great mass of the natives themselves, estranged and aloof from the seats of government, remained still in that fallen and spiritless state to which the loss of their great leaders, and the utter ruin of their plans and prospects, had reduced them. Without either allies to look to abroad, or trusty friends to guide them at home, they had nothing left them but still to brood over their wrongs, and await watchfully a day of retribution and revenge.

It was towards the end of this reign (A. D. 1623) that a most threatening proclamation was issued, commanding the whole of the Catholic clergy, both secular and regular, to depart the kingdom within forty days, "after which all persons were prohibited to converse with them."

Although the increase of the royal revenues formed doubtless the principal object of James's colonising schemes, it is clear that the interests also of religion, as connected with politics, were much considered by him in these settlements, and that he counted upon the aid of his Protestant colonies for securing to the crown a majority in both houses of parliament.

But there now opened upon him, most temptingly, a new field for royal aggression. In seizing by force the whole province of Ulster, and, for no cause but the suspected treason of two or three popular lords, giving up to rapine, confiscation, and ultimately ruin, all the rest of the population, James might seem to have indulged sufficiently his taste for meddling misrule. But a new course of plantation and plunder still awaited him. Having succeeded so well in the north, he now, with the view of extending his scheme to other parts of the kingdom, caused an inquiry into defective titles to be instituted in all the other provinces; in consequence of which an



alarm for the safety of their possessions became general among all ranks of his subjects. In pursuance, however, of the royal scheme, a commission of inquiry was forthwith appointed to examine and make their report respecting the escheated lands in Leinster and the adjoining districts; and they accordingly adjudged all the lands between the rivers of Arklow and that of Slane, as well as in Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and the King's and Queen's County, to be forfeited to the crown. The whole of this territory, therefore, amounting to 82,500 acres, was by the king portioned out to English settlers, and likewise natives, upon the same principles, and according to the same plans, by which he had regulated the plantation in Ulster.

The cause of the confusion prevailing in Ireland respecting the titles to landed estates, may be traced up to the earliest times of English dominion, when the grants made to the first adventurers began to pass into other hands, and such confusion generally ensued, that titles were lost, recovered, and lost again, in the constant turns and changes of fortune to which the whole country was then subjected. The resumption under Henry VII. of all grants made by the crown since the first year of Edward I., as well as of all lands granted to absentees, thereby vesting them again in the crown, impeached almost every grant antecedent to that period; and these and several other such legal discoveries, now brought forward, spread alarm for the safety of their property throughout all ranks and classes. Accordingly, a sedulous inquiry into defective titles began to be instituted in every direction, as well by those who saw reason to tremble for their own possessions, as by that swarm of needy adventurers, who, under the specious name of discoverers, were everywhere busied in "finding out flaws in men's titles to their estates." The law, too, ever ready to come to the aid of injustice, took its share in the scramble, and in cases of disputed lands, such jurors as refused to find a

title in the king, were committed to prison, and afterwards censured in the castle chamber.

In order to reconcile them to this legal robbery, they were reminded by the king's attorney-general, that when the English Pale was first planted, the natives were so wholly expelled, that "not one Irish family had so much as an acre of freehold in all the five counties." But the wrong that now appeared to them most cruel, was that of transplanting them far away from the place of their birth. In this manner seven septa were removed from the Queen's County to Kerry, and forbidden to return under pain of martial law; while, about the same time, twenty-five proprietors, most of them O'Ferrals, were dispossessed of all they had in the world, and no compensation whatever allowed to them. But the most strange as well as most violent of all those acts of oppression was the treatment of the Byrnes of Wicklow;—a case too voluminous in its details to be here narrated, but of which the historian\* who puts it on record truly observes, that "it exposes such a scene of iniquity and cruelty as is scarce to be paralleled in the history of any age or any country."

From a people whose governors set them such odious examples, no good results, political or moral, could be expected; and, doubtless, the state of affairs he witnessed in Ireland formed one of those numerous sources of danger in England, upon which Beaumont, the French ambassador to James, thus speculates in writing to his court:—"I discover," he says, "so many seeds of disease in England, so much is brooding in silence, and so many events seem inevitable, that I am inclined to affirm that for a century from this time this kingdom will hardly abuse its prosperity, except to its own ruin."

\* Carte.

## CHAPTER LIII.

CHARLES I.

EFFECTS, IN THE BEGINNING OF THIS REIGN, OF THE PRODIGALITY OF JAMES.—EXPEDIENTS FOR RAISING SUPPLIES.—CONTRACT BETWEEN THE KING AND THE CATHOLIC LORDS AND GENTLEMEN.—GRACES.—PARLIAMENT SUMMONED.—FRUSTRATED FOR WANT OF FORM.—ALARM OF THE PROTESTANT CLERGY.—LORDS-JUSTICES APPOINTED.—“THE GREAT EARL OF CORK.”—ACTS OF OPPRESSION.—WENTWORTH EARL OF STRAFFORD.—HIS EARLY POLITICS.—SUBSEQUENT VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS.—COUNCIL OF THE NORTH.—SENTENCE OF SIR DAVID FOWLIS.—HAUGHTY DEMEANOUR OF WENTWORTH, AS LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.—VOLUNTARY AIDS.—IRELAND GOVERNED AS A CONQUERED COUNTRY.—PREDILECTION OF THE IRISH FOR PARLIAMENTS.—THE KING’S ANTIPATHY TO THEM.—SUBTERFUGE FOR GETTING RID OF THE “GRACES.”—CONSTITUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT.—GRANT OF SUBSIDIES.—REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES URGED BY THE LORDS.—THE PROTESTANT CHURCH.—WENTWORTH’S COLLISION WITH THE CLERGY.—STATUTES OF WILLS AND USES.—THE LORD-LIEUTENANT AND “THE GREAT EARL OF CORK.”—FAILURE OF THE KING’S CLAIM TO THE PLANTATION OF CONNAUGHT.—HIS CLAIM IN ROSCOMMON ACKNOWLEDGED.—OPPOSITION OF GALWAY.—DEATH OF THE EARL OF CLANRICARDE.—SUBMISSION OF CONNAUGHT.—SEVERITY OF STRAFFORD.—HIS CRUELTY TOWARDS LORD MOUNTNORRIS.—LETTER OF LADY MOUNTNORRIS.—REVIEW OF STRAFFORD’S ADMINISTRATION IN IRELAND.—WOOLLEN AND LINEN MANUFACTURES.—STRAFFORD’S EAGERNESS AFTER HONOURS.—THE KING’S COOLNESS TOWARDS HIM.—THE SCOTTISH WAR.—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.—LIBERAL GRANT OF SUBSIDIES.—ADDITIONS TO THE ARMY.—OBJECTIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT TO THE SUBSIDIES.—STATEMENT OF GRIEVANCES.—STRAFFORD ASSUMES THE COMMAND AGAINST THE SCOTS.—POSITIONS OF THE ARMIES.—GENERAL ENGAGEMENT.—ROUT OF THE ENGLISH FORCES.—GATHERING STORM AROUND STRAFFORD.—OPENING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.—STRAFFORD’S APPREHENSIONS.—PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT AGAINST HIM.—MOTION FOR HIS IMPEACHMENT.—SCENE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST HIM.—REMARKS ON HIS FATE.

THE reign of James, though long and peaceful, and in many respects prosperous, bore in it the seeds of most of those evils which broke out in such rank profusion during the succeeding reign; and among the evils thus entailed on his immediate successor, none was attended with effects more ruinous to the interests and dignity of royalty, than the low state to which, through his reckless prodigality, the patrimony of the English crown had been reduced. The consequence was, that he be-

queathed to his successor personal debts amounting to £700,000; and how scanty were the present monarch's resources, became but too manifest to his subjects both from the embarrassments in which they had seen him involved, and his frequent recourse to the illegal expedient of raising money without the consent of parliament. He had even been compelled, by the pressure of his immediate wants, to commit a great part of his plate and jewels to the duke of Brunswick, by whom it was carried to the Hague, and there placed in pawn.

Under a pressure still more urgent, he now looked anxiously to the Irish people, who, hoping to win from the king's necessities what they had long ceased to expect from his justice, had proffered a large sum of money for the pay and maintenance of his army; and, in return for this timely aid, certain privileges, or rather exemptions from wrong and oppression, were to be accorded to them by the state. A solemn contract was accordingly entered into between Charles and the Catholic lords and gentlemen. A number of articles were formally agreed upon, by which the redress of certain grievances was guaranteed to the Catholics, and they, in return, agreed to contribute to the wants of the crown a sum of £120,000, to be paid in three instalments or subsidies, in three successive years.

The concessions, or, as they were styled, graces, which, in return for this loyal aid, the monarch pledged himself to grant, were, in number, fifty-one; but of these only the most important need be cited. By these graces it was provided "that recusants should be allowed to practise in the courts of law, and to sue the livery of their lands out of the Court of Wards, on taking an oath of civil allegiance, in lieu of the oath of supremacy; that the undertakers in the several plantations should have time allowed them to fulfil the conditions of their leases; that the claims of the Crown should be confined to the

last sixty years; that the inhabitants of Connaught should be permitted to make a new enrolment of their estates; and that a parliament should be holden to confirm these graces, and to establish every man in the undisturbed possession of his lands."

The other reforms relate to various descriptions of abuses; to exactions in the courts of justice, depredations committed by the soldiery, monopolies injurious to trade, and penal statutes on account of religion. From the 30th article we learn, that the evidence of convicted felons used then to be received against persons accused of crimes; and that the clergy of the established church kept prisons in which they confined those who were subject to ecclesiastical censures.

Superficial as were most of the rights which this charter promised, the people, proud of their spirited effort, and rejoiced to have been able to purchase even so small an instalment of freedom out of the hands of their haughty taskmasters, began to look with much anxiety to the monarch for the ratification of their compact. To effect this important object, the sanction of parliament was requisite; and lord Falkland the Irish deputy, summoned a meeting of that assembly for the purpose. But, by two acts passed in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, it was ordained that no parliament should be held in Ireland without license obtained of his majesty under the great seal of England. With this formality lord Falkland had not complied; and the consequence of his omission, which few believed to be quite unintentional, was, that the English privy council pronounced the summons illegal and void; and the monarch was, for the time, conveniently relieved from the embarrassment of being required to fulfil his engagement with the Irish. That a nobleman, to whose fine talents and generous character all the records of that time bear cordial testimony, should have stooped to lend his sanction to so mean an evasion, seems a weakness hardly credible.



In consequence of the voluntary act of the Irish Catholics in contributing so ample an aid to the wants of the state, a rumour was spread abroad, of extensive “indulgences” about to be granted in their favour. This report excited considerable alarm in archbishop Usher and other great Protestant divines; and a synod was forthwith held in Christ Church, Dublin, by Downham bishop of Derry, at which eleven other bishops attended, and the following grave declaration was the result: “That the religion of the papists is idolatrous, their faith and doctrine erroneous, and that to permit the free exercise of the Catholic worship would be a grievous sin, because it would make the government a party not only to the superstition, idolatry, and heresy of that worship, but also to the perdition of the seduced people who would perish in the deluge of Catholic apostasy; and that to grant such toleration for the sake of money to be contributed by the recusants, was to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people whom Christ had redeemed with his blood.”

By this and other such signs of increased rancour against the Catholics, lord Falkland saw, with much regret, that all the efforts he had made towards peace and mutual forbearance had been wholly fruitless. It was to him, therefore, no slight relief, to be released from so hopeless a task; and, on his recall, the administration was committed temporarily to two lords-justices, viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and Richard, earl of Cork, lord high treasurer of Ireland. This latter nobleman was known generally by the distinction of “the great earl of Cork;” and among those English who have sought that country as a field of adventure, few have reaped there a richer harvest of wealth, influence, and power.

The first appearance of this lord in Ireland, in any public capacity, was as secretary to Sir George Carew; and his good fortune in being selected to carry to England, in the year 1601, the news of the victory gained near Kinsale, over the

Irish and their Spanish auxiliaries, was the first opening of that prosperous career in which he afterwards made such rapid progress. The zealous haste with which he conveyed to the English court the tidings of this great victory, is thus described by himself:—"I left my lord president at Shannon Castle, near Cork, on Monday morning, about two of the clock; and the next day, being Tuesday, I delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, who was then principal secretary of state, at his house in the Strand; who, after supper, held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning; and by seven that morning, called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her majesty in her bed-chamber."

Under the government of the lords-justices several acts of gross oppression, both on religious and temporal grounds, were perpetrated. In one instance, when these dignitaries were attending public service at Christ Church, intelligence reached them that a fraternity of Carmelites were then celebrating their religious rites in a part of Dublin called Cook-street. On learning this act of presumption, the archbishop of the diocese and the chief magistrate of Dublin proceeded to that quarter, and entering the chapel at the head of a file of musketeers, seized the priest in his vestments at the altar, and carried away all the sacred vestments and ornaments. After the first alarm of this aggression had subsided, a number of the congregation went in pursuit of the assailants, and succeeded in rescuing their clergyman. On this incident becoming known to the English council, measures were taken for instantly punishing, not the offenders, but the friars. Sixteen religious houses were ordered to be seized to the king's use; and the new Carmelite college, being made the property of the university, was for the present converted into a Protestant seminary.

It was at this time (A. D. 1633) that the viscount Went-

worth, afterwards earl of Strafford, and best known by this title, commenced that career of unbridled power in Ireland, which forms an era in that country's history. He had received his commission early in the year 1632; but the task of arranging his private affairs, and likewise of placing in safe hands the care of his northern presidency, of which he still retained the government, employed considerable time. Even when these various duties had been despatched, he was still delayed some months by unfavourable winds; and so much was the Irish Channel then infested with pirates, that he could not venture to pass over without the convoy of a man-of-war, which had for that purpose to go round from the Thames.

Before we enter any further on this extraordinary man's public career, a short review of his earlier days, and the line then taken by him in politics, may lend such insights into his real character as will account for much of his subsequent conduct. Brought early into parliament, he took, for some time, but little share in public affairs. But his line of politics was already declared, and this future scorner of the people's rights first presented himself to public notice as a staunch advocate of popular principles. The bent of his tastes, however, inclined him, at that time, to rural retirement, and so calm and domestic had been hitherto his tastes, that the king, when naming him sheriff, added, as his chief commendation, that he was "an honest gentleman." How unconscious, too, he was himself of those stirring and daring qualities which afterwards broke out in him, may be inferred from a thoughtful remark said to have been made by him, "that in such times it was much better to be a spectator than an actor."

But, as events became more exciting, his imagination gradually kindled; and then succeeded that memorable struggle between the commons and the crown, in which, growing bolder as the conflict advanced, he took part no longer as a mere follower, but as guide and leader; till at length was wrung from

the vanquished court that great safeguard of the people's liberties, the Petition of Right, of which a high authority has pronounced that it "worked such a change in the government of England, as was almost equivalent to a revolution."\* In all these movements of the popular party Sir Thomas Wentworth stood always foremost; and he had lately obtained much credit by strongly enforcing in the house of commons that sound constitutional principle, that "the redress of grievances should always precede the advance of supplies:"—"I cannot," he said, "forget the duty I owe to my country; unless we be secured in our liberty, we cannot give."

But Wentworth's course, as a champion of the people, was then very near its close. While thus supporting, with apparent zeal, the popular cause, he was engaged in negotiating secretly with the court; and the rewards at length secured to him for the transfer of himself and his services to the government, were an immediate place in the peerage, with the assurance of speedy promotion to a more exalted rank, and the important office of president of the council of the north. By this high post he was placed in a station peculiarly suited to his arbitrary tastes, as, owing to the enlarged instructions granted to him, this court now engrossed the entire jurisdiction of the four northern counties, and embraced likewise the powers of the courts of common law, the chancery, and even the enormous authority of the star-chamber. The commission under which this court was held had been granted by Henry VIII. to the archbishop of York, and the arbitrary spirit which had always marked its proceedings, was worthy alike of that headstrong monarch and its present haughty president. To what a pitch its encroaching spirit had now extended, may be judged from the language of Clarendon, who remarks that, "by the natural inclination of all courts to enlarge their own powers and jurisdiction, the court of York had so prodigiously

\* Hume.

broken down the banks of the first channel in which it ran, as had almost overwhelmed the country under the sea of arbitrary power, and involved the people in a labyrinth of distemper, oppression, and poverty."

Such incentives to the abuse of power were of course not lost on the new convert to despotism; and some of the violent acts committed by him, at this time, show what a proficient in absolute rule he had already become. As a sample, indeed, of the sort of treatment that awaited Ireland from such hands, there needs no stronger instance than the sentence passed by his orders on Sir David Fowlis; the whole extent of whose alleged offences were, that he had spoken disrespectfully of the council; had indulged in invidious remarks upon the president, and had encouraged some persons not to pay the new composition for knighthood, being of opinion that it was an illegal and oppressive exaction. For these transgressions Sir David was presented in the star-chamber, was degraded from his offices of deputy-lieutenant, justice of the peace, and member of the council of York; was fined five thousand pounds to the king, three thousand to Wentworth himself, and committed to the Fleet prison during his majesty's pleasure. His son, too, who had shared in the offence, was likewise imprisoned and fined five hundred pounds to the king.\*

\* The open and shameless manner in which he prejudged this cause, and solicited his fellow counsellors to join in his vengeful feelings, show how totally self-will had blinded him to every other consideration than that of working out his own great object of self-aggrandizement and wholly unfettered power. To lord Cottington, who was to sit in judgment on the case, he had the audacity thus to write:—"You are like to begin the sentence, and I will be bold to tell you my opinion thereupon. You have been pleased sometimes, as I sat by you, to ask me my conceit upon the cause then before us. Admit me, now, to do it upon my own cause; for, by my truth, I will do it as though it concerned me not. First, I desire you to remember how Greenfield was fined for calling my lord Suffolk only 'base lord;' how a jury gave three thousand pounds damages to my lord Saye for the same words; and then balance the slander most ignominiously put upon me by Sir David and his son, and let me not be less than other men, when I conceive that I merit to be more regarded than they." The result proved that he had not miscalculated in thus canvassing the seat of justice.



In taking possession of his new office, on arriving in Dublin, Wentworth produced, by the cold haughtiness of his manners, an impression by no means favourable. It appears that, in summoning the members of his council, he named only a select number, as if intending to consult with a committee rather than with the general body; and thus giving offence to all those who thought themselves purposely excluded. Nor does he appear to have much atoned for this proud slight by the solemn reverence which he made to the Chair of State, in passing through the presence chamber. All was, indeed, characteristic of the man,—as well his bow to the chair of state, as his rude treatment of the members of the council.

Another instance of his insulting demeanour occurred about the same time; and the offence which it gave to the Catholics was long and angrily remembered. Some intention of holding a parliament having been rumoured soon after his arrival, the earl of Fingal, a great Catholic nobleman, deemed it his duty to represent to him, that it had always been the custom for the lords of the Pale “to be consulted concerning the parliament and the matters to be therein propounded.” To this suggestion Wentworth answered, with his usual arrogance, that “assuredly his majesty would reject with scorn all such foreign instructors; that the king’s own councils were sufficient to govern his own affairs, without borrowing from any private man whatsoever.” The Irish lord, “a little out of countenance,” as Strafford describes him, replied that he “only wished to put him in mind of what formerly had been the custom, and that in like case my lord of Falkland had called their lordships of the Pale.” “My answer was,” says Strafford, “that my lord of Falkland should be no rule in this case for me,—much less for my great master.” He then concluded by haughtily advising the Irish earl “not to busy himself with matters of this nature.” \*

\* Strafford Papers.

The first object of great importance that claimed the attention of the new lord deputy was the renewal of the voluntary aids supplied by the Irish, whose contribution was now nearly brought to a close. To defray the enormous cost of the large army maintained in Ireland some prompt and decisive measures were urgently necessary; and the lords-justices at first proposed that the fine on recusants for absence from church on Sundays—a tax as odious as it was productive—should be immediately put in force. But to this Wentworth strongly objected; and declared that, considering the inequality of the numbers and the ill-provided state of the army, he thought, for the present, it was “much more safe to take the contribution against the will of the Protestant, than the Sunday levy against the liking of the recusant.”

But while, in private, he thus cautiously calculated the difficulties he had to encounter, far different was the language held by him in some of his public displays, when threatening, in the king’s name, to “straiten the graces which had been granted,” he added, that “rather than to fail in a duty so necessary to his royal master, he would undertake, at the peril of his head, to enable the king’s army to subsist and provide for itself amongst them without their help.” This menace had its full effect; and he took care to procure from the Protestants a written promise that they would be ready to furnish the next year’s contribution, as it had, that year, proceeded from the Catholics.

At length, by alternate threats and promises, he so far succeeded in gaining his purpose, that all parties agreed to enlarge their voluntary contribution by four additional quarterly payments of five thousand pounds each; and he was thus left, without any further delay, to pursue his plans for securing a permanent revenue.

That Ireland was a conquered country in the strictest sense of the word, and ought as such to be treated and governed,—

that the power of the crown in that realm was absolute, and should be exercised only through the lord deputy,—such were the principles on which, supported by his royal master, he now undauntedly undertook to wield the government of Ireland. “The benefit of the crown,” said he, in writing, at this time, to Charles, “must and shall be my principal, nay, my sole end.” In this abandonment of himself wholly and unreservedly to the monarch, we see at once the utter recklessness of the renegade, and that rash confidence in his own strength which led ultimately to his ruin.

Well aware of the watchful jealousy with which all his movements were tracked, and apprehensive lest some of the many whom his power had wronged or mortified should hasten to England and lay their complaints before the throne, he took the precaution of obtaining an order from the king, that none of the nobility or principal officers employed in Ireland should leave that kingdom without receiving a special licence from the lord deputy. With similar views he procured an order that no particular complaint of tyranny or injustice against any person in Ireland should be admitted at the English court, unless it appeared that the party aggrieved had first addressed himself to the lord deputy. Still more largely to let him loose from all restraint, an addition was made to his ample instructions, leaving him free to consider them changeable on the spot whenever the advancement of his majesty’s affairs rendered it expedient.

In all conjunctures of public difficulty or distress, the favourite resource of the Irish people had been always a parliament: not that it brought with it ever atonement for the past, but it sometimes seemed to open a vista of hope to the future; and such was the feeling with which, at this juncture, the speedy meeting of that assembly was expected. The provision that had been made for the maintenance of the army was still but temporary and precarious; and apprehensions

began to be felt by the people in general, that these quarterly payments, which had now been continued for almost ten years, might turn at length to an hereditary tax on their estates. To meet the demands of the state, considerable aids were urgently wanted; and these could only be adequately supplied by the representatives of the people in parliament. But, in addition to the king's hatred of the very name of parliament,—"that Hydra," as he himself styles it in one of his letters,—strong apprehensions were felt by the court, that pressing demands would now be made for the confirmation of the expected graces; more especially for that of limiting to sixty years the title of the Crown, by which alone the royal revenue would be diminished to the extent of £20,000 a-year.

To get rid, therefore, of this burdensome pledge, and with as little regard to good faith as their recorded compact would admit, was now the first and most trying difficulty of the king's advisers. We have seen that, during lord Falkland's administration, there occurred a technical informality in the writs for summoning parliament, which furnished a pretext far more dexterous than it was honourable for delaying the expected graces. But the sword of state had now passed into hands which were even still less restrained by conscientious scruples; and Wentworth at once undertook, by his mode of managing the parliament, to get rid of these troublesome graces altogether. His plan was to divide the parliament into two distinct sessions; the first to be devoted exclusively to the supplies, while the second, which might be held six months after, was to be occupied with the grant of the graces, and other such national benefits. In all this, his manifest object was to secure at first, from the parliament, such prompt and ample supplies as might render the crown independent of it for two or three years; and thus enable him to dispose of the graces, according to his own will and pleasure. It ought to

be kept in remembrance, that the chief adviser of this mean subterfuge was the same man who, in his days of patriotism, impressed so eloquently on his constituents, that "the redress of grievances should ever precede the grant of supplies."

To compose his parliament of such apt materials as might at will be shaped and shifted to his purposes, was, of course, the main object of the lord deputy; and the sort of instruments he took care to provide, on the present occasion, are thus intelligibly described by him. "I laboured," he says, "to get as many captains and officers chosen burgesses as I possibly could; who, having immediate dependence upon the crown, might sway the business between the two parties." But the part of his management on which he most prided himself, is thus fully laid open by him:—"I shall endeavour," he says, "that the lower house may be so composed, as that neither the recusants, nor yet the Protestants, shall appear predominant; for, being thus held as much as may be on an equal balance, they will prove much easier to govern than if either party were absolute." He could then, as he adds, privately warn the recusants, that if no other provision were made for the maintenance of the army, it would become necessary to exact from them the Sunday fine; while the Protestants might in like manner be warned, that until a regular revenue should be established, his majesty could not let go the voluntary contribution, or discontent the recusants by enforcing the penal statutes. He had hopes, too, of being enabled to convince both parties that the quarterly payments were not so burdensome as they pretended, and that already they had obtained by the graces more than the worth of the money they had paid. In this manner were some of the most sacred rights of the subject, as well spiritual as civil, made a matter of mere bargain and barter.

The session was opened (A. D. 1634), as Strafford himself proudly records, "with the greatest pomp and splendour that



Ireland had ever seen ;” and, in a speech to the two houses, he told them haughtily that, when he demanded of them supplies, he only required them to provide for their own safety ; and therefore expected that their contributions would be both liberal and permanent ; “for,” said he, “it is far below the dignity of my master to come, at every year’s end, with his hat in his hand, to entreat that you would be pleased to preserve yourselves.” Whatever design there might have been of opposing the government, no such feeling was allowed to disturb the course of the proceedings ; and the house of commons, with one voice, voted unconditionally the extraordinary grant of six subsidies. Supplies so liberal, and coming from a parliament which had never before granted a subsidy, held forth an example to the clergy, which, notwithstanding their strong leaning towards Puritanism, was followed by them readily ; and the convocation, then having its sittings along with the parliament, granted eight subsidies of £3,000 each.

While the commons, subservient wholly to the lord deputy,\* were acting by turns the part of sycophants and tyrants, the house of lords, far more worthily employed, proceeded to pass the redress of grievances upon the government, and called loudly for the confirmation of the promised graces, more especially of that important article which limited the king’s claim upon their lands to a retrospect of sixty years. But ample supplies having been now secured, far different was Wentworth’s tone respecting this long-due justice. Taking boldly upon himself the responsibility of the whole transaction, he declared solemnly that he had never transmitted those articles of the graces to his majesty ; and thus assumed to himself all the odium of that base fraud, of which the Irish had been

\* So much was this parliament to Wentworth’s taste, that he wished to prolong it by prorogation. “It can do no harm,” he said, “considering that it can exercise no power during its prorogation, and may at any time be blown over with the least breath from his majesty.”

made unscrupulously the victims. Of Charles's concert in this fraudulent scheme, the following letter leaves no doubt:—

“WENTWORTH:—Before I answer any of your particular letters to me, I must tell you that your last public despatch has given me a great deal of contentment; and especially for keeping off the envy of a necessary negative from me of those unreasonable graces that people expected from me.

CHARLES R.”

Among the many important objects to which Strafford applied the energies of his ever-active mind, the state of the Protestant church in Ireland, and the ecclesiastical rights of its clergy, was one of those to which he most earnestly gave his attention; and the main point which he sought to effect by his labours, was a perfect conformity between the church of Ireland and that of England in point of doctrine. We have seen how unsuccessful were the efforts made by Usher to provide Ireland with a public confession of faith; and it was with the view of relieving the church of that kingdom from the strange medley mixture of foreign doctrines with which he had encumbered it, that a select committee had now been appointed by the lower house of convocation, with instructions to take into consideration the canons of the church of England.

The lord deputy, being in the mean time occupied with watching the active recusants in the house of commons, had left this committee to pursue their task uninterrupted, reposing full trust in the lord primate Usher, who, during this interval, had not spoken to him a single word upon the subject. When relieved, however, from his watch over the recusants, Wentworth again applied his attention to the labours of the select committee, and found, to his consternation, that, without conferring at all with their bishops, they had gone through the book

of canons, and noting in the margin such as were to be allowed, and leaving others for future consideration, had introduced among them the obnoxious Irish articles, adding that they were "to be allowed and received, under pain of excommunication."

Enraged at this clandestine proceeding, he sent for dean Andrews, who had sate in the chair of the committee, requiring him to bring with him the book of canons, so marked, and likewise the draught that was to be presented by him that afternoon to the house. "But when I came," says Wentworth, "to open the book, and ran over the deliberandums in the margin, I confess I was not so moved since I came into Ireland. I told him that certainly not a dean of Limerick, but Ananias, had sate in the chair of that committee;—Ananias himself had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam, and that I was ashamed and scandalised with it beyond measure."

Wentworth gave orders, therefore, for an immediate meeting, to which he summoned, besides the primate, the bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Raphoe, and Derry, together with dean Lesly, the prolocutor, and all those who had been of the select committee. "Then I publicly told them," he says, "how unlike clergymen that owed canonical obedience to their superiors, they had proceeded in the committee; how unheard-of a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles of faith without the privity or consent of state or of bishop. But those heady and arrogant courses, they must know, I was not to endure; nor, if they were disposed to be frantic, in this dead and cold season of the year, would I suffer them to be mad, either in convocation or in their pulpits. First, then, I required of dean Andrews, as formerly, that he should report nothing from the committee to the house. Secondly, I enjoined dean Lesly, their prolocutor, that in case any of that committee should propound any question therein, yet he should

not put it, but break up the sitting for the time, and acquaint me with all. Thirdly, that he should put no question at all touching the receiving, or not, of the articles of the Church of England. Fourthly, that he should put the question for allowing and receiving of the articles, wherein he was, by name and writing, to take their votes barely "content," or "not content," without admitting any other discourse at all; for I would not endure that the articles of England should be disputed. And, finally, because there should be no question in the canon that was thus to be voted, I did desire my lord primate would be pleased to frame it; and, after I had perused it, I would send the prolocutor a draught of the canon, to be inclosed in a letter of my own.

"This meeting," he adds, "thus broke off; there were some hot spirits, sons of thunder, amongst them, who moved that they should petition me for a free synod. But, in fine, they could not agree among themselves who should put the bell about the cat's neck, and so this likewise vanished."

After enforcing by a few more such arguments his own view of the matter, Wentworth concludes by saying, "This being the true relation of the whole, I am not ignorant that my stirring herein will be strangely reported and censured on that side; and how I shall be able to sustain myself against your Prynnes, Penns, and Bens, with the rest of that generation of odd names and natures, the Lord knows." \*

It was in this letter to Laud that, triumphing at the success of all his measures, he added, "I may now say, the king is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be."

Notwithstanding the lively protest of the lord deputy, the articles of Usher, chiefly in consequence of the general reverence felt for his character, were retained by the Irish church;

\* Letter from Wentworth to the archbishop of Canterbury.

and the canon enjoining them is the first of the hundred then passed in convocation and approved by the king.

Among other important measures passed by this parliament, were the two statutes of Wills and Uses, which, of all the various modes devised at different times for supplanting, and, it was hoped, extirpating, the Catholic faith in Ireland, were considered to be the most effective. They gave to the crown a share and interest in the education of the heirs apparent of most of the great families in the kingdom;\* and, among the various expedients resorted to for the extinction of the ancient faith, the power thus given over the rising generation was calculated upon with the greatest certainty.

One of the avowed designs of Wentworth, in going to Ireland, was to break down the power of the great Irish lords; and the earl of Cork being of all the most powerful, against him this feeling of duty was farther impelled and whetted by envy. From his first coming, he had conceived a jealousy of this potent earl, and resolved, as he said, "to bring him down;" adding, half jestingly, that if he could humble "the great earl of Cork," he had nothing to fear from any one else in Ireland. "Nor was it long ere he found an opportunity of gratifying this arrogant wish. With that leaning towards the old forms and ceremonies of Catholic worship,† of which the king had set an example, and which, in common with his friend Laud, the lord deputy had also indulged in, he had

\* "Whereby," says Cox, "they will be bred Protestants; and of what consequence this superintendency is, doth in part appear in the person of the earl of Ormond (formerly the king's ward), who, if bred under the wing of his own parents, had been of the same affections and religion with his other brothers and sisters, whereas he is now a firm Protestant."

† In the King's chapel, at this time, a large crucifix, embroidered with gold and silver, was hung up over the altar, to which, as Prynne informs us, the chaplains were required to bow; and Laud himself set them the example. Among those symptoms of a leaning towards popery, which Wentworth is said to have manifested in Ireland, one was the friendship which he formed while there, with Father Mathew, a "Jesuited priest," whom he afterwards brought with him to England. Wentworth himself was long traditionally remembered by the Irish, under the title of "Black Tom."



caused the old communion table, or, as it was again called, the Great Altar, to be restored to its former station and name, in the chapel of Dublin castle; and being desirous of a similar change in the church of St. Patrick, he now ordered a splendid family monument, which the earl of Cork had lately erected there, to be immediately removed. Against this summary act of power, lord Cork tried remonstrance, and even resistance; but both equally in vain; and this difference long continued a source of rancour between the two parties.

In the reign, as we have seen, of James, some steps were taken by that monarch towards establishing, in the province of Connaught, a plantation similar to that of Ulster. But by his death this unpopular scheme was interrupted; and the sanction so solemnly given by the crown to that article of the royal graces, by which it was stipulated that the title of the landowners in Connaught should be recognised as valid, gave every assurance of the perfect safety of their estates that the forms of law and the word of a monarch, so solemnly pledged, could bestow. Wentworth himself, with all his audacity, appears to have shrunk at first from the odium of attempting even a pretext for such bold and barefaced injustice. "How to make," he says, "his majesty's title to these plantations of Connaught and Ormond, is of all the rest (considering they have already been attempted and failed), the greatest difficulty." In another letter, addressed to the king, he complains that these plantations are still far off; for, as yet, he has not been able to discover any title to either of them."

Meanwhile (A. D. 1635), he commenced his predatory work with the county of Roscommon, where, addressing the grand jury, he descanted on the honour and equity of his royal master, and the benevolence of his views towards his good subjects of Connaught. He had summoned all the most respectable of the inhabitants, "being resolved," he says, "to have persons of such means as might answer the king a round fine in the

castle chamber, in case they should prevaricate." In addressing the jury, he assured them that the principal motive of his majesty, in thus looking into his undoubted title, was, "the princely desires he had, to make them a rich and civilised people, which could not by any so sure and ready means be attained as by a plantation." "With this I left them," he says, "marvellous much satisfied; for a few good words please them more than you can imagine."

By the people of Roscommon the king's title was found without any difficulty, and no less readiness was shown to surrender the counties of Sligo and Mayo; an assurance having been given to them by proclamation, that they should be permitted to purchase indefeasible titles by an easy composition. The prompt facility with which these surrenders were obtained is fully accounted for in a letter to the king, by Wentworth himself, from which it appears, that the judges were bribed, and the juries all packed:—"Your majesty," he says, "was graciously pleased, upon my humble advice, to bestow four shillings in the pound upon your lord chief justice and lord chief baron in this kingdom, out of the first yearly rent raised upon the commission of defective titles, which, upon observation, I find to be the best given money that ever was; for now they attend to it with a care and diligence, such as it were their own privates; and most certain the gaining to themselves every four shillings, once paid, shall better your revenue for ever after at least five pounds."

There remained, now, Galway, where the earl of Clanricarde was the chief landed proprietor, as well as hereditary governor, and where a reception by no means so complaisant awaited the lord deputy. "There is much muttering," he says, "that we shall meet with opposition in the county of Galway, as if the earl of Clanricarde, or at least his servants, were very averse from the plantation. Whether it be so or not, I know not; but I could wish that county would stand

out, for I am well assured it shall turn to his majesty's advantage, if they do." The event proved as Wentworth had anticipated, and the rejection of the claims of the crown by the Galway jury opened a field for spoliation as rich and ample as he could desire. With the view, too, as was his custom, of adding insolence to injustice, he took possession of the earl's house at Portumna, and held in his lordship's own halls the court which impeached his title to his estates.

It is right to remark, however, that cruel and dishonest as were these inquisitions into landed property, they had been formerly even more iniquitous in their modes of proceeding; for when Wentworth was now granting leave to the natives to be heard by counsel in defence of their respective rights, he assured them that such an indulgence "had never before been granted to any one taking this sort of inquisitions."

In the meanwhile, the nobility and gentry of Galway had sent agents to plead their cause at the English court. But Wentworth, who kept strict watch on all their proceedings, wrote to entreat of the king to send them all back as prisoners—in order that he might proceed against them in the castle chamber, and fine them, for having dared to appeal to the monarch against his deputy. Nor did he fail to wreak his vengeance upon those lawyers who had manfully done their duty in defending the causes of their clients. Against these he came armed with that double-edged test, the oath of supremacy; an oath which to take was deemed a renouncement of their creed, while to refuse it wholly disqualified them for their profession.

At length, the oppressed landowners of Connaught, apprehensive lest, in this struggle for common justice, and the preservation of their estates, they might be despoiled of the whole,\* resolved to surrender them into the hands of the king,

\* That Wentworth was resolved to gain his object appears from his own open avowal:—"Nay, in case there be no title to be made good to these countries for the

and thus throw themselves on his mercy. In this appeal they were powerfully seconded by lord Clanricarde, whom they had employed to act as their mediator with the lord deputy, and who addressed to him an earnest and impressive letter, entreating that he would accept their submission. But the object of his relentless spirit was not merely to humble, but to debase them. He insisted, therefore, that the jurors should acknowledge that they had given a false verdict, and thus record themselves guilty of perjury. But to this insulting proposition lord Clanricarde becomingly answered, that, "assuredly so many persons of their quality would never acknowledge a wilful opposition or perjury."

Enraged to find himself thus thwarted, Wentworth resolved to make an example that should not be easily forgotten, of this, the first resolute opposition which he had encountered. By his own authority, he laid a fine of one thousand pounds upon the sheriff, and, citing the jurors into the castle chamber, that stronghold of his power, fined them four thousand pounds each. They were also to be imprisoned until these fines were paid, and to acknowledge their offence, in court, upon their knees.

The death of the earl of Clanricarde, which took place about this time, was generally attributed—as were, indeed, most misfortunes at that period—to the malign influence of Wentworth; and he himself, in one of his letters, alludes scoffingly to this notion. "It is reported," he says, "that my hard usage broke his heart: God and your majesty knows my innocency. They might as well have imputed unto me, for a crime, his being threescore and ten years old." But, however guiltless he might have been of Clanricarde's death, the fate of the poor sheriff of Galway, whom he had cast into prison, and who died within its walls, was no less slightly regarded by

crown, yet should I not despair, forth of reason of state and for the strength and security of the kingdom, to have them passed to the king by immediate act of parliament."—*Strafford Papers*.

him. "They will, I suppose," he says, "lay upon me the charge of Danny's, the sheriff's, death."

But, secure of the king's favour, and emboldened by the fortunate issue of all his measures, Wentworth proceeded, unchecked and fearless, in that course of presumptuous success which, as he boasted, threatened to bring upon him the blade of a Felton or a Ravallac; and to such a degree had ill-temper disturbed in him all that power of self-command which is indispensable to those entrusted with the command of others, that, on some occasion, at the council table, when a difference of opinion arose between him and the earl of Holland, he exclaimed, in a fury, to that lord, that the king "would do well to cut off his head."

Of his unjust, and often preposterous, severity, a striking instance is related by himself, in reporting the proceedings of the commissioners of plantations in Galway. During the interrogation of one of the jury, Richard Bourk of Derrimachloglin, another of the jury, pulled him by the sleeve; and for this one simple act, the lord deputy, taking upon him to interpret what it meant, fined the juror who had pulled the sleeve five hundred pounds.

But of all those acts of cruelty, combined with insult, of which he was guilty, his inhuman treatment of lord Mountnorris for a few vague and unmeaning words said casually in conversation, was that which drew upon him most general and deserved reprobation. The circumstances in which this long-continued persecution had its origin, will be most clearly, as well as characteristically, conveyed to the reader in the following extract from the judgment of the court-martial, held on Mountnorris, which was pronounced by Strafford himself:—

"We, the lord deputy, called a council of war, who being this day assembled, we, the lord deputy, in the presence of the said lord Mountnorris, did charge him with this offence, that within three or four days, or thereabouts, after the end of the parliament, it being mentioned at the lord chancellor's table



that after we, the lord deputy, had dissolved the parliament, being sitting down in the presence chamber, one of our servants, in moving a stool, happened to hurt our foot, then indisposed through an accession of the gout; that one, then present at the lord chancellor's table, then said to the lord Mountnorris, being there likewise, that it was Annesley, his lordship's kinsman, and one of the lord deputy's gentlemen ushers, that had done it. Whereupon, the lord Mountnorris then, publicly and in a scornful contemptuous manner, answered, 'Perhaps it was done in revenge of that public affront which my lord deputy had done him formerly; but he has a brother that would not take such a revenge.'” The affront, or disgrace, here said to have been offered to Mountnorris, is thus explained by the lord deputy: “That which was pretended by the lord Mountnorris to have been the said disgrace or affront to his kinsman was this; that his said kinsman being one of the horse troop commanded by us, the lord deputy, in the time of exercising the said troop, was out of order on horseback, to the disturbance of the rest then in exercising, for which we, the lord deputy, in a mild manner reproving him, as soon as we turned aside from him, we observed him to laugh and jeer us for our just reproof of him, which we disliking returned to him, and laying a small cane which we then carried on his shoulder, yet without any blow or stroke then given him therewith, told him that if he did serve us so any more, we would lay him over the pate.” The court-martial conceived that these words, “But he has a brother that would not take such a revenge,” contained an incitement to vengeance. On this ground he was found guilty, and the council unanimously adjudged him “to be imprisoned, to be from thenceforth deprived of all the places he held in the army, to be disarmed, to be banished, and lastly, to be shot to death, or to lose his head, at the pleasure of the general.”\*

\* Extract from the judgment of the court-martial held on lord Mountnorris, December 12th, 1685.

The following letter, addressed to Wentworth by Lady Mountnorris, while still her husband lay under sentence of death, is worthy of a place in the page of history, both from the sad and touching circumstances under which it was written, and the pure and sweet English of its style.

“MY LORD,

“I beseech your lordship, for the tender mercy of God, take off your heavy hand from my dear lord, and for her sake who is with God, be pleased not to make me and my poor infants miserable, as we must of necessity be by the hurt you do to him. God knows, my lord, that I am a poor, distressed woman, and knows not what to say more than to beg upon my knees, with my homely prayers and tears, that it will please the Almighty to incline your lordship’s heart to mildness towards him; for, if your lordship continue my lord in restraint, and lay disgraces upon him, I have too much cause to fear that your lordship will bring a speedy end to his life and troubles, and make me and all mine for ever miserable. Good my lord, pardon these woeful lines of a disconsolate creature, and be pleased, for Christ Jesus’ sake, to take this my humble suit into your favourable consideration, and to have mercy upon me and mine, and God will, I hope, reward it into the bosom of you and your sweet children by my kinswoman; and, for the memory of her, I beseech your lordship to compassionate the distressed condition of me, your lordship’s most humble and disconsolate servant,

“JANE MOUNTNORRIS.”

The outrageous sentence on this lady’s husband, which Wentworth himself pronounced in person, was not ultimately executed; but, by a refinement of cruelty, was held suspended over his head, and being, from time to time, threatened, was so contrived by his inhuman tormentors, as to make even hope

but the means of prolonging despair. The following memoranda, kept by the sufferer himself, will show how indefatigable were those who kept watch to torment him:—"I was first committed the 12th of December; let go the 18th to my house; committed again the 11th of April; put out the 2d of May; I was then in great extremity, and admitted to my house again, where I lay in a long continuing sickness and under the hands of physicians. And the 30th of January afterwards, because I sued not out the pardon, was imprisoned again, and there continued till March, 1637."

The avowed object of the lord deputy in this harassing process, was to compel him to acknowledge his sentence to be just. But this he resolutely refused; and declared that "in his heart he abhorred and held it unjust." While such was generally the view taken of this barbarous sentence,\* so differently did Wentworth himself affect to regard it, that being present at the trial, he exclaimed before the whole audience, that "the sentence was just and noble; and, for his part, he would not lose his share of the honour of it."

In taking a review of Wentworth's policy, as minister of the affairs of Ireland, it would be injustice not to yield the fullest approval to the great services rendered by him to that kingdom in all connected with its revenue, commerce, and manufactures. So successful were the plans adopted by him for the improvement of its fiscal resources, that, in the fifth year of his administration, the annual amount, we are told, of the revenue, bid fair to exceed the expenditure by sixty thousand pounds. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that one of the first and most signal services he rendered to the Irish was commenced by inflicting an injury upon them. As that country had always been renowned for its rich pastures, an

\* "This cruel treatment of Mountnorris," says Clarendon, "was looked on as a pure act of revenge, and gave all men warning how they trusted themselves in the territories where he commanded."

abundance of wool, of a peculiarly good quality, formed a valuable branch of the staple of the kingdom. In order to discourage this trade of the natives, and thus benefit the British woollen manufacture, Strafford forbade that wool should be exported, even to England, without a licence; and these licences the lord deputy was empowered to sell, which brought him, it appears, considerable emolument. As it would have been cruel, however, to deprive them of their own favourite manufacture, without substituting for it some other, he formed the project of introducing among them the cultivation of flax, in order to direct their skill and industry to the manufacture of linen. Thus, by a rare result of such policy, England's jealousy of her dependent sister led to the extension towards her of one of the best and most valuable sources of emolument that it had ever been her lot to enjoy. Looms were forthwith erected; the crops of flax-seed perfectly succeeded; and the founder of the trade himself was at length rewarded for his industry by being enabled to ship for Spain, at his own hazard, the first investment of linen ever exported from Ireland.

One of the political maxims of Wentworth was, that the Irish ought to be rendered so wholly dependent upon the crown, as "to be unable to subsist without its good pleasure." This principle he had a good deal acted upon in his substitution of the linen for the woollen manufacture; and a monopoly which he now established carried still further his insolent system. To tastes so despotic as his, a precedent furnished by France could not fail to be welcome; and a gabelle, or royal monopoly of the sale of salt, was exactly the sort of impost for his purpose,\* not only as affording an ample revenue, but, likewise, as keeping down the natives in still more helpless

\* "Salt," he says, in one of his letters, "is of so absolute necessity as it cannot stay upon his majesty's hand, but must be had, whether they will or no, and may at all times be raised in price."

subservience. Thus, between a gabelle on their salt and a prohibition against their woollen goods, they would be entirely at his majesty's mercy both for their food and clothes. It was in contemplating this signal result of his legislation, that he exclaimed triumphantly, "How shall they be able to depart from us without nakedness and beggary?"

As one of the motives that chiefly influenced him in deserting his own party and joining the ranks of the government, was the strong desire which long had possessed him of being raised to a rank in the peerage, so the attainment of another step in the scale of dignities was the great and crowning reward of all his services, to which he now, with a feeling of eagerness that amounted almost to passion, looked forward. Twice had he ventured to approach the royal presence with an humble petition for some public mark of favour which might refute the calumnies of his enemies, and prove that his majesty did not lend them any belief. But the cold refusal with which his prayer was always met, struck dishearteningly even on his buoyant spirit, and was, indeed, but too sure a forewarning of that later and darker stage of his course when the memorable exclamation was wrung from him, "Put not your trust in princes." It was on one of these occasions when, humbly but earnestly, he was urging his petition to the king, that he found himself silenced by the following haughty rebuke: "Places and titles have truly the effect of rewards, only when conferred by the master without the servant's importunity; otherwise men judge them to proceed rather from the servant's wit than the master's favour."

But, in Scotland, a state of affairs had now presented itself which opened to Wentworth a new field for his zealous efforts in the cause of royalty. The steady stand made by the Scots, in defence of their liberties and their kirk, was daily assuming, in spite of their caution, a more decisive aspect, and fast arousing in them that ardent zeal which, as Charles himself



described it, was all the more formidable, from "coming veiled under the pretence of religion." To meet the difficulties which this new crisis seemed to threaten, the king, notwithstanding his late ungracious treatment of Wentworth, wrote to summon that lord to his presence; saying laconically, "I think it not right to express by letter more than this,—the Scottish covenant spreads too far."

Thus called to the royal councils, and at a crisis so full of difficulties, Wentworth saw that the crowning reward of his shameless apostacy was near at hand. He had, at first, been rather averse to war with the Scots, saying, with a feeling too just and generous to be long retained by him, that "it was a tender point to draw blood from subjects, even when rebellious." But of these scruples he had now divested himself; and, being convinced, as he said, that his majesty had no longer any other alternative than either to forego entirely his sovereignty, or else reduce his stubborn subjects by force, he gave his advice for immediate war with the Scots. This hasty resolve, to which the king as readily assented, Wentworth proceeded, with all his prompt and decisive energy, at once to act upon; and, as the difficulty of raising supplies continued, as usual, to thwart and palsy every movement of the executive, the long-evaded resource of a parliament was, at length, reluctantly adopted; while, to meet immediate exigencies, a voluntary contribution was set on foot, in which the lord deputy led the way, by subscribing, as his share, twenty thousand pounds. To a servant thus wholly devoted, even so frigid a patron as Charles could not any longer remain unjust. He was accordingly created earl of Strafford and baron Raby, adorned with the blue ribbon, and likewise invested with the title of lord lieutenant; a distinction which had not been conferred upon any deputy since Elizabeth had granted it to Robert earl of Essex.

In heaping upon him these honours (A. D. 1640), the king

was but decorating a victim for other hands to sacrifice. Meanwhile, his attainment of these high distinctions in nowise weakened his zeal and activity in his master's service; though so much shattered was his frame by constant attacks of gout, that he was frequently obliged to be borne in a litter; and, when he sailed this time for Dublin, to attend the opening of the Irish parliament, he was suddenly seized at Beaumaris by a severe fit of his malady. But although the wind continued adverse, and his sufferings still increased, he yet insisted upon being immediately removed on board, lest the pains should become so intense as to prevent his removal.

The spirit manifested by the Irish parliament was quite as loyal, liberal, and obsequious as even their lieutenant could himself have desired. Four entire subsidies, the sum required by the court, were unanimously voted; and several of the natives loudly declared that "six and even more were fit to be given." All seemed, indeed, to vie in the warmth and intensity of their loyal feelings; some declaring that, "as his majesty was the best of kings, so his people should try to be ranked among the best of subjects;" while others, with that fondness for metaphor which seems innate in the Irish, and which has sometimes been assumed as one of the proofs of their eastern descent, declared that "their hearts contained mines of subsidies for his majesty."

On the credit of the four subsidies, and the amount of the annual revenue, which had increased, under the management of Strafford (as we must now style him), to above £80,000 per annum, he was enabled to raise 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, in addition to the veteran forces. But this Irish army, being most of them Catholics, and trained to the use of arms, became so offensive, says a staunch hater of papists, "to all moderate and thinking Protestants, that it brought great disrepute and prejudice on the king's affairs; and, in the end, cost the lord lieutenant his head." Of this small army, an-

other writer gives the following far more just and lively description:—"Towards the middle of that month, the Irish troops rendezvoused at Carrickfergus, under the command of Sir William St. Leger, major-general of the army, who was much pleased with the figure they made; the delight and pride which they took in their arms; their willingness and aptness to learn their exercise; their fondness for the service; their mettle and gallant appearance, which was such as would recommend them to be chose for a service where a crown lay at stake." \*

When the two houses met again, in the month of June, the same good humour by no means prevailed in which they had parted two months before; and, as the absence, on their professional duty, of the military members of the house of commons, left a majority to the Catholic party, they took advantage of this state of the house to bring forward two popular measures;—one for lessening the income of the clergy, and the other for reducing the amount of the subsidies lately granted to the crown. Feeling those grants to have been exorbitant and oppressive, they ventured to alter the mode of assessing three of the subsidies, declaring, at the same time, that, in consideration of his majesty's many and pressing occasions, the first of the four subsidies should be levied according to the instructions issued by the deputy; but adding, that neither these instructions, nor what was done in the late parliament (1634) respecting the subsidies then raised, should be any guide or precedent in levying the three other subsidies, which they had therefore ordered to be raised in "a moderate, equal, and parliamentary manner."

Their proceedings upon this question, as well as on that concerning the income of the Irish clergy, were marked by a freedom of will and purpose rarely witnessed in the Irish commons; and showed that the examples of public spirit which

\* Carte.

even already the English legislature had held forth were not unprofitably observed by them.

But so indignant was the monarch at being thus stinted in his expected supplies, that, in a burst of undignified rage, he ordered the leaf in which this resolution was inserted to be torn out of the journals; which order was accordingly executed by the lord deputy. But the commons were not to be intimidated by this peevish outbreak of royalty. They had been lately much engaged in communication with those able men who wielded so skilfully the vast power of the popular party in England; and with whom, at this time, their bond of concert was hatred to Strafford himself, and deep disgust at those principles of government of which, for years, he had stood forth the daring and insolent champion. Encouraged by the aid and sympathy of such men, the Irish commons drew up a statement of the wrongs and grievances under which they had long laboured, and appointed a select committee to lay this remonstrance before his majesty. In this committee, which consisted of sixteen members, the representatives of the upper house were lords Gormanstown, Kilmallock, Costello, and Baltinglass.

As without a licence no person could leave the kingdom, and such a permission was sure to be refused to the members of the commission, it was for some time a matter of doubt whether they could effect their object. The new lord deputy, Sir Christopher Wandesford, was Strafford's intimate friend, and was strongly suspected of having employed some secret agents to rase from the journal book of the house of commons some instructions that had been agreed upon for a committee to impeach the earl. He had secretly endeavoured to hinder the Irish committee from going to England, and at length forbade them, on their allegiance, to leave the kingdom. But, notwithstanding this injunction, they all succeeded in getting away, and, sailing some of them from one

port, some from another, arrived at length safely in England.

The Remonstrance of Grievances, of which they were the bearers, consists of sixteen articles, and commences by reminding his majesty that, until of late, the kingdom of Ireland was "in its growth a flourishing estate, whereby they had been enabled to comply with his majesty's princely and royal occasions, first, by their free gift of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; likewise by another free gift of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds more during the government of the lord viscount Falkland; and, afterwards, by the gift of forty thousand pounds, and their free and cheerful gift of six entire subsidies,\* in the tenth year of his majesty's reign, which subsidies, in compliance with his then occasions, they allowed to amount, in the collections, unto two hundred and fifty thousand pounds."

After reminding him that in them, the Catholic people, lay the main source and strength of his revenue, they proceeded to enumerate some of the wrongs under which they laboured; the arbitrary decisions of causes and controversies before the chief governor; the perversion of law by the judges in order to gratify the court; the cruel punishments employed to repress the freedom of speech and writing; the extended powers of the High Court of Commission and other tyrannical tribunals; and the consequent want of all security for persons and property; the unusual and unlawful increase of monopolies; and the exorbitant fees and customs exacted by the clergy; these, with a number of other wrongs, already noticed in these pages,—such as the denial of the Royal Graces, and more especially of the Statute of Limitation,—were all impressively set forth in this remarkable Remonstrance, which afforded the

\* The manner in which subsidies had been raised in Ireland was after the ancient custom of these taxes in England,—a certain sum imposed upon the ploughed lands. This, Strafford, by an exertion of power, abolished, and appointed commissioners to levy the subsidies out of lands and goods.



first instance ever known of an application made from Ireland to a house of commons in England.

The Scottish army had now reached the borders of England, and were preparing to carry the war into that kingdom. The earl of Northumberland had been named chief commander of the English forces; but, being ill-affected to the cause, he declined the offer under the pretence of indisposition. The command then devolved on the earl of Strafford, who had been summoned over from Ireland for that purpose; and whom we now find at York, haranguing the gentry of that county, and exhorting them to attend his majesty, in case of invasion, at their own cost and charges. "It is little less," he added, "than high treason in any one to refuse it. I say it again, we are bound unto it by the common law of England, by the law of nature, and by the law of reason; and you are no better than beasts if you refuse in this case to attend his majesty offering in person to lead you on."

That very night (A. D. 1640) the Scots had pitched their tents at Heddum Law, above Newbourne,\* from whence there sloped a continued descent to the river Tyne; and the same night part of the king's army, consisting of 3,000 foot and 1,500 horse, were drawn up on a level meadow ground, which extended a mile on the south side of the Tyne. In this position both horse and foot continued that night and the following day; the Scots all the forenoon watering their horse on one side of the river, and the English on the other, "without," says the relator, "affronting one another, or exchanging any reproachful language." The Scots, having the advantage of the rising ground above Newbourne, could easily discern the position and movements of the English force below in the valley. They accordingly brought down cannon into the town of Newbourne, and planted some in the church steeple a small distance from the river, while their musketeers were placed in

\* Rushworth.

the church, lanes, and hedges in and about Newbourne. In this position of the two armies, the slightest movement towards hostility was all that either required from the other to bring them fiercely into collision; and this was afforded by a slight incident which, in the midst of this watchful stillness, took place. A Scottish officer, well mounted, having a black feather in his hat, came out of one of the thatched houses in Newbourne, and watered his horse in the river, as both parties had done in the course of that day. An English soldier, who had been observing him, and perceived that he looked earnestly towards the English trenches, fired at him,—whether in earnest, or merely to frighten him, was not known; but the man was wounded and fell from his horse; whereupon, the Scottish musketeers fired upon the English, and a general battle immediately commenced.

Not to dwell further on events and personages which belong chiefly to English history, it need only be stated, that in this battle the officers who most distinguished themselves on the royal side, were the lord Wilmot, Sir John Digby, a Roman Catholic, and Daniel O'Neill, an Irishman, who jointly engaged the enemy, and had a sharp encounter with their horse, being commanded to bring up the rear. The gates of Newcastle were then thrown open to the Scots, and the following day, being Sunday, fifteen lords, and Douglas, the sheriff of Galloway, came and dined with the mayor, drank a health to the king, and had three sermons, that day, from their own divines.\*

The routed army, meanwhile, fled in confusion; and the news of their defeat and flight reached Strafford the following day at Darlington, when on his road half-way to Newcastle, and proudly anticipating an easy victory over the scorned and rebellious Scots. This dream of his pride was now dissipated; and the result of his first military enterprise was the entire

\* Rushworth.

abandonment to their mercy of Newcastle and the whole counties of Northumberland and Durham.

Bold and fearless as was Strafford's nature, even he could hardly have witnessed, without some inward quailing, the general storm of hate and vengeance that now gathered from all quarters around him. The title of "incendiary," constantly coupled with his name, showed to what lengths of daring ambition he was thought capable of aspiring; nor, indeed, could any less dark estimate of his character account for the general hate and horror with which he was regarded. The Scots detested him as the intolerant foe of their creed and covenant; eight years of insulting despotism had drawn down on him the curse of the whole Irish people; and his own countrymen, when lately he marshalled them against the Scots, saw in their leader far more to fear and hate than in the enemy. Even after the Scots had begun to negotiate with the king, they refused to hold their conferences at York, because, as they said, it lay within the jurisdiction of their mortal enemy, the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Towards the close of this year took place that important event, the opening of the Long Parliament, after the disuse of these assemblies for the space of eleven years. Their restoration had been long and eagerly looked for; and boons and benefits till now undreamed of were eagerly expected from their revival. "When the parliament shall sit," said lord Clanricarde, "then will come the day that shall pay for all;" and this was in general the feeling of confidence with which the parliament that met in November, 1640, was expected and welcomed. The important questions then at issue between the country and the court, lent to the occasion a deep and general interest; nor could those who were at all conscious of any delinquency towards the people, hear unconcerned the solemn announcement made by the commons, that the three great subjects about to be submitted to parliament were, the investiga-

tion of abuses, the adoption of remedies, and the punishment of delinquents. Under this last head the whole country, by common consent, included that great state delinquent, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Strafford himself had long foreseen that the spirit of political freedom then abroad would, if not curbed and subdued, soon lay in the dust that towering structure of absolute power before which he bowed in worship; and that his own fall was sure to be involved in its ruin. To parliaments, as employed in Ireland, merely as channels through which to drain the subjects' wealth, he was disposed far more favourably than his royal master; and, when managed and marshalled under his commanding eye, they were instruments as apt and pliant as he could have desired. But the voice of the English people, as now put forth in their parliament, spoke to him a language far different, and brought with it omens of a day of reckoning which his subsequent fate but too fully confirmed. Throughout the whole, indeed, of his daring course, a sort of foreboding seems to have haunted him of the headlong fall to which it must ultimately lead. "At the peril of my head," were the words ever ready on his tongue or pen, when any hazardous act of tyranny or spoliation was contemplated by him.

But the tide of his fortune was now rapidly ebbing. At York he had been cross-questioned and called to an account for the conduct of the army; he had totally failed in all he attempted and all he predicted against the Scots; while, in Ireland, the commons had torn out of their journals the eulogy they had formerly voted on his administration; and of all the army he had raised at such cost, in that country, not a single soldier was he able to bring into the field. To complete this combination of adverse circumstances, the English parliament was about to commence its criminatory course, and the king had summoned him to attend. Most earnestly did he entreat

of his majesty to be allowed to absent himself, and either to retire to the army at York, or else remain at his post in Ireland, where, removed from the vigilance of parliament, he might contrive to elude its vengeance. But Charles refused even to listen to his entreaties; and with a confidence in his own power which proved fatal to the object of his protection, assured him, under his own hand, that "the parliament should not touch one hair of his head."

With a boding spirit Strafford proceeded to London, where the two houses had already assembled; and where all he witnessed and all he heard must have painfully convinced him that the dissolution of the late houses of parliament had but aggravated the national grievances, and aroused throughout the whole kingdom a more determined and defying spirit.

From this period the brief remainder of Strafford's course belongs properly to English history; and all the details of that stern process of justice by which he was ultimately brought to the scaffold, are known familiarly to most readers. The summary course pursued by the commons on being informed that he had taken his seat in the house of lords; the notice given by Pym of an intended motion in the commons, which he requested might be heard and debated with closed doors; the formal grant of this request; and the entrance, shortly after, of a numerous deputation, who, with the mover of the important question at their head, proceeded to the house of lords, and there, in the name of the lower house, and of the commons of all England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford, of high treason, and required that his person should be immediately placed under arrest,—such, in brief, is the official account of the solemn opening of this great trial with which we are furnished by English historians. But to a writer who lived in that day, and appears to have personally witnessed the proceedings, we are indebted for a much more graphic report of



the scene that followed on Pym's speech. "The lords," he says, "began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the lord-lieutenant, where he was with the king; with speed he comes to the house; he calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens; his lordship, with a proud, gloomy countenance, makes toward his place at the board-head; but at once many bid him void the house; so he is forced in confusion to go to the door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod, to be prisoner, till he was cleared of those crimes the house of commons charged him with. He offered to speak, but was ordered to be gone without a word." After a few more such details, the narrative thus proceeds:—"In the outer room James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. When he had got it, he cries with a loud voice for his man to carry my lord-lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach; all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom, that morning, the greatest of England would have stood discovered, all crying, 'What is the matter?' He said, 'A small matter, I warrant you.' They replied, 'Yes, indeed, high treason is a small matter.' Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behoved to return that same way through a world of gazing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, 'Your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach.' So he behoved to do."

Of the numerous charges brought against Strafford in the course of his trial, those connected with his conduct in Ireland, are all we are called upon here to notice. Besides those acts of oppression and cruelty already adverted to, he was accused of having publicly asserted that the Irish were a conquered

nation, and that the king might do with them as he pleased; likewise, that the charters of the corporation of Dublin were mere discretionary grants from the crown. He was charged with acts of wanton tyranny against lord Mountnorris, lord Loftus, and other personages of rank. It was alleged that the earl of Cork having sued out a process for the recovery of his lands, from which he had been ousted by the accused and the council-table, Strafford threatened to imprison him for adopting this legal course, declaring that he would have neither law nor lawyers to question his orders. He had likewise, on another occasion, denied justice to this earl, and openly said, that he would have him and all Ireland know, that so long as he held the government there, any act of council already made, or which should be made thereafter, should not be less obligatory than an act of parliament. He was also accused of having delegated to the bishop of Down and Connor, and his several officers, powers enabling them to attach and imprison the poorer sort who refused obedience to their decrees; of having procured to himself a monopoly of tobacco, and then prohibited the importation of that commodity without a licence under the most terrible penalties; of having prohibited the manufacturing of wool, and then insisted upon the natives spinning the flax in a particular manner, whereby he in a short time got a monopoly in his own person, at an infinite expense to the inhabitants. In order to prevent the complaints of the injured from reaching the royal ear, he had obtained from the king an order that none should quit the limits of his government without a licence from himself; and had fined and imprisoned all those who had dared to disobey his proclamation. It was further charged against him, that he had encouraged papists, and raised an army of 8,000 men from that body; that, although he had advised a parliament, he assured his majesty that he would assist him in extraordinary ways, if it proved refractory, and had for that purpose confederated with Sir George Rat-

cliffe to bring over the Irish army. Finally, that he afterwards advised the king to dissolve the parliament, and declared to him that he was now absolved from all rules of government.

Besides these main charges, we find dispersed throughout the different articles of the impeachment a number of minor grounds of complaint, which, though put forward but incidentally, give even more strange and startling insights into the notion which Ireland's rulers must then have entertained of justice. One of the practices still retained in Strafford's time, and for which he pleaded precedent, was the custom of employing soldiers to collect the king's revenue, and execute other acts of power, which should be performed only by the civil magistrate; and this he proved to have been done familiarly in the times of all preceding deputies. In evidence of this fact, Sir Arthur Tyringham, who was cited in Strafford's defence, deposed that, in lord Falkland's time, he knew of twenty soldiers being assessed upon one man for his having refused to pay sixteen shillings sterling. A similar line of defence was taken by him upon the subject of martial law; "it had been executed at all times in Ireland, and never so sparingly as in his; persons going up and down the country who could not give a good account of themselves, were hanged by the provost-marshal;" "I dare say," added Strafford, "there are hundreds of examples of this kind." So far was he himself from perceiving the evils of such a practice, that, in his triumphant account to the king, in the year 1635, of the success of his Irish administration, one of his boasts was that he had thus employed the soldiers; the army being, he said, "an excellent minister and assistant in the execution of the king's writs, and the great peacemaker between the British and the natives."

It was only in Ireland that a ruler like Strafford could have found so ready and open a field for the full indulgence or his domineering spirit. In no other country could such a scheme for the extinction of a whole people's liberties have

been so boldly and undisguisedly attempted. The sphere of action was suited to the man. His own letters, indeed, are fully sufficient to convict him of a deep and deliberate design to enlist law as well as the sword on the side of absolute power, and, aided by both, to reduce the Irish to a state of prostrate submission.

To punish by death this treason to the people, was an act perhaps of overstrained rigour. But the occasion was one that justified such a departure from ordinary precedents; and it has been well and justly observed, in defence of his judges, that they appear to have considered his case as one of those in which, for a moment, a veil may be drawn over liberty, as the Romans, on some occasions, did the statues of their gods.\* This stretch of severity, however, has had the effect of producing a reaction in favour of his memory; and, among the worshippers in "the high places" of power, lord Strafford remains to this day a favourite idol.

Of all his merits, as a man and statesman, that which redounds most to his honour, was the wise and tolerant spirit by which, in all matters relating to religion, he was generally actuated. The sole exception to the praise due to him on this account, was the introduction, or rather the revival, by him, of the Court of High Commission, a court instituted in the time of Elizabeth, for the enforcement of religious belief by penal statutes. In the hands of Strafford, however, its enormous power was made subservient solely to fiscal purposes; and he could boast with just pride that, during his government in Ireland, "not the hair of a man's head was touched for the free exercise of his conscience." In a similar spirit, he wisely declared that fines to enforce conformity were "an engine rather to draw money out of men's pockets, than to raise a right belief in their hearts."

\* Ou il faut mettre pour un moment un voile sur la Liberté comme l'on cache les statues des Dieux.—See an able and eloquent article in the *Edinburgh Review*, on *Phillipps's State Trials*.

## CHAPTER LIV.

CHARLES I.—(*continued.*)

SECRET PLANS OF THE ULSTER REBELS.—THE EARL OF ANTRIM.—HIS OFFICIAL INCAPACITY.—THE O'MOORES AND O'CONNORS.—PARALLEL BETWEEN THE NATIVE IRISH AND THE SCOTS.—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO SURPRISE THE CASTLE OF DUBLIN.—ARREST OF THE INSURGENTS.—SIR FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY MADE GOVERNOR OF THE CASTLE.—RISING OF THE ULSTER REBELS.—GREAT SUCCESS OF THE INSURRECTION.—BEDELL, BISHOP OF KILMORE.—DESIGNS AGAINST THE CATHOLICS.—SUDDEN PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.—MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY AND LAITY.—CRUELTY OF SIR PHELM O'NEILL.—NOBLE CONDUCT OF HIS MOTHER.—REPORTED MASSACRE OF THREE THOUSAND CATHOLICS.—UNWORTHY CONDUCT OF ENGLISH STATESMEN.—ALLEGED APPARITIONS.—SPREAD OF THE INSURRECTION.—OUTRAGES IN MUNSTER.—KINDNESS OF THE CATHOLICS TOWARDS THE SUFFERERS.—SALUTARY MEASURES OF THE MARQUIS OF CLANRICARDE.—ROUT OF A PARTY OF ENGLISH NEAR DROGHEDA.—FEUD BETWEEN THE NATIVE IRISH AND THE COLONISTS.—ENGLISH LORDS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PALE VOLUNTEER IN THE SERVICE OF THE CROWN.—GENERAL EXECUTION OF PRISONERS.—EMPLOYMENT OF THE RACK.—VICTORY OF LORD MOORE OVER THE REBELS.—ARCHBISHOP USHER AND HIS PROPHECY.—SIEGE OF DROGHEDA.—PROCLAMATION OFFERING A REWARD FOR THE HEADS OF THE INSURGENTS.—THE SIEGE OF DROGHEDA RAISED.—DEFECTION OF THE LORDS OF THE PALE.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.—CONFERENCE ON THE STATE OF THE KINGDOM.—GENERAL INSURRECTION.—ITS IMMEDIATE CAUSES.—OPERATIONS OF THE CLERGY.—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—ADDRESS TO THE KING.—RETURN FROM ABROAD OF IRISH OFFICERS.—ADDITIONS TO THE SCOTTISH FORCE.—DESTRUCTIVE ENCOUNTER WITH THE REBELS.—CRUELITIES OF MUNROE, THE SCOTTISH GENERAL.—HEROIC CONDUCT OF THE LADY OFFALRY.—BATTLE OF KILRUSH.—EARL OF CASTLEHAVEN.—CRUELITIES OF THE LORDS-JUSTICES.—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INSURGENTS.—INDEPENDENT SPIRIT OF THE CATHOLICS.—PETITION TO THE KING.—PIER-FRANCESCO SCAMPARI, MINISTER FROM THE POPE.—OBJECT OF HIS MISSION TO IRELAND.—THE CESSATION.—VIOLENT OPPOSITION TO IT.—WANT OF CONFIDENCE IN THE KING.—ADHERENCE OF THE LEADING NOBLEMEN TO THE ROYAL CAUSE.—THE CESSATION PUBLICLY PROCLAIMED THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM.—EFFORTS TO SUPERSEDE IT.—OPPOSITION OF THE SCOTS.—EARL OF ANTRIM.—REMONSTRANCE OF THE CATHOLICS.—STRIFE OF PARTIES IN IRELAND.—BATTLE OF ROSSE.—TREATY OF OXFORD.—CLAIMS PUT FORWARD BY THE CATHOLIC PARTY.—SLOW PROGRESS OF RIGHT AND JUSTICE.—RIGOROUS MEASURES AGAINST THE CATHOLICS.—SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.—ITS POWER CRUSHED BY ORMONDE.—THE NUNCIO RINUCCINI.—FALLACIOUS PEACE CONCLUDED.—O'KELLY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.—BATTLE OF BENBUB.—DEATH OF O'NEILL.

The part which the Irish began now to act, in the affairs of this reign, formed one of its strangest and most peculiar features. While the rebels of Ulster were planning, in secret,



their work of vengeance, the monarch himself, assisted by his Irish counsellors, was engaging in schemes which nought but their weakness had so long prevented from drawing upon him humiliation, and almost disgrace. The immediate object of his present designs was to have at his disposal that Irish army which had been so long kept in reserve. Steps had been taken in the time of Strafford to forward this wish of the monarch; and the person whom the king then employed to negotiate for him was an intriguing Irish lord, the earl of Antrim. However unfortunate for the king was the selection of such an agent, we are indebted to it for an amusing episode, which Strafford, in one of his letters, relates with much humour. It must be premised that, among the pretensions advanced by Antrim, he laid claim to some portion of the marquis of Argyle's estates, which lay among the western isles of Scotland; and, under pretence of assailing the Covenanters, had got leave from the king to undertake an expedition from the coast of Ulster, and, by force of arms, assert his right to that territory. "I inquired of him," says Strafford, "what store of victuals his lordship had provided for the 8,000 foot and 300 horse whom he proposed to transport? He replied, 'Not any; they could find sufficient, he thought, in an enemy's country, to maintain them; only he should take 10,000 live cows, to furnish milk.' But, suppose Argyle should drive the cattle, carry off the corn, and lay waste the country, how were men, horses, or cows to find subsistence? 'They would do well enough; feed their horses with leaves of trees, and themselves with shamrocks.' To this I craved leave," says Strafford, "to inform his lordship, that I had heard there were no trees in the isles; but, if trees, as yet no leaves. What provision, I inquired, had he made, to feed his men whilst he was training them, and during their embarkation? They were, the whilst, I reminded him, in a friend's country, all true and loyal subjects; those he might not plunder in any

wise. 'He had not considered of that.' What officers had he to instruct and lead them, what powder, ball, ordnance, ammunition, implements of every kind? He referred himself to me for all these things; but he would not make a formal war of it; 'he would land on the isles, were it only with 300 men; the inhabitants did so adore him (that was his expression), that he could do more with that number than another with 20,000: none would fight against him, all for him.'"

Notwithstanding such glaring proofs of this lord's absurdity, the king persevered in employing him; and among the trusts he now secretly confided to him, was that of sounding somewhat the intentions of those officers who had been commissioned to raise soldiers for the king of Spain. An impression had been entertained that they came for the purpose of taking away "the Irish army,"—as that force of 8,000 men raised by Strafford was always styled. But among those to whom the secret might safely be trusted, it was well known that the real intention was to keep those soldiers at home, for the service of the king,—being one of the few resources on which he could depend, in that conflict with his refractory parliament which he now saw to be inevitable. With similar secrecy those persons who were acting for him applied for aid to the Catholics of the Pale, and likewise to the Ulster chiefs, who hailed most joyfully the proffered alliance, approved highly of the project of seizing the castle of Dublin, and promised to co-operate with their plan by attacking on the same day most of the English garrisons in the northern counties. In all these designs, the earl of Antrim was still his majesty's private agent and contriver.

There were thus, at this crisis, in full activity, two secret negotiations, or rather plots, the devisers of which, though differing totally and irreconcilably in their ultimate objects, were both availing themselves for their respective purposes of the same massy, but pliant instrument, the native Irish popu

lation. While, on one side, the brave descendants of the O'Moores and O'Connors of other days were loudly appealing to them to rally around their national standard, on the other, the monarch himself was secretly trying to obtain, in the struggle he saw then impending, the perilous alliance of his rebel subjects against his refractory parliament.

We have seen that, under the influence of that rage for colonisation which prevailed in the time of James I., when large grants were bestowed upon companies and individuals to which neither the givers nor the receivers had the slightest shadow of claim, that monarch, seized, like the rest of the world, with this colonising spirit, dispossessed of their lands the entire population of no less than six out of the thirty-two counties contained in the kingdom, and transferred the territories possessed by them and their ancestors to English and Scottish planters. But these exiles carried along with them a deep and revengeful recollection of all that themselves and their fellow-countrymen had suffered; and although Tyrone had been many years dead, a son worthy of his name and fame was still alive, commanded a regiment in the Spanish service, and had been encouraged to expect aid from cardinal Richelieu as well as from the courts of Spain and Rome. With Tyrone was closely associated Roger O'Moore, whose ancestors were expelled from their lands in the reigns of Edward and Mary, and their sept almost exterminated by force of arms.

The amiable qualities of O'Moore had rendered him generally popular. His handsome person, courteous manner, and various talents, insured him a welcome wherever he went; and so much loved was he among the Irish in general, that they used to celebrate him in their songs; and it was a common saying among them, "God and our Lady be our help, and Roger O'Moore." In order to sound and ascertain the real state of the popular feeling in Ireland, O'Moore had visited

Ulster, and there consulted respecting the prospects of their great cause with lord Maguire, baron of Iniskillen, who, by the few remains of his sept still left in Fermanagh, was regarded as their chieftain. Among other zealous friends of the cause, with whom O'Moore consulted, were Hugh MacMahon, grandson to the late Tyrone, colonel Birn, and Sir Phelim O'Neill, the man of most influence, of his name and lineage, then resident in Ulster. Of the malecontents who joined their ranks, some belonged to those ancient families in Ulster who had been driven out of their dwellings at the point of the pike,—not for offences of their own, but of those thanists, or chiefs, to whom the districts belonged, and who alone were justly accountable for them. Some had, themselves, been robbed and ruined by the late inquisition in Connaught, that fraudulent scheme of Strafford's to enrich the king at the expense of his subjects, and extirpate the natives to make way for strangers;—a scheme which has been truly pronounced to have been “one of the fountains and spring-heads of the rebellion that followed. All were impelled by those two joint incentives,—revenge for past wrongs, and sanguine hope of speedy redress. They had now before them, too, the encouraging example of the Scots; and when asked afterwards what chiefly moved them to take up arms, their answer was, “Why should not we as well, and better, fight for religion, which is the substance, than the Scots did for ceremonies, which are but shadows?” Another ground they alleged for their confidence was no less characteristic,—they “thought themselves as well able to overthrow a constitution as the Covenanters.”

All had been arranged by Antrim and his friends for a general rising both in Dublin and the northern counties, on the first day of the meeting of parliament, in the month of November. But this delay by no means suited the impatient temperament of the ancient Irish, and they determined to attempt the surprise of the castle of Dublin on the 23d of Octo-

ber. Accordingly, on the morning of the 22d the conspirators began early to assemble; and all was in forwardness for their attack on the castle the following day. But, that very night, one of their leaders, Hugh MacMahon, disclosed the secret to a Protestant gentleman, named Owen O'Conolly, whom he hoped to engage in their cause. In the course of the night, O'Conolly communicated to Sir William Parsons the alarming intelligence which he had received; in consequence of which MacMahon, Maguire, and about thirty more were arrested; and so little concerned, or rather so daring, was Hugh MacMahon, that, while waiting in a hall till the council should examine him, he amused himself with chalking upon the floor, as if foreshadowing his own fate, figures of men hanging upon gibbets, or writhing on the ground. When brought before the council, he avowed, at once, with a tone of defiance, his share in the plot, adding, that although he had failed in this attempt, there were yet other places of strength to be attacked, of which no human power could now prevent the fall. "For himself, it was true, they had him in their power, and might use him as they pleased; but he was sure to be revenged."

Through the assistance, as it appears, of friends in Dublin, O'Moore and other principals of the plot were enabled to escape across the river in the night. Sir Francis Willoughby, an officer of high reputation, was made governor of the castle, which, though furnished with arms for 10,000 men, could boast but eighteen warders and forty halberdiers, to compose the whole of its garrison.

While these events were passing in Dublin, the Ulster rebels, who knew not the fate of their southern allies, commenced the insurrection on the appointed day, "rising up," says one of the accounts of the day, "as if they were actuated by one and the same spirit, in all places, and at one and the same point of time." But the first act of Sir Phelim O'Neill,



their principal leader, gave fearful earnest of the barbarous spirit which he afterwards displayed. As if to dishonour his cause at starting, on the very eve of the day fixed for the general outbreak, he invited himself to sup with lord Caulfield, the governor of the castle of Charlemont, and having thus gained admission for many of his followers, took advantage of the hour of festivity to make the governor, his family, and the whole garrison prisoners. The same night, Sir Phelim seized on the castle of Dungannon, once the seat of Ulster's kings; while some of his associates took by force the castle of Mountjoy. Tandragee was taken possession of by the O'Hanlons, and Newry by Con Magennis, who found there a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. Roger Maguire, brother to the lord of that name, made himself master, in a short time, of the greater part of the county of Fermanagh; and the ancient sept of the MacMahons possessed themselves of every stronghold in the county of Monaghan. By skilfully dividing their forces so as to surprise, in rapid succession, one castle or garrison after another, they became, in eight days, the triumphant occupants of the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal, and Derry; besides several other castles and places, which, though at first stoutly defended, were at length, for want of relief, compelled to surrender into their hands.

This sweeping course of unchecked aggression occupied the space of only a week; and so rapidly had Sir Phelim's force in that time increased, that he now found himself at the head of an army of 30,000 men. During this first week of the insurrection, the original scheme of the Ulster leaders was so far pursued, that, although great numbers of the English were driven from their dwellings and dispossessed of their property, few fell by the sword; and no such frightful acts of cruelty had yet been perpetrated as afterwards rendered the very name of the northern Irish an abomination to Europe.

On the contrary, we find, at this time, notwithstanding the strife and confusion that prevailed, more than one instance of the pliant readiness with which the Irish heart opens to kindness, whenever the rare experiment is tried of appealing to its better qualities, instead of rousing, by wrongs and insults, into activity, all that is worst, most inflammable, and dangerous in the national character.

That learned and amiable prelate, William Bedell, bishop of Kilmore, was at this time in the county of Cavan, and, though a dignitary of the church hostile to them, was treated by the insurgents with every mark, not merely of respect, but affectionate reverence. His was the only house in the country that during that time remained unviolated; and it was filled with the people who fled to him for shelter. He, and all those within his walls, says his biographer, bishop Burnet, "enjoyed to a miracle perfect quiet."

By this excellent man—"one of the brightest lights," as he is described, "of the Irish church"—was drawn up that Remonstrance of the gentry and commonalty of the county of Cavan, which was presented about this time to the king, and which, coming from a Protestant prelate far too wise and amiable to sanction statements which he did not himself believe, may be regarded as a fair representation of the state of feeling then in that province, and shall be given therefore at length.

"To the right honourable the Justices and Council, the humble Remonstrances of the gentry and commonalty of the county of Caven, of their grievances, common with other parts of this kingdom of Ireland :

"Whereas we, his majesty's loyal subjects of his highness's kingdom of Ireland, have, of long time, groaned under many grievances and pressures, occasioned by the vigorous government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes than the honour of his majesty, or the welfare of his subjects; whereof we, in humble manner, declared ourselves to his highness by our agents, sent

from the parliament, the representative body of the kingdom ; notwithstanding which, we find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just grounds given on our parts, to alter his majesty's goodness, so long continued to us. Of all which we find great cause of fears in the proceedings of our neighbour nations ; and do see it already attempted by certain petitioners, for the like course to be taken in this kingdom, for the effecting thereof in a compulsory way ; so as rumour have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the dissolving of the bond of mutual agreement which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several subjects of this kingdom, and whereby all his majesty's other dominions have been linked in one. For the preventing, therefore, of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have for the preservation of his majesty's honour and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands, for his highness's use and service, such forts and other places of strength as, coming into the possession of others, might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter undoing of the kingdom. And we do hereby declare that herein we harbour not the least thought of hostility towards his majesty, or purpose any hurt to his highness's subjects, in their possessions, goods, or liberty, only we desire that your lordships will be pleased to make remonstrances to his majesty for us of all our grievances and just fears, that they may be removed, and such a course settled by the advice of the parliament of Ireland, whereby the liberty of our consciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of other burdens in civil government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have already happened, through the disorder of the common people, against the English inhabitants, or any other, we, with the nobility and gentlemen, and such others of the several counties of this kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as, in part, we have already done.

“An answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present expedition as may by your lordship be thought most convenient for avoiding the inconvenience of the barbarousness and incivility of the commonalty, who have committed many outrages without any order, consenting, or privy of ours. All which we leave to your lordship's wisdom, and shall humble pray, &c. &c.

The apprehension here expressed, by the Catholic Remonstrants, of being expelled from “their native seats,” was one that had spread, at this time, universally among the Irish, and

indeed no doubt can now exist, that the dominant party in England and Ireland, of which, in this latter country, the lords-justices were the representatives, had, for a considerable time, entertained the inhuman project of entirely extirpating the Catholic Irish, and establishing new plantations throughout the kingdom.

“The lords-justices,” says a well-informed writer, “set their hearts on the extirpation not only of the mere Irish, but likewise of all the old English families, that were Roman Catholics.”\* To the same authority we owe the important admission, that the party which first formed the inhuman design of extirpating all the Catholics, had, by publishing that design, rendered the rebellion so active and general, as it proved at last.

Concurrent with this notable project, and not much later in date, was a scheme devised by the same rapacious party for the confiscation of the possessions of all the Catholics of Ireland. At the time when they were thus impatient to seize the spoils of their own ruinous handiwork, the rebellion, which began in Ulster on the 23d of October, had not yet spread into the other provinces, notwithstanding the unceasing efforts of the lords-justices to goad them into an outbreak. Nevertheless, so early as the ensuing February, a company of adventurers was formed in London, who, calculating on the forfeiture of the entire island, excepting what belonged to the Protestants, presented an address to the parliament, in which they showed, by calculation, that when the work of reducing Ireland “was finished, there would be of confiscated lands” no less than ten millions of acres; and the proposal they made was to raise money to suppress the rebellion, by the sale of a portion of those lands.†

\* Carte.

† The king said, with some truth, of this scheme of the adventurers, that it was “disposing of the skin before the bear was dead.”

Though, at the time we have now reached, this sweeping scheme of spoliation had not yet been openly announced, it was well known to be in progress, together with the other avowed project of rooting out of the kingdom the whole of its Catholic population.

Among those new supplies of mischief which the lords-justices had ever ready at command, one of the most aptly timed, for general annoyance, was their sudden prorogation of the parliament, which had but just then (November 17th) assembled, and which they again, with self-willed perverseness, prorogued to the 24th of February. To the Irish, as we have already seen, the meeting of parliament was always a welcome event; and, in the present instance, had been looked to with peculiar eagerness, as it was known, or at least eagerly hoped, that the long-promised Graces which the committee had brought with them from England,—those especially which limited the king's title to sixty years,—would be confirmed in this session of parliament. But such a result would have wholly defeated the sinister views of the lords-justices; and they therefore persisted in adjourning parliament at so critical a juncture, thereby frustrating the royal purpose, and again baffling the long-indulged hopes of the whole nation.

While such was the barefaced tyranny with which the State at this time acted and legislated, the great mass of the people were far more secretly, but not less resolutely, preparing for that coming conflict which both saw to be now inevitable; and with this view, in the month of October, a great meeting was held of the Catholic clergy and laity, at the ancient abbey of Multifarnam, in the county of West Meath, where most of the councils of the rebel leaders were held. The few particulars we are told of this assembly show—as far as such startling details may be trusted—that, although eager to have their oppressors within their grasp, they had not yet made up their minds as to the manner in which they should



dispose of them. Some were for only extirpating without taking away their lives, as the king of Spain, they said, had, much to his honour, treated the Moors; and the same lenity towards the English would be of advantage, they owned, to their cause, both in England and in other countries.

But, on the other side, the violent opinion prevailed, that it was false policy in the Spanish monarch not to massacre all the Moors, and that for this his own dominions and all Christendom had since then suffered. Equally dangerous they thought it would prove, to expel the English, who might come again among them with swords in their hands, and redoubled rage and vengeance in their hearts. It was, therefore, their opinion, that a general massacre would be the safest way to free the kingdom from such fears.

There was among them another party, who declared for a milder mode of proceeding; neither to extirpate nor to massacre the English, but to take possession of their estates, and commit themselves to prison.\*

To this ominous scene in the abbey, the events that followed formed a fearful sequel. As plunder had been the chief object of Sir Phelim's late inroad into Ulster, the numbers slain in that expedition were inconsiderable. Enough of blood, however, had been shed to arouse in his cowardly nature all that thirst for the carnage and cruelties of warfare which, in him, usurped the place of real valour. His importance, also, as a leader, was at this time considerably increased by his announcing publicly to his followers that he had the king's commission for taking arms; and in order to prove the truth of this assertion, he produced a parchment, with the great seal of Scotland appended to it, which he declared to be his commission. That this instrument was a forgery, is now very generally admitted. But it encouraged still more the ambition and

\* Leland adds, in describing this assembly, "such is the account given by a Franciscan, who alleged that he was present and took share in the proceedings."

vanity of the Irish leader; who, finding himself the acknowledged head of so large a multitude, caused his proclamations to be made in the name of The O'Neill, and began to assume all the jurisdiction and dignity which belonged to that ancient title.

Having attained, and without any claims from worth or talent, this high and powerful position, he saw it was only by the force of numbers and brute strength he could hope to retain it. He therefore resolved that no scruples of conscience, or even of cowardice, should stand in the way of that course of terror and devastation which he had marked out for himself; and a part of his odious policy was to embrue so deep in blood the hands of his followers, as to deprive them of all chance of pardon, and thus render them the more ready to become blindly and desperately his instruments. At first, however, his fits of cruelty were few and at long intervals; and he began by singling out individual victims. Thus, by his order, the old lord Charlemont was slain in Kinnaird Castle,—the family mansion of Phelim O'Neill, to which this lord had been conveyed a prisoner; and Blaney, knight of the shire of Monaghan, was hanged by him in his own garden. His next exploit was, on receiving intelligence that the rebels had been repulsed, and several of the sept of the O'Neills slain in their attack on the castle of Augher. To revenge this act, he ordered all the English and Scots within three parishes to be killed. This thirst for slaughter became, both in him and his maddened followers, but the more eager from being indulged; and, when told of the taking of Newry by lord Conway, he hastened, in a fit of fury, to Armagh, and, regardless of the capitulation made by himself but a short time before, set fire to the town and the cathedral, and ordered a hundred innocent people to be put to death.

In the midst of these scenes of slaughter, which became every day more alarming, there was one fearless and noble-

hearted lady, who, devoting herself with true womanly feeling to the task of soothing, at least, those sufferings she could not remedy, made her house, during this period, the refuge of many of those Protestant English who had been marked out as victims of popular fury. This excellent lady was no other than the widow Catharine Hovenden, Sir Phelim's own mother, who for many months had sheltered under her own roof twenty four Englishmen and Scots, supporting them at her own cost, and thus preserved them through all that frightful crisis uninjured. Her son, too, captain Alexander Hovenden, lent his aid in this truly Christian service, having conducted thirty-five of the English from Armagh to Drogheda, and twenty in perfect safety to Newry.

To what an extent the amount of slaughter during this struggle was on both sides aggravated, is shown in the instance of the small district called Island-Magee,—a peninsula adjoining to the town of Carrickfergus,—where, as we are required to believe, three thousand persons, all Catholics, were murdered in one night; and this event stands forth the more prominently in our history, from the assertion, frequently hazarded, that it was the first massacre committed on either side during this conflict. But both the date assigned to the event and the great number said to have been massacred, are inconsistent with known facts; as, in our own times, the whole population of Island-Magee has never amounted to two thousand persons; and the Catholics of that peninsula had been in arms from the very first day of the insurrection.

To dwell any further on the shocking details of this murderous march of Sir Phelim through Ulster, is a task that may well be spared to the historian; though so great and potent did he appear to his partisans, that they used frequently, we are told, to drink on their knees to Sir Phelim O'Neill, "lord general of the Catholic army in Ulster, earl of Tyrone, and king of Ireland." But though thus glorified in the eyes of

his followers, he no longer maintained the position which he had so rapidly reached at starting; and, after the first week of the insurrection, his success rapidly declined. He was still attended, however, by an immense multitude, who at every step of their brutal course brought fresh odium on that righteous cause of which they had made themselves the unworthy champions.

On this dark chapter of our history it is needless as well as humiliating to dwell at any length. To the Protestant, the story, or legend, of the Irish massacre is from his childhood familiar; being, too often, the only remarkable event in our history with which he deigns to become acquainted; while, to the Catholic, it brings a feeling of retrospective shame like that which wrung from lord Castlehaven—himself a Catholic peer—those emphatic words, “Not all the water in the sea could wash away the guilt of the rebels.” But, however barbarous were the Irish insurgents, scarcely less odious in their way and sphere were those English statesmen, who, availing themselves of the hate then heaped on the Catholics, English as well as Irish, did not scruple to turn to account this unchristian feeling, and even prided themselves on their cleverness in making it subservient to their own party interests. “On all occasions,” says Carte, “when any shameful point was to be carried, the Irish rebellion was still brought in;” and, among those who looked the most eagerly to a share in its windfalls, were the two lords-justices, who, having laboured so hard to scatter the seeds of rebellion throughout the kingdom, now expected to receive their reward in a rich harvest of forfeitures.

With the view, as it was plausibly pretended, of satisfying the public mind, but in reality to keep still alive, by new tales of blood and horror, the impression which the first accounts of the massacre had made, two commissions were issued by the Irish authorities, with power “to inquire into the losses sustained by the English, and the cruelties which the natives had

exercised upon them in different parts of the kingdom." From the depositions taken by the commissioners, which form thirty-two folio volumes, and are still extant in manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, a selection was made and published by Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland; and from the care with which, in most of these foolish stories, the marvellous is always mixed with the murderous, it seems probable that the greater part of them are forgeries as well as fictions. Of the supernatural appearances sworn to in these depositions, a specimen or two will be quite sufficient:—"Elizabeth, the wife of captain Rice Price, of Armagh, deposeth and saith, that she and other women, whose husbands were murdered, hearing of divers apparitions and visions which were seen near Portnedown Bridge, since the drowning of her children and the rest of the Protestants, went unto the bridge aforesaid, about twilight in the evening; and then and there upon a sudden appeared unto them a vision or spirit, assuming the shape of a woman, waist-high, upright in the water, her hair hanging down, and her skin as white as snow, which spirit did often repeat the word 'Revenge! Revenge!'" By another deponent, a ghost was seen "with hands lifted up, and standing in that posture from the 29th of December to the latter end of the following Lent."

Down to the period at which we have arrived, the insurrection had been confined to Ulster; but it now had reached some of the counties of Leinster, and was extending into Connaught. The people of Leitrim, provoked at the extensive plantations which had been formed on their lands, soon followed the example of the Northerns. The sept of the O'Byrnes, in the county of Wicklow, full of vindictive recollections of the injustice and persecutions they had suffered, joined the people of the adjacent counties of Wexford and Carlow, drove the English from their dwellings, and extended their ravages to the very walls of Dublin.



In Munster tranquillity prevailed till the latter end of December; many of the Catholic lords and gentry having loyally tendered their services to the government, and exerted their utmost influence to prevent any disturbance. Among these was lord Muskerry, who had even offered to raise 1,000 men, and to furnish them with arms at his own expense, provided that when the rebellion came to a close, he might retain them, or else be repaid the money they had cost him. This province remained very tranquil, until the brother-in-law of Sir William St. Leger, the lord president of Munster, committed some acts of violence, which excited considerable alarm and indignation throughout the province. A rabble of disorderly persons having carried off from this man's lands a large prey of cattle, he sallied forth with two troops of horse, and slaughtered a great number of men and women who were wholly innocent of the offence. These outrages were followed by others no less murderous; till, at length, the principal persons of the province, alarmed at such proceedings, and fearing they might provoke a general rising of the people, waited upon the lord president to remonstrate with him on the consequences of his relative's conduct. Among these gentlemen were James Butler, lord baron Dunboyne, Thomas Butler of Kilconel, and several other persons of good quality, who desired, they said, "nothing more than to serve his majesty and preserve the peace;" and who prayed "he would be pleased to qualify them for it with authority and arms." But the lord president, instead of receiving their representation as they had expected, answered in a hasty, furious manner, that "they were all rebels; that he would not trust one soul of them; but thought it more prudent to hang the best of them."

Though thus goaded into resistance, it was not till the middle of December that any of the gentlemen of Munster appeared to favour the insurrection. But seeing at length no other alternative than either to rise in open rebellion, or else

be trodden down under the hoofs of a savage soldiery, they attacked and took possession of Cashel—the place where, in general, the English troops were stationed, and from whence frequently they had sallied forth to slaughter and plunder the natives. On the present occasion, the leader of the Irish force was Philip O'Dwyer, one of those whom the lord president had lately treated with so much insolence. But, being too generous to revenge that insult upon the English now in his power, O'Dwyer kindly lent all his aid to preserve their properties and lives; though there were many among his followers not so merciful, who, having lost by the hands of the English some dear friends or relatives, now called aloud for vengeance, and already had attacked and slain more than a dozen of the king's troops. But the rest of the English intruders were all sheltered and kindly treated by the natives; and all the goods which had been confided to them were carefully restored. Among the foremost in this work of charity, there were a few whose names, though in other respects obscure, it would seem ungrateful not to record. Thus, a Protestant dignitary, Dr. Samuel Pullen, chancellor of Cashel and dean of Clonfert, who with his wife and children had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, were friendlily watched over and kept safe from all danger by a Jesuit, James Saul. Several other Catholic priests are mentioned, who displayed, on this trying occasion, the same Christian spirit,—more especially, Joseph Everard and Redmond English, both Franciscan friars, who concealed some of these Protestant fugitives in their chapel, and even under the altar.

In Connaught, where the power of the English was considerable, it was thought expedient to strengthen the hands of lord Ranelagh, then president of that province, by giving him the aid, as temporary colleagues, of lord Mayo, and lord Dillon of Costello. But, after a long and fruitless struggle against the difficulties that surrounded him, lord Ranelagh finally re-

signed his office, and the insurrection then spread through the chief part of Connaught.

In this emergency, the only hope that remained to the English of being able to retain the footing they had gained in Connaught, depended on the efforts of the marquis of Clanricarde, who was governor of the town and county of Galway, and whose ardour in the royal cause had evinced a spirit of loyal devotion not unworthy of the ancient chivalrous times. In whatever aspect, indeed, we view this nobleman, whether as a chieftain and idol of the people, in Ireland, or as a high-bred British peer and favourite of the court in England, we find him in each of these very different spheres alike the object of general affection and respect; and this concurrent homage to worth was, in his instance, the more remarkable, as he bore the stigma, for such it was then deemed in England, of being a Roman Catholic.

The measures taken by him in the present exigence were as effectual as they had been decisive and prompt. By his own exertions, vast influence, and unsparing expenditure, he succeeded, and almost without bloodshed, in reducing the town to submission. This timely success, by which one of the strongest and most important towns in the kingdom had been reduced to submission, redounded the more to Clanricarde's credit, from the great difficulties he had to contend with, at every step, and the impediments thrown in his way by those odious lords-justices, whose wish and policy it was to prevent all submissions but those of which bloodshed was the forerunner, and large forfeitures the result. In one of his letters he complains that the proceedings of these authorities toward him "were so laid as if their design were to force him and his into resistance."

Meanwhile, the insurrection was spreading rapidly, and the Irish had got possession of most of the castles and fortresses in Galway. The adjoining county of Sligo fell like-

wise under their command, and, with the exception of a few castles which still held out, they were masters of the county of Roscommon.

Undismayed by his ill success in the northern province, where he was daily losing ground, Sir Phelim had drawn down a considerable force to the south, in order to form the siege of Drogheda; and a slight success which he happened to achieve when approaching that town, refreshed and emboldened as much himself and his crowd of followers, as it disheartened and alarmed the English. A small body of six hundred foot and fifty horse, composed principally of English fugitives, had been detached from the castle of Dublin to reinforce the garrison at Drogheda; and, when about three miles from that town, they found themselves surrounded at a place called Julian's Town Bridge, by more than 2,000 of the insurgents. After a short attempt at resistance, the English were defeated and put to flight. This discomfiture, though in itself of slight importance, was rendered serious by the deep impression it made. The insurgents, highly elated by a success so new to them, already talked with a confident air of reducing Drogheda, and even of marching with their whole force to invest the capital; and had they seized that moment of panic to follow up their blow, the result might have been perilous if not fatal to the ruling powers. Already had entire regiments of the royal army deserted to the rebel standard; and the alarm which this sudden danger had produced, was much increased by the absence of Sir Charles Coote, who then commanded in Dublin, but had been sent by the lords-justices to relieve the castle of Wicklow, which was then closely besieged by the rebels, and in great danger of being taken. To meet the more imminent perils that threatened the capital, their lordships sent to recall him; and he had to force his way back through 1,000 of the sept of O'Toole who opposed his march.

The condition in which at this juncture the lords and gen

tlemen of the English Pale found themselves placed, was in all respects critical and embarrassing. The feud which had always subsisted between the two races—the mere Irish, as the ancient Milesians were called, and the Anglo-Irish, or colonies of English extraction—was still subsisting in full force. The date of this feud lay as far back as the first settlement of the English in Ireland; and to the mixture of the two bloods which then ensued, the Irish themselves chiefly attribute all those feuds and subdivisions of feuds by which their country has been ever since distracted. “Not only,” say they, “the new Irish, or Anglo-Irish, made war upon the ancient Milesians, and were attacked by them in turn, but the new were at war with the new, and the ancient equally at war among themselves.” So much influenced were they by this ancient grudge, even in the selection of those who were to act with them in the insurrection, that among the hundred chosen leaders by whom the seizure of Dublin Castle was to be effected, not a single name was found that denoted a mixture of English blood.

But on their loyalty, no less than on their race, the people of the Pale had always prided themselves. So pure, indeed, from all defection had they remained, that even in the last great rebellion they had stood firm to the crown of England; nor was Tyrone, in the height of his power and fame, ever able to carry rebellion into the precincts of the English Pale.\*

But, to come to the important period that claims at present our notice: events were now in progress, more especially amongst the inhabitants of the Pale, which contained within them the germs of much that occurred during the two or three following years. Soon after the first explosion of the revolt in

\* The territory called “The Pale” comprehended the county of Louth in the province of Ulster, and the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare in the province of Leinster.



Ulster, the leading persons of the English Pale repaired in a body to Dublin, and proffered their loyal services to the State, to preserve that part of the country from the incursions of the northern insurgents. At the same time these lords and gentlemen requested a supply of arms to enable them to perform this service. To the lords-justices this proffer of aid was the more embarrassing, as they could not altogether decline it. They contrived, however, to comply in such a manner as to render their compliance wholly nugatory. For Louth, which, of all the counties, was by far the most exposed to danger, 300 stand of arms were granted; for lord Gormanston, 500; and 900 for other persons whose names or places are not specified. Scanty as were such means of defence, and against an enemy that now counted 20,000 men in the field, the lords-justices, taking alarm at their own unwonted trust in papists, suddenly recalled almost all the arms; and, not content with this open insult, issued a proclamation, enjoining that, within one hour after its publication, all those persons who were not dwellers in the city or suburbs should retire to their own dwellings, under pain of immediate death. Thus left wholly without means of defence, these lords and gentry found themselves forced either to resist the rebels as enemies, or, by consorting with them as friends and neighbours, incur the penalties of treason. Among the many then reduced to this painful alternative, was Sir Robert Talbot, of Castle Talbot, who, being left without any sure place of retreat, was forced to lurk wherever he could find shelter; and in this state was forced to remain until the breach between the king and the English parliament, when, like other wronged and high-spirited Catholics, he entered into the confederacy.

To meet the dangers that threatened Dublin, Sir Charles Coote, whose fame for cruelties first recommended him to the lords-justices, was appointed governor of that city, and, by the course which he immediately entered upon, sustained with

but too much success the ominous fame which his love of bloodshed had acquired for him. The orders from thenceforth given to the forces sent from Dublin, was to "kill, burn, and destroy." Their plan at first was to bring as prisoners into the city, most of those who had escaped their swords. But, finding that the numbers thus spared became too great, they determined to clear the prisons, and execute the unfortunate wretches by martial law, which, in the temper that then influenced the ruling powers, was of course a mere form. From this cruel process men of estates were exempted, in order to preserve the king's escheats upon attainders. But all others were given up to martial law, and on the pretext that enough of freeholders could not be found for juries. These executions, therefore, fell entirely upon the poorer class of Irish, who had no goods to forfeit; and more especially on the priests and friars, who were regarded as so many beasts of prey, and executed with as little ceremony.

An act of this kind committed by Coote, at the period which occupies us, would hardly have awakened any notice, had not the victim, father Higgins, a pious and harmless Irish priest, been under the protection of lord Ormond, and accompanied that lord to Dublin. This unoffending man had officiated as a priest at Naas, and had much distinguished himself by his humanity in saving from slaughter the English in those parts. But now, without any trial, or even notice, he was suddenly one morning seized, and by the order of Sir Charles Coote hanged.

On learning the fate of this innocent man, thus wantonly hanged for no other reason than his being a priest, Ormond hastened to the council-board, and expostulated in strong terms with the lords-justices on the cruel act to which they had lent their sanction. With assumed surprise these shameless functionaries declared, that "they had no other hand in the matter than giving to Sir Charles a general authority to

order such executions, without, in each case, referring to their sanction." Ormond threatened, that unless they atoned to him for this act, he would throw up his commission. But, recollecting that this was probably the very step they wished him to take, and besides, considering how much he might damage the king's affairs by resigning at this juncture, he determined not to indulge their insatiable malice by taking such a step.

Not content with martial law, whose terrors were doubly terrible in such hands, they now resolved, in addition to their other resources of tyranny, to employ the use of the rack; and the first subjected by them to this cruel trial, was Hugh Mac Mahon, one of those who had joined in the plan of surprising the castle of Dublin. The question to which they most laboured to extort an answer from him was, whether the king was privy to or encouraged the rebellion? But no torture could wring from him the sort of answer that suited their purpose. Their second victim, whose case occurred some time after, was Sir John Read, a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber, who, happening to visit Ireland, was entrusted with letters to the king by the lords of the Pale. Making no secret of his journey, he wrote to request a pass to England from the lord-justices, who, in return, invited him to Dublin, under the pretence of holding a conference. But, on his arrival, he was committed to close imprisonment in the castle, and on the following day put to the rack; although it appears he had never been implicated in any illegal transaction whatever. There was yet another act of atrocity of the same kind—their treatment of Mr. Barnewall, of Kilbrew, a venerable old man, sixty-six years of age, and one of the most considerable gentlemen of the Pale. He was likewise put to the torture. But, being innocent himself, and not privy to the guilt of others, he had no revelations to make.

While in the south these events were in progress, the

Ulster insurgents under Sir Phelim, having been joined by a large force from Leinster, were busily occupied with the siege of Drogheda.

The situation of this ancient town, between Dublin and the north, and the great facilities for navigation which its river and harbour afforded, rendered the possession of it an object of such importance, that upon its fate that of the whole kingdom was thought, in a great measure, to depend. The first alarm that reached lord Moore of the approach of the insurgents, then within five miles of the town, was coupled with the painful intelligence that his sister, lady Blaney, and her children, had fallen into their hands. In this emergency lord Moore assumed temporarily the direction of affairs; and orders were sent to Sir Henry Tichbourne, a distinguished officer, then living at Douloghs, near Dublin, urging him to raise, without any delay, a regiment of 1,000 soldiers, and march with all expedition to Drogheda.

Of the state of this town, when the siege commenced, the earl of Ormond, in a letter to the king, gives the following account:—"Our greatest strength now lies in Drogheda, which is faced with four or five thousand rebels, and by them daily threatened with an assault. But the town is well furnished with all necessaries to repel them, and those commanded by a very gallant gentleman, Sir Henry Tichbourne, who, I am confident, will give a good account of the town, or lay his bones in it." To the pen of this able officer we are indebted for a full account of this long siege, which is addressed by him to his lady, and bears vividly the stamp of the man and his times. A disciple of the school of Cromwell, this officer belonged to that class of religionists who did not scruple to enforce their doctrine at the sword's point, and, even still worse, invoked the Deity as a direct accomplice in all their own schemes of spoil and slaughter. Thus, on one occasion he says, piously, "By God's singular blessing we routed them.

and killed about forty on the place." On another, his horse having broken loose at night and galloped wildly through the streets, the rebels, who had prepared for an attack, gave up the design, on hearing this noise, supposing it to be an alarm. On this incident the general remarks, "God's workings are wonderful—this put the rebels to a stand, believing we were better prepared to welcome them than in truth we were, and thereby afforded us somewhat more leisure to entertain them, as by God's blessing we did."

Among the many who at this time suffered by the rebellion, was that great ornament of the Irish church, archbishop Usher, who resided generally at Drogheda, but was then absent from home, and whom the rebels despoiled of every thing, except his library and his furniture. These were fortunately preserved by the care of his chaplain, dean Barnard, who says, "One of the chief cares that lay upon me, even more than my life, was that great treasure of my lord primate's which I had the happiness to be trusted with in his absence."

In connection with this memorable epoch, as well as with Usher himself, a remarkable story is on record, of which the reader may not dislike to be reminded. In the year 1601, Usher, in preaching against the toleration which the Catholics were then soliciting, applied to his view of their case the following words of Ezekiel,—“And thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days; I have appointed thee each day for a year.” These words Usher applied to the state of Ireland:—“From this year,” he said, “I reckon forty years; and then those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity.” “This,” says Dr. Parr, “seemed only the random thought of a young man who was no friend to popery; but when afterwards, at the end of forty years, namely, in 1641, the Irish rebellion broke out, and many thousand Protestants were murdered, it passed for some-



thing more than a random thought, and was considered by many as even prophetic.

An attempt by Sir Phelim O'Neill to take the town by escalade, was the first exploit of any importance the rebels adventured. But the assault entirely failed. "We gave them," says the English general, "such entertainment as belonged to unwelcome guests;" and the besiegers, who were much disheartened by this failure, resolved to rely on the blockade alone;—trusting from thenceforth to time and patience for starving the garrison into submission. Meanwhile, the besiegers themselves were not permitted much repose; for Tichbourne, by sudden sallies, kept them constantly in alarm; and it was during one of these surprises that the redoubted Sir Phelim is said to have stolen to the other side of the river, and hidden himself in a furze bush.

Among the stratagems employed by the garrison to mock their besiegers, they sometimes, we are told, placed pipers on the walls to play, while other tossed up their caps, and cried, "The town is our own, make haste in;" by which means many of the insurgents, who waited to have a gate opened to them, ran hastily into the town, and were made prisoners.\*

With the view of getting possession of the principal offenders, the State issued a proclamation, fixing a price on the head of each, which, says dean Barnard, "was far beyond their worth;" Sir Phelim's being valued at £1,000, Ryley's and others' at £800, and the rest at £400. That many a gallant and generous act was performed during this siege by the insurgents, may safely be taken for granted. But the rebel has seldom a chronicler; and in the instance of most of these brave Irish captains, the amount of the respective rewards offered for their heads forms now the only scale by which their merits can be estimated.

\* Cox.

But the pressure of approaching famine began at length to be felt fearfully within the walls. By frequent sallies, sufficient provender had been procured for the horses, but the biscuit and meat were exhausted; and, at last, horse-flesh, dogs, and cats formed chiefly the sustenance of the garrison. In vain were appeals made to Dublin; the lords-justices were too much engrossed with their own wants and schemes to be able to spare them much assistance. But at length, towards the end of February, the government having received a reinforcement of 1,500 foot and 400 horse, they deemed the army then sufficient to make a diversion in favour of Drogheda; and with this view, the marquis of Ormond was ordered to march towards the Boyne, at the head of a force of 3,000 foot and 500 horse. No sooner did the doughty Sir Phelim hear of this movement, than he determined to raise the siege, which had now lasted three whole months, and with a precipitancy more like flight than retreat, marched his army to the northern province.\*

The relief brought to the besieged by the arrival of Ormond is thus described by one of themselves:—"By this," says dean Barnard, "our town was filled with provision: ports began to open, our neighbours making suit to be admitted to our market, castles near hand voluntarily surrendered, the owners submitting, and all good men's hearts rejoicing by this sudden change."

Nearly at the same time an important success was obtained by lord Moore, who, at the head of his own horse, attacked and defeated the insurgents, killed 400 upon the spot, taking seven captains prisoners, together with their commander, Art Roe MacMahon, whose head was valued in the proclamation at £400.

So long had the feud between the two races, the Irish and

\* For a full account of this remarkable siege the reader is referred to the History of Drogheda by Mr. D'Alton.

the Anglo-Irish, been maintained in all its original bitterness, that to bring them to act in concert, even for objects which both equally desired, was a difficulty that still embarrassed all their proceedings.\* But Roger Moore, himself descended from an ancient Irish stock, lent the aid of his sound sense to counteract, if not extinguish, this mischievous feud; and, in the Narrative of lord MacGuire, a conversation on this subject is given, in which Moore thus expresses his opinion:—"There was no doubt," he said, "that the Irish would be ready at any time; and he was also well assured that, when they had risen out, the Pale gentry would not stay long after."

The event showed how correctly Moore had judged of both parties. The loyalty of the lords of the Pale, though once so memorable, had not been proof against those shocks with which it was daily and hourly tried by the restless tyranny of their English rulers. We have seen what efforts had been made, by insults as well as cruelties, to goad them into resistance; and with what contumely they were treated in being denied the protection of arms. But aggressions even more alarming now awaited them. Parties of soldiers were sent from Dublin and other garrisons, with authority to "hunt and destroy" all rebels,† and spreading, wherever they went, devastation and alarm. On one of these occasions, large tracts of the territory of the Pale were wantonly burned by the order of the earl of Ormond.

While such were the scenes they witnessed at home, the

\* "It is evident," says a cotemporary writer, "that until of late the old English Pale despised the mere Irish, accounting them to be a barbarous people, void of civility and religion, and each of them held the other as an hereditary enemy; and so it would have continued for many years to come, had not these latter days produced a change."—*Discourse of Ireland, Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i.

† When on his march towards the Boyne, Ormond received the following resolution of the lords-justices:—"It is resolved, that it is fit that his lordship do endeavour with his majesty's forces to wound, kill, slay, and destroy, by all the ways and means he may, all the said rebels and their adherents and relievers; and burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy, and demolish all places, towns, and houses where the said rebels are or have been relieved or harboured."

late proceedings of the English parliament, to whose mercies they had been delivered over by the king, rendered but fainter every hope they had hitherto cherished. The ominous hatred the English commons bore to the Catholics, and the threatenings daily muttered within their walls of some dark and deadly design of extirpating their whole race, had spread alarm and consternation among the Irish. Already it was said confidently that Sir John Clotworthy, who knew perfectly the plans and counsels of the ruling faction, had declared, in the house of commons, that "the conversion of the papists, in Ireland, was only to be effected by the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other." Mr. Pym, too, had asserted publicly that "they would not leave a priest in Ireland."

Such was the state of public feeling in both countries, when the lords and leading gentlemen of the Pale received letters from the lords-justices and council, announcing that they "wished for a conference with them on the present estate of the kingdom and the safety thereof in these times of danger."

This summons, and from such a quarter,—from men who hated their persons, and harboured designs against their estates,—naturally awakened in them strong apprehensions. On the very same day, whether by accident or design, lord Gormanston, one of the leading lords of the Pale, issued a warrant to the sheriff of Meath for a general meeting of that county, of which his lordship was governor. To the summons of the lords-justices no attention whatever was paid; but, in consequence of lord Gormanston's warrant, seven lords and fourteen gentlemen of the Pale, with at least a thousand others, met at the hill of Crofty; and, after they had remained there two or three hours, Roger Moore, accompanied by colonels Birn and MacMahon, appeared with a guard of musketeers.

As soon as the parties had joined, a scene took place of

rather a dramatic character, which we find thus described:— Lord Gormanston, as one of the most leading lords, stood forward, and solemnly demanded for what purpose they had entered the Pale thus in arms? to which Moore answered, “that they had taken up arms for the maintenance of the king’s prerogatives, and to render his subjects in Ireland as free as those in England.” It was again with the same solemnity demanded, “whether these were indeed their real motives, without any selfish or sinister views?” And, on their pledging themselves that all was meant fairly, and disinterestedly, lord Gormanston declared “that he and his party would unite with them for these purposes, and hold as enemies all those who refused to assist their righteous cause.” Their compact being thus formed, another warrant was issued to the sheriff, to summon a general meeting at the hill of Tara, the following week.

This defection of the lords of the Pale—an act itself of sudden impulse, but springing out of an old and deep arraignment of discontent, took the whole kingdom by surprise; though so lightly did the ruling powers affect to regard it, that the lords-justices, in writing to England an account of the event, said, in speaking of the seven great lords of the Pale, “those who know these persons, their power and abilities, know that the strength it adds to the rebels is no more in truth than the addition of seven men to their number.” But how weak and ignorant was this vain vaunt of the lords-justices a very short lapse of time made apparent; for the defection of the Pale lords was soon after followed by a general insurrection throughout the kingdom.

Towards this result there had lately concurred a number of circumstances, all tending to rouse in the people a strong sense of their own power; and among the events that chiefly fostered this popular spirit, was the great victory—for so they proudly styled it—which the insurgents had gained at Julian’s-town Bridge. This was the first and only success that yet had



crowned their arms, and as such was hailed and welcomed by them with enthusiasm. To have at last brought their haughty masters to acknowledge them as something more than mere serfs, was in itself a prosperous change in their fortunes amounting almost to triumph, and as such was triumphantly hailed by them. Nor was this the only good fortune for which they were indebted to that well-timed victory: it was also one of the inducements that first disposed the lords of the Pale to waver. Another convincing proof of the better prospects now brightening upon them, was the return among them of their clergy, who had hitherto kept aloof; and, as one of the lords-justices bitterly remarked, "had been walking somewhat invisibly in these works of darkness." But they were now returning gradually among their flocks, and even began to justify openly the rebellion.

The first who ventured on this hazardous step was the primate O'Neill, who, convening the bishops and clergy of his province to meet in synod at Kells, there set forth some Constitutions against "murderers, plunderers, and usurpers of other men's estates;" and likewise declared the great struggle in which they were engaged to be "a pious and lawful war." This meeting was followed soon after by a general synod of all the bishops and clergy of Ireland, which met in May at Kilkenny; and among other important acts of this assembly, they provided that no distinction should thenceforth be made between the old and new Irish; that all who had taken arms should be united by a common oath of association; and that whoever refused the oath, or remained neuter, and all who assisted the enemy with victuals, arms, advice, or intelligence, should be excommunicated, and deemed the enemies of their country. They resolved, also, to send embassies to foreign potentates, and especially to solicit the assistance of the emperor, the king of France, and the pope.\* Nor was it

\* In return for their envoys the king of France first sent them M. La Monarie, to

without success they made these appeals to foreign aid; for, not long after, we find the commons of England complaining that from all parts of Europe large contributions were sent to Ireland of money, arms, ammunition, and experienced officers.

The prominent part assigned to the clergy in this revolution—for such the change now working in Ireland might well be deemed—bore, strongly marked upon it, the stamp of that religious feeling for which, from the earliest times of their history, the Irish people have been memorable.

With similar zeal the Catholic laity, still assisted by their reverend advisers, proceeded to plan some form of government which might lend to their acts the sanction of authority, and likewise prevent the strife and struggle which always attend competition for power. Without pretending to the title of parliament, they established a general assembly, which divided itself into two Houses; \* one consisting of lords temporal and spiritual, the other of deputies from counties and cities. For the due administration of justice, they assigned to each county a council consisting of twelve persons, who were to decide all matters cognizable by justices of peace; and likewise to name all county officers except the high sheriff. From these there lay an appeal to the provincial councils; and from these again to the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland; an assembly consisting of twenty-four persons, chosen by the General Convention, and of which lord Mountgarret was appointed president. Among other important proceed-

whom succeeded M. du Moulin, and after him M. Talloon. The king of Spain sent first M. Fuyot, a Burgundian, to whom succeeded the count of Beerhaven; and after him don Diego de los Torres. The pope sent Scarampus, priest of the Oratorian order, and after him Rinuccini.

\* Routh, a learned Catholic, to whom the late Doctor O'Connor frequently refers in his writings, was the first, as this reverend gentleman tells us, who suggested the necessity of a General Confederacy, and gave up to the Confederates his cathedral of Kilkenny, where their first session was held, "*pro aris et focis pro conjugibus et liberis.*"

ings,\* they declared their adhesion to the common law of England, and the statute law of Ireland, as far as they were not repugnant to the rights of the Catholic church, or the liberties of Ireland; and as the executive powers of the government were centred in the Supreme Council, that body was furnished with a guard of honour of 500 foot and 200 horse. Having thus settled their form of government, they next appointed the provincial generals; Owen O'Neill for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, Garret Barry for Munster, colonel John Burke for Connaught;—with the hope, however, of prevailing on the earl of Clanricarde to accept the chief command of this province. The seal officially used by them bore in the centre a long cross; on the right side a crown; on the left a harp, with a dove above it; and below, a flaming heart, with the following inscription round it,—“*Pro Deo, pro rege, et patria Hibernia, unanimes.*” †

\* Among other acts of authority they coined money, and, in honour of St. Patrick, to whom they intended to institute an order of knighthood, a half-penny, bearing on one side the figure of a king, crowned with a radiant crown, kneeling and playing on a harp, over which is placed the imperial crown of England, with this inscription—“*Floreat Rex;*” on the reverse—the figure of St. Patrick, mitred, standing with a crosier in his right hand and a leaf of trefoil in his left, extended to people around him; on his left side is the arms of Dublin, with this inscription—“*Ecce Grex.*” A farthing was also struck much about the same time, bearing on one side the figure of a king crowned, playing on the harp, with a crown over it, the inscription “*Floreat Rex;*” the reverse—St. Patrick, mitred, with a church behind him; he holding in his left hand a double or metropolitan cross, and stretching out his right over a parcel of serpents, as if driving them out of the church, with this inscription—“*Quiescat Plebs.*” It is said that there are still preserved by the curious some few silver pieces bearing the same impressions and inscriptions as these copper ones.—*Simon's Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins.*

† The first result of this national union was an humble address to the king, which, as expressing the views and feelings by which the Catholics professed to be actuated in this confederacy, shall here be inserted without abridgment.

#### HUMBLE PETITION OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

To the King's most excellent Majesty,

Your majesty's most faithful, humble, and loving subjects, having apprehended with fulness of sorrow, the condition whereunto the misrepresentation of your ministers in this your kingdom, united with the malignant party of England, has reduced us; and sad experience having brought us to the knowledge of a resolution taken by some malevolent persons there to supplant our nation and religion, being deprived of a safe access to your sacred person; and having observed others of your subjects bent

Among the numbers of Irish officers who, at this crisis, hastened home from foreign shores to lend the aid of their counsels and swords in this great struggle for their religion and rights, the most remarkable for military skill and experi-

upon our ruin in arms; after a long patience we have humbly conceived it necessary to put ourselves in a posture of natural defence, with intention, nevertheless, never to disturb your government, or to invade any of your high prerogatives, or to oppress any of your British subjects, of what religion soever, that did not labour to suppress us; which in the birth of the present troubles we have solemnly sworn to observe, by oath often since reiterated, lest the misguided and unauthorized motions of some passionate persons among us should be construed to derogate from the faith and allegiance, which in all humbleness we confess to owe, and sincerely profess unto you. In pursuance of which, our zeal and candid endeavours, bent only to a due settlement of our religion and just liberties, before any act of hostility, committed on our part, we have with all submission addressed ourselves, by petition, to your lords-justices and council here, for timely remedy against the growing and then springing evils. But, therein, we have found, instead of a salve to our wounds, oil poured into the fire of our discontents; which occasioned that intemperance in the commonalty, that they acted some unwarranted cruelties upon the puritans, or others suspected of puritanism; which we really detest, have punished in part, and desire to punish with fulness of severity, in all the actors of them, when time shall enable us to it; though the measure offered to the catholic natives here, in the inhuman murdering of old decrepit people in their beds, women in the straw, and children at eight days old; burning of houses, and robbing of all kind of persons, without distinction of friend from foe; and digging up of graves, and their burning the dead bodies of our ancestors, in time of Cessation, and in breach of public faith, have not deserved that justice from us; which unparalleled and unprecedented violations of all human and divine laws, we ascribe, not to any superior commands, but to the savage fury of an unbridled multitude.

Amid these distractions we have entreated our very good lord, the marquess of Ormond, lord-general of your forces here, to convey our humble petition to your majesty, expressing our earnest desire to be directed by you to some place, where with safety, we might inform your majesty of our grievances, and receive your royal commands. But herein we have been and are so unfortunate, that the great diversions administered unto you in other places, have not given your highness time or leisure to take any order for our relief, which fills us with grief, though mixed with hope and confidence, that your majesty having removed all obstacles with the continued felicity of your arms, will look upon our sufferings with those eyes of mercy which brings you nearer to the Divinity you represent, than all the laurels that Mars can heap upon your head, and which, gained with the expense of your subjects' blood, may make you more feared than beloved.

To remove, therefore, the distractions which the heat of the present distempers may produce to yours and our prejudice, we have now met in a National Assembly, at your city of Kilkenny, to provide for the safety of us, your subjects here, until your majesty shall take some fit course for our preservation. Wherein, to meet misconstructions, we have protested that we intended not this assembly to be a Parliament, or to have the power of it; we in all plainness really confessing, that the

ence was Owen O'Neill, an officer who had long served with distinguished success in the imperial and Spanish armies. Having risen to the rank of colonel, he was appointed governor of Arras, when that town was besieged by the French in 1640; and was in every respect adapted for the field of action in which he now came to take a part. Though not in the direct line of descent, his claim to the title of Thanist, or chief

calling and dissolving of that great body is an inseparable incident to your imperial crown. We likewise renewed our oath of allegiance to your sacred person, your heirs and lawful successors, and our firm and immovable purpose to observe and to be ruled by your common laws of England, and statutes here established and enacted by parliament among us, which are not contrary to our Roman catholic religion: wherein we hope we have given testimony of the candour of our actions and intentions, and given your majesty that satisfaction which is due from a most faithful people to a most gracious sovereign. We, therefore, with hearts bent lower than our knees, do humbly beseech your sacred majesty, timely to assign a place where, with safety, we may express our grievances, and you may, with freedom, apply a seasonable cure unto them; and there you shall find our dutiful affection attended with just cause of security in our faithfulness, and manifest arguments of our earnest desire to advance your service; and that you may be graciously pleased to leave us free in the possession of faith here continued, since the first conversion of this island, and which our ancestors of British extraction, at the first coming of the English to Ireland, found before them here, and brought with them; and that you may secure our estates and liberties, according to your laws, as you have done in your two other kingdoms; and that hereafter your majesty will make no distinction between us and the rest of the nations subject to your empire, but by the faithful services which we will never cease to do. Which granted, we will convert our forces upon any design your majesty will appoint, and we will ever pray, &c. &c.

The oath taken by the Confederates was in the following terms:—

I. A. B., do in the presence of the Almighty God, and all the saints and angels in heaven, promise, vow, swear, and protest to maintain and defend, as far as I may, with my life, power, and estate, the public and free exercise of the true Roman catholic religion, against all persons that shall oppose the same. I further swear that I will bear faith and allegiance to our sovereign lord king Charles, his heirs and successors; and that I will defend him and them, as far as I may with my life, power, and estate, against all such persons as shall attempt any thing against their royal persons, honours, estates, and dignities; and against all such as shall directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress their royal prerogatives, or do any act or acts contrary to regal government; as also the powers and privileges of parliament, the lawful rights and privileges of the subjects: and every person that makes this vow, oath, and protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same; and to my power, as far as I may, I will oppose, and by all means and ways endeavour to bring to condign punishment, even to the loss of life, liberty, and estate, all such as shall, either by force, practice, counsels, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise do or attempt any thing to the contrary of any article, clause, or any thing in this present vow, oath, or protestation.— So help me God.



of the sept of O'Neill, was allowed to be sufficiently founded to set aside the claims or pretensions of the unworthy Sir Pheлим. Accordingly, on his landing in Ulster, the northern Irish with general acclamation elected him "The O'Neill."

Next to O'Neill in military skill and reputation stood colonel Thomas Preston, a brother of lord Gormanston, who had served for many years abroad, and had much distinguished himself in the defence of Louvain, when it was besieged by the Dutch. He came to Ireland in a ship of war, attended by two frigates laden with ordnance for battery, and likewise large stores of arms and ammunition. There came with him four colonels, several engineers, and 500 other officers who had long been employed in foreign service.

It was soon manifest, as well to the enemies as to the friends of the Irish cause, that in O'Neill it had gained an accession of strength and guidance that could not but influence very materially the success of the coming struggle. To the large Scottish force which had been collected, as we have seen, in Ulster under Munroe, a great addition had lately been made; the earl of Lieven having landed there such a large addition of force as swelled the amount of the army collected in that province to more than 10,000 foot. In order to mark his strong abhorrence of the cruelties his countrymen had committed upon the English, O'Neill burned down many of the houses of the murderers at Kinnaird, the place where he was appointed general; saying that he "would join with the English rather than not burn the rest." From respect, doubtless, for such manly feelings, Lieven, when giving up the command of the force, wrote to O'Neill a friendly letter, advising him with much earnestness to return to his service abroad, and expressing sorrow that a man of his great reputation and experience should come to Ireland to maintain so bad a cause." O'Neill answered, that he "had far better reason to come to relieve the deplorable state of his country, than his lordship

had to march into England at the head of an army against his king." It is manifest that the Scottish earl saw in O'Neill an antagonist not to be lightly encountered; for, during his short stay in Tyrone, he made no movement towards hostility; and when delivering up to Munroe the command of the army, he warned him in words which proved prophetic, that he "would most certainly be worsted if once O'Neill got an army together."

While the confederates were earnestly planning their means of resistance, the bold example they had set in this national union began to be every where followed. In vain they endeavoured to keep within bounds the general impulse which themselves had given; all restraint was now cast off, and the entire kingdom thrown into commotion. "All were in arms," says lord Castlehaven; "there was fighting almost in every corner." But the first action of much importance that yet had occurred, arose from an attempt made by the insurgents, under lord Mountgarret, to intercept the march of Ormond back to Dublin, after a hasty expedition on which he had been sent, to burn and destroy the houses and goods of those fugitives who had deserted the county of Kildare. The forces of lord Mountgarret, amounting to about 7,000 Irish, made their appearance on the other side of the river Narrow; and, as they were more than double lord Ormond's force, and he had already accomplished his principal object, he continued to pursue his march towards Dublin, without, as he said, seeking the enemy, yet resolved not to shun them if they came in his way.

But the insurgents, having got notice of this intention, determined at least to watch and harass his march; and, while he pursued the direct road to Dublin, they kept pace with him by another and parallel road in exactly the same direction, and only separated from it by a long and broad bog. In this manner both parties marched in view of each other with drums

beating, colours flying, and continued in their respective paths, until both roads met. Apprehensive lest, in that pass, the rebels should fall upon his rear, Ormond gave orders to draw up the army in battle array, and the rebel leader marshalled his troops in similar order. But the result was such as had frequently proved disastrous to the Irish. In the wild ardour of their first onset they exhausted their strength and spirit, and, when attacked, they broke at once, and fled in confusion. The English had not more than twenty killed and forty wounded; but of the Irish above 700 were slain on the field, and among them were the lord Dunboyne's brother, the lord Skerrin's son, colonel Cavanagh, and several other gentlemen of distinction.

In England so timely and fortunate was this victory reckoned, that, by an order of the English commons, £500 was to be expended upon a jewel to be bestowed upon his lordship; and it was likewise proposed, in a petition to the king, that his majesty would be pleased to create him a knight of the garter.

That such a scene of strife and blood as this battle presented should have been coupled with gay glimpses of social life and friendly fellowship, will hardly be thought credible. Yet such was the nature of a slight incident which occurred immediately after the battle. The royal army having to pass in the course of its march just close by lord Castlehaven's gates, some of the officers galloped up and informed his lordship that the earl of Ormond would be with him in half an hour. A gay party was there assembled, consisting, besides his own family, of the duchess of Buckingham, the marquess of Antrim, her husband, and lady Ross; and it is difficult to say whether it be painful or consolatory to know that a party of civilised persons could make themselves happy amidst such scenes.\*

\* We have an account of this curious dinner from the noble host himself, which

While in Munster such scenes were passing, we find in another province a picture of a far different kind. The lady Offaley, of the house of Kildare, had now been besieged, for some months, in her castle, and reduced even to extremity. But being at length supplied with means of defence, this noble lady, though far removed from any friendly garrison, resolved to abide in her own castle; and, on receiving a letter from the insurgents commanding her to surrender to them her castle, she replied, with that quiet heroism so often found in women, "I have been a loyal subject, and always behaved to you as a good neighbour. Therefore, being free from offence both to you and my king, I will to the utmost of my power die, as I have lived, innocently. Though desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet, being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me."

The battle of Kilrush\* was followed, in succession, by those of Tymahoo and Raconell, in the former of which the rebels, under general Preston, were defeated and routed; and to the latter conflict a more than ordinary interest was attached, as an ancient prophecy had declared, that "whoever won the battle of Raconell should gain all Ireland." But in this engagement, also, the English were successful; and their ominous victory struck dismay into the hearts of the Irish.

ought not here to be omitted. "Hereupon," says Castlehaven, "I bestirred myself, and having two or three cooks, a good barn-door, and plenty of wines, we patched up a dinner ready to be set upon the table at my lord's coming in. But some that came with him turned this another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and published through the army that it was a mighty feast, prepared for my lord Mountgarret and the rebels."

\* It was in an affair which followed soon after this battle, that old Sir Charles Coote, having suggested, at a council of war, that, if they made haste, they might easily pass the defiles and causeways before the enemy could muster to oppose them, "but," asked another of the council, "when the country takes the alarm, how are we to get back?" "I protest," answered the veteran, "I never thought of that in my life, I always considered how to do my business, and when that was done, I got home again as well as I could."—*Cow.*

In most of this wild warfare the earl of Castlehaven took a distinguished part; and, in the amusing account he has left of his warlike adventures, an incident is mentioned which shows how the evils of civil strife may sometimes be mitigated by mutual forbearance and kindly sympathy. The earl, to meet some pressing exigency, was about to place a garrison in a castle belonging to a friend of his, Sir Joseph Bowen, the provost-marshal. To this Sir Joseph strongly objected; on which, says Castlehaven, I sent to speak with him; and after some kind expressions, told him I must put a garrison into his castle. He flatly denied me; and, calling for his wife and two very fair daughters he had, desired only one favour,—that, in case I was resolved to use violence, I would show him where I intended to plant my guns and make my breach. I satisfied his curiosity, and asked him what he meant by this question? Because, said he (swearing with some warmth), I will cover that part, or any other your lordship shoots at, by hanging out both my daughters in chairs. It is true,” adds Castlehaven, “the place was not of much importance; but this conceit saved it.”

Notwithstanding the great successes obtained by Ormond, the affairs of the confederates wore, on the whole, a favourable aspect.\* Though general Preston had met with defeats both

\* A letter written about this time from Rome, by an Irishman named Bonaventure O’Conney, who dates from St. Isidore’s College, and addresses his letter to Phelim O’Neill, in Ireland, may, from its truly national style and spirit, be thought deserving of some notice. It is clear that, even in the midst of all the glories of the Eternal City, O’Conney’s fancy was wholly occupied with those displays of oratory and patriotism which he knew were then echoing through the Hall of the Confederate Irish, at Kilkenny.

“Be sure you have a great heart; make some chief head among you; but reserve the crown for Con O’Neale. Remember the old slavery wherein you have lived of long time, and the destruction which will generally come upon you except you get the upper hand. You will prevail if you join together as you ought. God send it. I would advise every chief officer among you to have a secretary along with him, to write a diurnal of your passages, and the overthrows your enemies receive, which will redound much to your glory. Spoil not the country, for fear of famine.”—*Rushworth*.



from Ormond and colonel Monk, he recruited soon after his forces, and took several forts from the English. Lord Castlehaven, his general of the horse, made considerable progress in Leinster; and all Connaught, with the exception of some inconsiderable towns, was reduced by the natives; while the large body of Scots, amounting to 10,000 men, which had landed at Carrickfergus under Munroe, were nearly destitute of pay and most other necessities.

While the confederates were thus gaining ground, the king, driven almost to extremity by the English parliament, turned his eyes anxiously to Ireland, as likely, he hoped, to afford him some resource from whence he might look to obtain supplies of men and money.

But the object of all most essential to him, in the straits to which he was now driven, was a cessation of actual hostilities, a short breathing time of peace; and, in order to attain this object, a truce with the Irish was absolutely necessary. Accordingly, the king sent a commission to the marquis of Ormond, "commanding and authorising him to treat with his majesty's subjects in arms, and agree with them for a cessation of arms for one year." In obedience to the royal order, the commissioners of the confederate Catholics presented themselves before lord Ormond in his tent, near Castle Martin; and there his lordship, we are told, sate covered during their interview, while the commissioners stood bareheaded before him.

Their propositions were delivered in writing; and Ormond, hastening at once to the point in which his majesty was most urgently interested, pressed to know from them what supply they would give the king for the maintenance of his army. But on this point the commissioners refused to treat until they had agreed upon the cessation. Ormond, on his part, required some days to consider his answers to their propositions, and to some he gave his assent, with certain restric-

tions; others he declined answering, and the rest he decidedly refused.

While this negotiation remained suspended, a debt of justice, too long due, was paid at length to those suffering lords and gentlemen of the Pale who had been imprisoned in the castle of Dublin, twelve or fourteen months before, and there subjected to a course of most cruel persecution under the tyranny of the lords-justices. These men were the devoted creatures of the English parliament, and it was said of them that during their rule, "the parliament pamphlets were received as oracles, their commands obeyed as laws, and extirpation preached as gospel." In order to take advantage of that rich harvest of fines and forfeitures which the first months of the insurrection brought in, these greedy rulers adopted the policy of refusing all submissions, thus foreclosing the only hope of mercy left to the repentant; and it is even said that they sometimes exasperated the malcontents in order to render all chance of accommodation hopeless.

To the rapacity of these men the rich and retired region of the Pale would have afforded a fertile field for speculation and rapine, had not the inhabitants of that quiet territory, by their timely submission and forbearance from all hostile acts, procured for themselves a respite from such evils. But this exemption they were not long allowed to enjoy. They had all of them remained excluded in their own country houses, to which the justices had by proclamation banished them from Dublin. Yet even this was not sufficient to sate the spite of their English rulers. In order to punish the Pale gentry for the example they had set in submitting, and thus to warn all others from following such a precedent, the justices now proceeded to act with the most inhuman rigour. One gentleman they racked, and several others were in various ways tormented. In consequence of the information thus wrung from them, they were all indicted of high treason; their goods were

all seized, and themselves, after begging in vain the favour of being bailed, were left to pine in prison. Among the persons thus treated, were the lord Dunsany, Sir John Netterville, and several other Catholics of high rank; and against these and more than one thousand others indictments were found by a grand jury in the space of a few days.\*

That even a more sweeping onset of law had been meditated by the justices, appears from the fact that there were three thousand of such indictments on the record; and the nature of the evidence on which they were founded, may be judged from a letter read in lord Ormond's presence, at the council-board, from a person who assumed great merit to himself for getting some hundreds of gentlemen indicted, and "laying out large sums of money to procure witnesses to give evidence for the finding of those indictments." Such was the spirit that then prevailed in most of the Irish courts of justice; and thus were their benches, to use the language of another Ormond, "oppressed with the gross and wicked weight of those who ought rather to have stood manacled at the bar." \*

But a somewhat better and wiser spirit began now to show itself in both parties; and the king, by a conciliatory measure which he adopted, contributed much to the spread of this kinder feeling. The Irish insurgents had more than once implored permission to lay their grievances before the king, and submit them to his consideration; and in compliance with this prayer, his majesty now issued a commission directed to the marquis of Ormond, the earls of Clanricarde and Roscommon, the lord viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, and one or two other lords and gentlemen, giving them authority to meet

\* "Above one thousand bills of indictment in two days! Suppose that the jury sat twelve hours each day, from six in the morning till six in the evening, without obeying any of the calls of hunger, it was at the rate of forty-two bills in one hour, or two every three minutes."—*Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*, by M. Carey.

† The Duke of Ormond.

and act for this purpose. By the lords-justices this leaning towards mercy was regarded, of course, with horror; for they saw in it, as they almost confessed, "a step towards the peace of the country, and their own ruin." But, though unable to defeat altogether this measure of mercy, they resolved, by some artful expedient, to thwart or embarrass the execution of it. Accordingly, on the day appointed for meeting at Drogheda, the agents of those ten Catholic lords who had signed the petition to his majesty, there came a trumpet to the supreme council of the confederates then sitting at Ross, with a safe conduct from the lords-justices, for such of their number as might be required to state in full their wants and grievances to the king's commissioners. In the commission there occurred the words, "odious rebellion," applied to the proceedings of these very Catholics; and though accustomed to such insolent language from their haughty masters, they had not yet learned to brook it tamely. Under the influence of this wounded pride, a letter was addressed by the confederates to the lords commissioners, in which they say, "We have received an instrument, signed by the lords-justices, in which we observe how it lies in the power of some eminent ministers of the state either surreptitiously to procure from beyond, or unwarrantably to insert in their writings here, the words 'actors or abettors in so odious a rebellion,' and to apply them unto the Catholics of this kingdom." They then give vent to their indignant feelings in the following impassioned words:—"We are not, praise be to God, in that condition to sacrifice our loyalty to the malice of any; and it would be a madness beyond expression for us, who fight in the condition of loyal subjects, to come in the repute of rebels, to set down our grievances.\*

\* In this opinion, the king himself appears to have agreed with his Irish rebels, for we are told that soon after the battle of Naseby, a manuscript copy was found of Sir Edward Walker's Discourses of the Events of the Civil war, in which, among several other corrections in the king's handwriting, it was observed that in one place, where the writer had occasion to speak of the insurgents, and had styled them rebels,

We take God to witness, there are no limits set to the scorn and infamy flung upon us; and we will be in the esteem of loyal subjects, or die to a man."

This apprehension, lest they themselves, and the righteous cause in which they had embarked, should be confounded with the acts and actors that had so deeply disgraced the first movements of the late rebellion, continued to haunt and disquiet all those who took any pride in the national character; and, under the influence of this feeling, the whole body of the Catholic nobility and gentry addressed, at this time, through their agents at Oxford, a petition to his majesty, praying "that all murders committed on both sides, in this war, might be examined in a future parliament, and the actors of them exempted out of all the acts of indemnity and oblivion." But this proposal the Protestant agents, who were then attending his majesty at Oxford, thought it prudent to decline; nor was it till the conclusion of the peace, in 1648, that any formal inquiry was instituted on the subject.

Though treated with so much insolence on their own soil, the noble stand made by the Irish in defence of their ancient faith had awakened a feeling of interest throughout all Catholic Europe; and at Rome it was not forgotten that Ireland had once been tributary to the apostolic see. It could not, therefore, be doubted, that the pope would lend all his aid, both spiritual and temporal, to forward the progress of so holy and catholic a cause. Accordingly, about the middle of July, this year, Pierfrancesco Scarnapi, a father of the congregation

the king had drawn his pen through the word "rebels," and had substituted the term "Irish" in its stead.—*Godwin's History of the Commonwealth*. It cannot be denied that, in the first wild outbreak of the insurrection, some most horrible crimes and cruelties were committed, but as the popular spirit advanced, it redeemed its first excesses, became at every step more pure, and, under more favouring auspices, might have justified the exclamation of an Irish writer,—

"Rebellion! foul dishonouring word,  
Whose wrongful blight so oft has stained  
The holiest cause that pen or sword  
Of mortal ever lost or gained."—*The Fire-worshippers*.



of the oratory and minister from his holiness the pope, arrived with large supplies both of men and military stores at Kilkenny. He brought with him letters also to the supreme council, the provincial generals, and the Catholic prelates. But the most precious of his spiritual gifts was a papal bull, granting a general Jubilee, and plenary absolution to all those who had taken up arms for the cause of the Catholic faith.

The avowed object of Scarampi's mission was to establish the public exercise of the Catholic religion in Ireland. But, however sanguine were at first his hopes of being able to effect this object, he was soon convinced that it could not be accomplished by enthusiasm alone; but that time, labour, and the devotion of many years could alone promise even a hope of the consummation of such a work. To use his own words, "when a vineyard has thus been left for a whole century to run wild, it cannot all at once be purged of its thorns and tares; but must gently, and by little and little, be brought back to a state of culture." \*

The arrival of the papal minister at Kilkenny not only added to the scene a new and important actor, but, by the ferment it caused, brought into increased activity all those various and jarring interests of which Kilkenny had now become an active arena. Here, among other workers of strife, were collected the agents or representatives of those whose interests were likely to be affected by the king's new and favourite expedient, the Cessation; and among all the opponents to this measure, the most vehement were the Irish of the old race and their clergy. Being emboldened, too, by the presence of the papal minister, these staunch Milesians proudly demanded not only the establishment of the ancient worship, but its restoration in all its former splendour. The position, indeed, in

\* Convien dunque d'usare in ciò somma distrezza prudenza, perciocché non si può da una vigna per un secolo intero insalvatichita stradicare in un tratto gli sterpi e dumi; ma fa di mestieri di purgarla pian piano e di ridurla a poco a poco alla cultura.  
—*Rinuccini.*

which all moderate and conscientious Catholics were placed at this critical period, could not be otherwise than painful and trying. On one side were the friends of the king representing the shame it would bring upon loyalty were they to desert their royal master in his present exigence, or belie those protestations of peace and allegiance which they had proffered to him. "For our own sakes," said they, "we urge the policy of granting supplies to his majesty, which will be compensated by saving the country from all the ravage and ruin of warfare."

On the other side were partisans equally plausible, who, hostile to the king, and distrusting his professions, protested strongly against all those who either relied upon his word or lent any sanction to his new and already condemned measure, the Cessation. But more than all did they profess to pity and blame the wretched people who, in granting to the state such large supplies, put into its hands a strong weapon to be employed against themselves. Besides, "who," they asked, "could trust in the faith or mercy of the king, after the act of which he had been guilty not many years before, when, having pledged his royal word to the earl of Strafford\* that 'not a hair of his head should be touched,' he yet made not even an effort to save his devoted friend and minister, but left him to perish upon the scaffold?"

But, although such was the bitter spirit by which Scarampi and many of the old Irish were actuated, the more sensible and moderate of the Catholic party still adhered to their loyal and pacific declarations, and continued to urge strenuously the expedience, if not necessity, of still supporting the king. Among the most earnest in these efforts for peace, were the lords Clanricarde, Castlehaven, Muskerry, and other leading

\* Così ha fatto nel consentire alla sentenza di morte contro il Vicerè d'Ibernia, non istante d'aver giurato in contrario.—*Rinuccini*. In Rinuccini's work this great English name is always travestied into Il Conte di Trashford.

personages, ; and the result of their deliberations was, that, "considering the insupportable wants and miseries of the army, the great distress of many of his majesty's principal forts, the imminent danger of the whole kingdom, and the impossibility of prosecuting the war without large supplies, they did for those reasons conceive it necessary for his majesty's honour and service that a cessation of arms for one whole year should be agreed to upon the articles then drawn up and perfected." At first there occurred some difficulties respecting quarters, by which the treaty was for a time delayed ; but as soon as this point was finally adjusted, the Irish performed their part of the compact by granting to the king thirty thousand pounds, one half in money, to be paid at successive periods, and the remainder in beeves. The marquis of Ormonde and the Irish commissioners then signed the instrument of the Cessation, and it was ratified by the lords-justices and council, and publicly notified by proclamation to the whole kingdom.

The first result of this measure in England was the arrival at Mostyn, in Flintshire, of five regiments from Ireland, whose exploits are thus vividly described by a living historian : \*—"Their reputation, more than their number, unnerved the prowess of their enemies. No force ventured to oppose them in the field ; and, as they advanced, every post was abandoned or surrendered."

Never, certainly, did any project of which peace was the professed object encounter such a storm of opposition, indignation, and even downright rage, as broke forth throughout both England and Ireland on the announcement of the Cessation ; and, still more strangely, the first great burst of this general outcry came from some of those official persons who were the most bound by their position and duty to support the policy of their royal master. For instance, Sir Henry Tichburne, who

\* Doctor Lingard

had just been appointed to succeed Parsons as one of the lords-justices, declares, that so disagreeable was this measure to the Irish privy council, that most of them "would run any fortune and extremity of famishing rather than yield unto it." He had himself, as he tells us, set a subscription on foot with the hope to make up such a sum among the members of the privy council as would effect the king's object, "and there should be no further mention of a Cessation among them."

This loyal effort, however, did not succeed; the unlucky truce was suffered to take its course, and, says Tichburne, "was in sincerity of heart as much injured and delayed by me as was in my power." The English parliament saw in it a deep design of the king to draw from Ireland a part of the Popish army to assist him against the parliament, and in their rage at this project, they voted to impeach the marquis of Ormond as a traitor against the three kingdoms. The estates of Scotland, hardly less angry, declared loudly against the Cessation, and some of the Cavaliers were so much dissatisfied at this truce, that many of the earl of Newcastle's army laid down their arms, and the earl himself withdrew from Oxford, affirming that, after he had heard of the Cessation, his conscience would not allow him to remain there any longer." At the same time, twenty thousand English and Scots in the north of Ireland "vowed to live and die together in opposition to the Cessation."

But this explosion of party spirit, though rendered still more formidable by the share which it was generally known the English parliament had taken in promoting it, did not turn the king aside from his favourite project. There soon arose, however, considerable difficulties, which he had not anticipated, and which much delayed and embarrassed his design. For instance, the army had, before the Cessation, lived mostly upon what they forced from the enemy; but this supply being now stopped by the truce, there was nothing left for

their maintenance but a sum promised, for that purpose, by the articles of the Cessation. This also had been so long delayed, that it brought at last but little benefit.

But it was in the allotment of the different quarters that the greatest fraud, plunder, and confusion prevailed. In some instances, persons had got secretly into deserted castles and old houses, two or three days before the Cessation, and, taking possession of the lands in which they stood, retained them as their own; so that what they had gained by fraud or violence, they continued still to retain under the pretext of the truce.

Among the many unworthy samples of Irish gentility which the court had begun to import into England, none was so fortunate, in his own peculiar way and style, as that absurd lord, the earl of Antrim, who, having been early initiated into English society, reaped all the benefit from thence of which his vain and foolish nature was capable; lived familiarly with some of the wits and statesmen of his day; served as a butt for Strafford's jests; and is even commemorated by lord Clarendon, as "having desired to be so considerable that he might be looked upon as a greater man than the marquis of Ormond." \*

But a great and sudden reverse soon after befel this flighty lord. When Monroe first arrived in Ulster, at the head of his Scottish forces, the earl, who then had but recently come to this country, sent to proffer his services to the general, and declare his readiness to afford him assistance in securing the public peace. For a short time all wore the appearance of perfect amity between the two parties. But Antrim, though staunch and zealous against the insurgents, was a papist and a cavalier; two reasons fully sufficient in the eyes of Monroe for

\* The following is Clarendon's account of lord Antrim and his duchess:—"There was at that time at Oxford the earl of Antrim, remarkable for nothing but for having married the dowager of the great duke of Buckingham within a few years after the death of that favourite. The earl of Antrim was a man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding."



laying his lands waste and seizing his person. The manner, too, in which he effected his treacherous purpose, was worthy of the inveterate sect to which he belonged. From Carrickfergus, where his own forces were stationed, he made an expedition into the county of Antrim, where he was received at the castle of Dunluce, by the earl of Antrim, with every mark of hospitality and respect. But, at the conclusion of the entertainment, Monroe gave a signal to his followers, on which the earl was made prisoner, his castle seized, and his houses all committed to the custody of the Scottish forces. In this state of durance the poor peer remained for more than eight months, when he contrived to make his escape from the castle of Carrickfergus, and then was conveyed on foot through Ulster to Charlemont, where he met with a friendly reception in the quarters of Owen O'Neill.

Having resumed, together with his freedom, all his wild and witless schemes, he now openly avowed his design of being chosen generalissimo of all the Catholic party in Ireland. He likewise proposed to bring over ten thousand men of that country and faith to serve the king in England. There could not, indeed, be adduced any more pregnant proof of the infatuation that then prevailed in the king's counsels, than his having recourse, at so trying a crisis of his own fortunes, to the aid and advice of this most shallow lord.

But to Kilkenny Antrim especially turned his eyes as the great arena on which his various merits, whether as general, legislator, viceroy, or any other assignable post, were to be duly, and according to his own valuation, appreciated. In order to win his way with the confederates, he did not hesitate to take the oath of association, and was sworn one of the council. With the same convenient laxity, though he had a commission from the king to raise men for his service, he took another from the supreme council to be lieutenant-general of all 'heir forces in the kingdom.

In addition to his own folly, he possessed eminently the gift of making fools of others, and, in all that he wished, dreamt, or projected, found dupes conveniently ready at his command. His present wish was to be made a marquis, and accordingly that dignity was bestowed upon him; in return for which high honour, he made proposals to the supreme council to send ten thousand men into England, and three thousand to be employed in Scotland. As a worthy crown to all this glory, hopes were held out to him of being created duke of Argyle, if he could suppress the present lord of this name and all his adherents.

Among those displays of public spirit on which the Catholics now boldly ventured, none was so striking as the famous Remonstrance agreed on at Trim; a statement which clearly showed that the spirited people from whom it came, well deserved the rights and boons they thus so manfully sought. "The Catholics," they say, "of this kingdom, whom no reward could invite, no persecution could enforce, to forsake that religion professed by them and their ancestors, for 1,300 years, are, since the second year of queen Elizabeth, made incapable of places of honour or trust, in church or commonwealth; their nobles become contemptible, their gentry debarred from learning, in universities or public schools, within this kingdom; their younger brothers put by all manner of employment, in their native country, and necessitated to seek education and fortune abroad;—misfortunes made incident only to the said Catholics of Ireland, the most distinguished (their numbers, quality, and loyalty considered) of all the nations of Christendom." \*

Among the grievances which in detail they strongly complained of, were the penal statutes of the second year of queen Elizabeth; those threats against their religion in which the malignant party in England had indulged, and the cruelties

\* Carte's Letters, cxxxvii.

which were there executed on their ecclesiastics; the offensive conduct of the lords-justices in defeating every effort made by the Catholics to convey their grievances to the throne; the oppressive effects of the acts lately passed in England in favour of adventurers;—these and a number of other oppressive grievances they implore of his majesty to remedy, and to appoint for that purpose a free parliament, suspending during its continuance the operation of Poyning's Act. They conclude their long address by declaring, that, “in manifestation of their duty and zeal to his majesty's service, they will be most willing and ready to employ 10,000 men, under the conduct of well-experienced commanders, in defence of his royal rights and prerogatives.”

An event that followed soon after, or rather attended, this famous Remonstrance, shows, painfully, to what a condition the whole country had then been brought, as well by the violence of headlong misrule\* on one side, as by the deep and determined resistance with which, by the pen as well as by the sword, it was met and unshrinkingly encountered by the other. On the very day when the Catholic confederates were issuing their fearless Remonstrance at Trim, the marquis of Ormond marched an army to Rosse, where, in the battle that bears that name, he encountered the forces of general Preston, and in addition to the blood and havoc that marked his pro-

\* In looking back to those harsh times when such alone were the manner and temper in which Ireland was ever governed, it is some consolation to learn that one illustrious Englishman, the great lord Bacon, may be enrolled among the few who have pleaded the cause of the Irish:—“It is true,” he remarks, “no doubt, what was anciently said, that a state is contained in two words, *præmium* and *pæna*, and I am persuaded, if a penny in the pound which had been spent in *pæna*, (which is but a chastisement of rebels, without fruit or emolument,) had been spent in *præmio*, that is, in rewarding, things had never grown to this extremity.” He adds, as among the surest means of attaining this desirable object, “the keeping of the principal Irish persons in terms of contentment and without cause of particular complaint; and generally an even course between the English and the Irish.” Such was the healing policy which, more than two centuries since, this great man recommended to all future governors of Ireland.

gress thither and back, left 700 of the Irish dead upon the field.

Meanwhile Kilkenny, that ancient city in which they had fixed the seat of their government, continued to be the great centre of the confederacy, where all their councils were held, and from whence their orders issued. Here also the marquis of Ormond chiefly fixed his station, in order to watch over the king's interest, and promote that favourite object of his majesty,—a cessation such as might lead to a full and final accommodation. In conducting this difficult matter so as to relieve the wants of the monarch without affording any triumph to the Catholics, Ormond exerted all those powers of management in which long practice had rendered him a proficient. Whenever the views of the king seemed likely to give an advantage to the confederates, Ormond joined with the parliament party to defeat those views; and with similar skill he contrived to gain from the confederates supplies of men and money for the king, while at the same time he managed to cheat them of those advantages to which, by the compact, they were fairly entitled, and which the king was ready and anxious to confer.

To those materials of strife and mischief with which Ireland had long been furnished by the feuds of her own two rival races, there had now been added a fresh and further supply; for, at this period, there existed in Ireland four great and distinct parties, 1. that of the ancient or mere Irish; 2. that of the Anglo-Irish (these two forming together the great body of the Confederates); 3. the king's party, as it was called; and 4. that of the Puritans or Parliamentarians. In each of these several parties lay the rudiments of further strife and division. The mere or pure Irish, who, as we have seen, hated most heartily their Anglo-Irish brethren, agreed little better among themselves. Even into their family circles, this jealous spirit found its way; and that distinguished Irishman, Owen

O'Neill, was in perpetual strife with his brother Felix respecting the claim which they each of them laid to the earldom of Tyrone.\*

Such was the state of affairs in Ireland, when a treaty was set on foot at Oxford, where the king then held his court, for settling the peace of that kingdom; and as, by the articles of the Cessation, permission was given to the confederates to send agents to his majesty, the General Assembly chose for that purpose the lord Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, and six other gentlemen. The king had written to the lords-justices and council of Ireland to recommend to him persons qualified for such a trust; and among those nominated by them was archbishop Usher. How full of hope and even of confidence were the views with which the Catholics looked to the result of this proceeding, appears from the extent of the propositions put forth by them, and which amounted to little less than a total change of the government, both in church and state.

In this trial of temporal strength between the two creeds, there was a party in the king's court attached to the queen and her religion, upon whose aid the Catholics sanguinely calculated; and his majesty, besides this domestic influence, was swayed likewise by his eager desire to obtain the assistance of the Irish, which was now become essential to him in his war with the Parliament. Presuming on this state of affairs, and likewise deeming it, perhaps, a stroke of policy to startle the adverse party by the amount of their first demands, the Catholics brought forward a series of propositions such as could meet with no other fate than instant rejection. So extravagant, indeed, did these first demands appear, that it was thought "scandalous even to treat about them;" and the Irish agents, deferring to this strong feeling, withdrew the obnoxious propositions, and offered others which they regarded

\* La quasi irconciliabile inimicizia di D. Eugenio, e D. Felice O'Neill, tutti due pretendenti alla Contea di Tiron, in caso di linea finita.



as moderate and reasonable. Of these demands the most important were the freedom of religious worship and opinion, and the repeal of the penal laws against Catholics; a free parliament, with a suspension of Poyning's law while it was sitting; the repeal of all acts and ordinances of the Irish parliament since August, 1641, when that fatal prorogation took place to which they attributed all the disorders that had since occurred; a general act of oblivion; an act of limitation for the security of estates; the establishment of inns of court, and seminaries of education. It was likewise required that places of power, trust, and profit, should be equally and indifferently bestowed on Roman Catholic natives; that no person not estated nor resident should be allowed in either house of parliament, and that an act should be passed declaring the independency of the kingdom and parliament of Ireland upon those of England; that the jurisdiction of the Council Board should be limited to matters of state; that no chief governor should be continued above three years, and during his government should be disabled from purchasing lands, except from the king. In order to manifest their desire that the barbarities committed on both sides should be punished, and the offenders brought to justice, they proposed that a parliamentary inquiry should be made into all murders, breaches of quarters, and barbarities committed on either side, and that all offenders in these respects should be excepted out of the act of oblivion, and punished according to their deserts.

We have here a striking instance of the slow pace at which right and justice make their way. In these propositions submitted by the Irish to Charles I., are included most of the conditions in favour of religious liberty which our glorious Grattan succeeded in wresting from the English ministry in the memorable year 1782.

The propositions which in their turn the Protestant party brought forward, afford a specimen of deep and determined in-

tolerance, which, fertile as the history of creeds has been in such samples, has rarely, perhaps, been equalled. They required that the penal laws should remain in force, and be rigorously executed; that all the Romish clergy should be banished, and their churches and revenues given up to the Protestants; that the oath of supremacy should be strictly imposed on all magistrates, sheriffs of counties, justices of peace, and practising barristers; that nothing should be done derogatory in any respect to Poyning's law, the great bulwark of the royal power; that the present parliament should be continued, and the usurped power of the confederates immediately dissolved, themselves disarmed, and brought to condign punishment for their offences.

The steadiness with which the two armies that occupied Ulster had continued for so many years, and in the midst of such strife and confusion, to maintain their alliance unbroken, was, considering all the circumstances, not a little remarkable. But there had now been opened a fresh source of dissension in Ireland, by the introduction of that new pledge and badge of religious faction, the Solemn League and Covenant. In vain did Ormond exert all his influence to prevent the officers and soldiers under his command from joining in this wild movement, and quite as vainly was a proclamation at the same time issued, forbidding all persons to take or tender the covenant, as being contrary to the municipal law of the kingdom.

Monroe himself, ever foremost in strife and mischief, had taken the covenant with great solemnity in the church of Carrickfergus;—a step which prepared the English officers of the royal party for the persecution of all those who did not follow this high official example. Accordingly, there appeared a commission from the two English houses of parliament, empowering Monroe to command all the forces of Ulster, both Scottish and English, and to carry on the war against all enemies of the covenant. There were then in the north a great

number of royalists, who, upon learning this state of affairs, had assembled at Belfast in order to take into consideration the sort of answer they ought to return when Monroe should think right to summon them to submit. But they must have forgot the sort of negociator they had to deal with; for already he had received notice of their intended movements, and having devised a scheme to frustrate them, was, of course, neither slow nor scrupulous in executing it. Having given orders to the garrison of Carrickfergus, which was then his head-quarters, to be ready at two o'clock the next morning to march towards Belfast, he managed, through the treachery of the scouts to whom the night-watch was entrusted, to have the gates of the town opened to him; and early in the morning he was seen advancing in full speed towards one of the gates, which, before the drums could beat and the garrison be brought together, was opened to him by the soldiers of the guard. This treacherous seizure of Belfast added still more to the distrust with which the English began to regard their old Scottish allies.

While such was the state of affairs in Ulster, the Irish cause was but little more prosperous in that great centre of the Catholic confederacy, Kilkenny, where much dissension had lately arisen between the marquis of Antrim and the earl of Castlehaven, owing to the claims put forth by each to the chief command of the confederate forces. This struggle was, indeed, one of the results of the new policy adopted by Ormond for the discouragement, and, if possible, prevention, of the renewal of actual hostilities. With a view to this humane object, he obtained from the king a power of admitting to full pardon, "as regarded both life and lands," all such rebels as should return to the king's service and their duties. This timely use of the sole resource left to the state, in its present emergency, was attended with effects more salutary than even the state itself expected, nor was it long before these effects

began to be acknowledged. The Irish agents at Oxford, in writing to the Supreme Council, complained that it was "a dangerous way of breaking the Association;" while others remarked, that "it was the very way in which that great statesman Henry IV. of France broke the Holy League; and that doubtless in like manner the marquis of Ormond intended to ruin the confederacy of the Irish." It was a task indeed that even Ormond felt to be difficult, while the confederates, warned of his scheme, put forth the whole of their strength and influence to defeat it. But, in the end, his practised skill in managing the Irish at last prevailed, and he succeeded in breaking the force of that power which, says a writer little disposed to flatter the Irish,\* would have been sufficient, if united, "to crush all the Protestants, and drive all the king's adherents out of the kingdom."

The reader has seen in an earlier part of this narrative, that, soon after O'Neill joined the Confederate Irish, the earl of Lieven, the commander-in-chief of the Ulster forces, significantly warned Monroe, that "he would most certainly be worsted if once O'Neill got an army together." He would hardly, however, have risked so rash a prediction at the period we have now reached, when so much reduced was the Irish chieftain by a series of reverses, that he at length found himself forced to solicit aid from the Supreme Council, and was furnished by them with arms and ammunition.

He was soon after appointed to the command of Connaught, with every prospect, as he thought, of being made commander-in-chief. But this high post was conferred on the earl of Castlehaven, and the whole transaction, as told by this lord, in his Memoir of the Irish Wars, reflects credit both on the chieftain and the earl. "It happened," says Castlehaven, "that contrary to Owen O'Neill's expectation, who had designed this generalship for himself, by which he would be gen-

\* Carte.

eralissimo, I was the person chosen; which Owen Roe took extremely to heart, as I have reason to believe. However, he carried it fairly, and came to congratulate and wish me success, giving with it great assurances of his performance, and readiness to serve me to the utmost of his power."

But there had now arrived in Ireland a remarkable personage, the pope's nuncio, Battista Rinuccini, archbishop and prince of Fermo, a man full of religious ardour, with showy talents and ready eloquence, but little endowed with either sense or experience. This high-born churchman had long panted to distinguish himself by some religious achievement, and to the western Isles of Europe, more especially England and Ireland, his dreams of proselytism were most directed. But the cause of the struggling Irish was that which chiefly enlisted his hopes and sympathies, and he resolved to lend to that people every aid that his purse, presence, and priestly prayers could minister. Nor did he intend, in his pious labours, to trust to spiritual weapons alone, as may be judged from the following statement of his military stores:—He sent before and brought with him, says the account, 2,000 swords, 1,500 petronels, 20,000 pounds of powder, and five or six small trunks of Spanish gold; and had in his train 22 Italians, besides several clergymen.

Among the secret instructions that had been given to the nuncio, he was to solicit a secret audience of the queen of England, who was then at Paris, and to assure her that his mission had no other object than to sustain and propagate the Catholic faith in Ireland. He was to impress upon her the great advantage that would thence arise, more especially to the king, who, being left in a hopeless minority by his English Parliament, had no other remaining resource than those supplies which his Irish subjects so readily proffered. He was likewise to request the queen to use her influence with the marquis of Ormond, who, being himself an Irishman, and



born of Catholic parents, was till his sixteenth year of that faith, and as some would have it, was secretly Catholic still.\* Being the bearer of supplies and money sent by the pope to aid the Irish, Rinuccini was likewise directed to inquire the safest channel through which these aids could be transmitted, there being at that time no merchants in France who had bankers to correspond with in Ireland. These interviews with the queen were to be few and strictly secret,† lest their object should be suspected; more especially as her court at Paris “was always filled with heretics, Protestants, and Puritans, who took alarm at the least trifle, and saw in every thing grounds for fear.” But the queen, on political grounds, refused decidedly his request, saying, that it would appear as if he had been sent to her, if not to the king, and thus might furnish the parliament of England with fresh calumny against her husband, who would, on that pretence, be suspected of making a secret league with the pope. He was consoled, however, for this failure, by the many kind messages which he received from her Majesty, and which we may be sure lost none of their colouring in his own self-complacent report.‡ She even consented to his paying her a private visit, but this the princely envoy proudly declined. The queen persisted, however, in refusing his solemn visit, through the suggestions of some of the English of her court, who said it would raise a strong suspicion that herself, and the king her husband, had entered into a treaty with the pope; in short, that the nuncio was sent to her, and in her person to the king.

The public event which most excited general attention at

\* Ed anche per essere Irlandese, e, come alcuni vogliono, occultamente cattolico, che di sicuro dato da genitori cattolici, fu cattolico fino all' età di 16 anni; poi trasferitosi in Inghilterra.

† Questi colloqui colla Regina saranno segretissimi e rari, affinchè la sua corte non ne prenda sospetto, essendo ella contornata da Eretici, Protestanti e Puritani che hanno timore d' ogni piccola cosa, e tutto dà loro ombra.

‡ E però dopo i dovuti ringraziamenti alle lodi, favori e concetti che tiei di me la Regina, risposi che, &c.

this time was, the siege of Youghal by the Irish, and to its result the nuncio looked with peculiar interest, expecting from its success the first-fruits of his holy mission.\*

But this feeling of missionary ardour was somewhat damped by the danger with which he was threatened during his passage to Waterford, when his vessel, which carried but 21 guns, was closely chased by a Parliament frigate, commanded by captain Plunket. But, says lord Castlehaven, who relates the incident, "just as Plunket was ready to lay him on board, to the great misfortune of the confederate Catholics and many other good interests, the captain's kitchen chimney took fire, and to quench it, he was obliged to lie by, and give the nuncio an opportunity to go on shore." For this alarm, however, and one or two minor panics with which he was seized on his way, he was fully compensated by the triumphant reception which awaited him at Kilkenny, where his presence lent a new impulse to all the various contending creeds, feuds, interests, and factions, by which the whole island was at that time convulsed.

But to receive so illustrious a stranger with all the honours his office and rank deserved, the Supreme Council sent three ambassadors, attended by two troops of cavalry, as a guard against the English enemy. There came to meet him also, several gentlemen of the county, among whom were Richard Butler, brother of the marquis of Ormond, the baron Neterville, and many of the leading gentry. To give time for preparing for the honours of his reception at Kilkenny, he slept, the night before, at a small town within three miles of that city; and the particulars of his triumphal course, with all the nobility and the young people "coming forth to meet him," is described by himself with very natural self-complacency. The

\* S' accordano ben tutti a dire, che si continuava l'assedio di lockel, la cui vittoria, stimerei gran fortuna che dovesse dopo il mio arrivo esser le primizie degli avvisi, &c.

escort by which he was attended in this procession consisted of fifty young students all armed with pistols; and, while the cavalcade rested, one of these youths, who wore on his head a wreath of laurel, repeated to the nuncio some verses which had been written for the occasion. When arrived at St. Patrick's church, he found there assembled all the secular and regular clergy, and likewise the magistracy of the city; and the vicar-general held forth the cross for him to kiss.\* He then mounted his horse, having put on the pontifical hat; and while some of the principal citizens held a canopy over his head, proceeded in solemn pomp to the cathedral. With no less pride he dwells on all the circumstances of his visit to the Supreme Council, and the dignified manner in which he was received by the President, lord Mountgarret; nor, in describing the splendid chair of crimson damask on which he himself was seated,† does he omit to remark, that the gold on the chair which he occupied appeared to him of somewhat a finer kind than that which adorned the chair of the president.

One of the king's principal objects in concluding the Cession, was the power he should thereby obtain, of drawing over to England the army under the marquis of Ormond, for his own support against the parliament. To effect this object, a peace with the Irish was indispensable; and as the removal or relaxation of some of the laws against their religion was the boon they most anxiously desired, a negotiation on this ground was opened with them, which Ormond very reluctantly agreed to conduct. The king commanded him to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it might cost; adding,

\* Alla porta aspettava tutto il magistrato della città, ed in essa il vicario generale parato mi diede a baciare la croce; e salito ch'io fui a cavallo con la cappa e cappello pontificale, alzorno l'aste del baldacchino alcuni cittadini, che vennero sempre scoperti, ancorchè piovesse. Tutta la strada fino alla cattedrale, forse di non minor lunghezza che la lungara di Roma, aveva dalle bande la soldatesca a piedi con gli archibusi.

† La mia sedia era di damasco rosso con oro un poco più nobile di quella del Presidente.

that if the suspension of Poyning's Act for such bills as might be agreed upon, and the remission of the penal laws against the Catholics, would be sufficient, he should not think it a bad bargain.

The insurrection had now reached its highest pitch; and the confederates had made themselves masters of most of the great towns and counties of the kingdom. Abroad, too, so widely extended was the military fame of the Irish, that agents were despatched from France and Spain, to obtain for each of these countries a levy of forces from Ireland. The Spanish monarch had lately remitted thither a free gift of 20,000 crowns; and in return for this, the Irish agents at Madrid had offered to send into Spain a body of men for his service.

All this but increased the king's impatience to avail himself of those resources which, though thus open to other countries, were to him alone unavailable, from the rage of rebellion and faction, still rife in Ireland.

Such being the state to which his majesty was reduced, and his lord-lieutenant being too Protestant, or too cautious, to advance another step in the Popish direction, the only resource he had left for the attainment of his object, was to call to his aid some more pliant adviser—"one who," to use the king's own words, "would not stand on such nice scruples to do him service;" and this convenient sort of counsellor he found in a weak Catholic peer, the eldest son of the marquis of Worcester, whose name is indebted for its inglorious celebrity to those mean and fraudulent schemes of his royal master, in which, unconscious of the low service to which he was lending himself, he became pliantly the king's accomplice, tool, and dupe.

The preparations for this kingly fraud were contrived with no common art. The Irish had, for some time previously, been led by rumours skilfully circulated, to expect that a per-

sonage vested with extraordinary powers was about to visit their shore, and to realise some of those boons, both spiritual and temporal, which had so long and so fallaciously been held out to them. Lord Herbert, the chosen dispenser of these graces, was created earl of Glamorgan, and shortly after duke of Somerset, with the promise to his son in marriage of the king's daughter, Elizabeth, and a portion with her of three hundred thousand pounds. He was to receive also a commission to be generalissimo of three armies, English, Irish, and foreign, as well as admiral of a fleet at sea. Invested with these and other such proofs of weight and influence, he proceeded on his imposing mission to Ireland, where, having first assisted in the negotiation then carried on by the Catholic deputies at Dublin, he next proceeded to Kilkenny, and was there received with warmest welcome by the Irish clergy. He found them, however, inflexible on the subject of religion, and fully resolved to consent to no peace, but such as would leave them in possession of the churches. This, though held to be an enormous concession, the king's representative readily yielded, knowing that such large and seasonable succours, as the Irish were sure to supply, would easily excuse such a breach of instructions.

Accordingly a treaty was concluded (A. D. 1646) by which it was stipulated that the Catholic Irish should enjoy the public exercise of their religion; that they should retain all such churches and their revenues as were not actually in possession of the established clergy; and that the Catholic clergy should not be punished for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective flocks. In consideration of these concessions, the Irish agreed to supply the king with a body of ten thousand men, under the command of the earl of Glamorgan, as their lord-general, and with officers named by the Supreme Council. The Irish commissioners likewise pledged the faith of the



Council that two-thirds of the clergy's revenues should be employed for the space of three years towards the maintenance of the ten thousand men; the other third being reserved for the subsistence of the clergy. In order to aid and sanction his compact with the Irish, Glamorgan had brought with him full powers from his majesty, signed with his own hand and sealed with his private signet, with the view of giving, secretly, satisfaction to the Catholics on those points which had hitherto retarded the conclusion of the peace. This had been done, it was added, thus cautiously, because if these concessions were made public, this dangerous consequence might follow, that the Protestants who now adhered to the king would entirely abandon his cause. In addition to the various precautions by which secrecy, it was hoped, might be secured, Glamorgan succeeded in persuading the Catholics to divide the negotiation into two separate treaties, one of which was to be private, and the other public. In the public treaty were included those propositions which had been submitted to the king at Oxford, while the private treaty contained in it the concessions relating to religion.

Against this concealment of the religious portion of the treaty, the Papal minister indignantly protested. "What," he asked, "could be thought of such a compact, but that it was made for the sake of private and temporal advantages, and not for the honour and freedom of religion?" He likewise impressed upon them the utter hopelessness of any relief, or even justice, from the English people; and cited to them the words of lord Digby, that the Protestants "would sooner have flung the king out of the window, than allowed him to lend his sanction to those concessions."\* That Charles himself intended to ratify this treaty with the Irish, no one for an

\* Sapendo che tutti i Protestanti che servono S. M., quando avessero veduto il Re inclinato a confirmare gli articoli di Glamorgan, l'averebbono da se stessi preso per il collo e gettatolo per le finestre.

instant can suppose; as a living historian has pungently remarked, his want of faith was not to the Protestant but to the Catholic.\*

But the secrecy with which these negotiations had been managed was suddenly disturbed by a strange incident. Sir Charles Coote, a staunch partisan of the parliament, being commissioned to command in Connaught, had been despatched with a requisition to the English generals of the north, that they should assist him against the rebels, and especially lend him aid in reducing the town of Sligo, the chief seat of their strength. In this he succeeded without any difficulty, as Sligo was readily surrendered. But a warlike churchman, Malachias O'Kelly, titular archbishop of Tuam, having resolved on recovering Sligo, collected forces for that purpose; and leading the assault in person, was on the point of gaining possession of the town, when, exposing himself too rashly, he was slain in the thick of the conflict;† and on searching through his baggage, a number of papers were found, among which was a copy of the treaty concluded by the earl of Glamorgan with the confederates. The knowledge thus strangely acquired of the extent of the king's concessions to his Irish subjects, spread a ferment throughout the whole kingdom.

It would be difficult, indeed, to conceive a state of affairs more confused‡ and anomalous—more deformed by the worst

\* Hallam.

† To this warlike archbishop's character the Nunzio pays the following tribute:—"Per questa morte resta incredibilmente impoverita la Connacia di persone, per quel ch'io sento, d'indirizzo, e di risoluzione per la guerra, non essendovi nè gente di valore, nè molto ordine, o vero unione fra quelli che ne hanno il pensiero. Ma molto più dopo questo successo resta abbattuta la parte ecclesiastica nei consigli e pubbliche adunanze, dove l'Arcivescovo era potentissimo per il credito, e per l'eloquenza.

La città di Limerich si regge separata dal governo del Consiglio, come neutrale ed isolata; e quantunque sia cattolica ed aiuti la causa cattolica, ciò non ostante, derivando la sua separazione da private ragioni e dissensioni domestiche, nuoce moltissimo alla causa comune dei Cattolici; perciò si adopri ogni destrezza, moderazione ed efficacia affinchè si colleghi eolle altre città cattoliche.

‡ Of this confusion and its causes, Castlehaven in very few words gives us a notion:—"Some of our own parties," he says, "set up for themselves."

features, both of savage and civilised life—than was presented by the condition of Ireland at this most turbid crisis. The Scots and the parliamentarians still held possession of Ulster, and had lately taken Sligo; while Connaught was ruled by a triumvirate of presidents;—lord Dillon of Costilo being the king's president, and Sir Charles Coote the parliament's; while the titular archbishop of Tuam, lately slain, had been commissioned by the supreme council. In the midst of this strange and troubled scene, the city of Limerick, having separated from the Supreme Council, remained neutral and isolated; and had this policy been the result of a love of peace and habits of industry, such an example might have been of inestimable value. But far different, it appears, was the cause of this self-estrangement from the ranks of their countrymen, the truth being, we are told, that so deeply were they always busied in their own factions and family feuds, that not a single thought or word could they spare to the general weal of their country.

But, at the period we now have reached, an earnest desire for peace had been manifested, not only in the British isles, but throughout all Europe; and the rapidity with which, once spoken, the call for peace was echoed from shore to shore, proved how welcome was the long-banished guest. It is true in some of those cases the welcome was grudgingly given, as if, though peace spoke from the lips, hostility still rankled in the heart. In the peace proposed by Ormond, which proved ultimately the most acceptable, the nuncio "could see nothing but ignominy and infamy," and he protested, not without justice, against the king's scheming project of publishing the political part of the treaty, without the ecclesiastical.\* He likewise insisted that they should wait for the Pontifical peace made at Rome, the original of which, he declared, "on the

\* Che la pace Ormonica non si saria pubblicata senza la nostra.

honour of a prince,"\*—his usual expression,—should soon be forthcoming. The queen Henrietta likewise had a peace of her own concoction to propose, and called to her aid in this Irish task no less an authority in the art of peace-making than the great Cardinal Mazarin.

To the Irish people it is highly creditable that, notwithstanding all the confusion which prevailed throughout this period, so few instances should have occurred of men deserting the political party with which they had first started. The only instance of gross apostasy that marks this period, was that of Lord Inchiquin, who, though lineally descended from our great Brian Boru, revolted at this time to the Parliament, and, as if to render more signal his apostasy, committed a barbarous massacre at Cashel. Having heard that a great number of the neighbouring priests and gentry had retired with their goods into the church of that city, he stormed it, and put three thousand of them to the sword, taking the priests even from under the altar.

As the king had now disowned the powers given by him to the earl of Glamorgan, the treaty of peace with the confederate Irish, which three years before the marquis of Ormond had undertaken to conduct, was now renewed under his auspices, and, on the 28th of March, 1646, was concluded at Dublin by the Irish commissioners.

But such a transaction between Insurgents and their Sovereign, preposterous as it must be under any circumstances, was, in this instance, rendered more absurd by the totally different aims and objects which the two parties thus engaged respectively pursued. The Confederates even proposed to Ormond that, if he would agree "that they might fight on all sides, to rid the kingdom of the common enemy, their counsels in all matters should be managed by his advice, and he

\* One of this vain prelate's boasts was, that "the Irish made as much of him as if the Pope himself had arrived in Ireland."

should have as much influence over their debates as if he sate at their board."

The luckless Irish, while thus they vaunted, little foresaw what bloodshed and suffering was in store for them. Already had they narrowly escaped the scourge of Cromwell's rule,—an intention having been announced on the part of parliament to send either him or lord Lisle to Ireland, with the title of deputy, and likewise an additional body of forces from England, "to overawe the rest, and subject them entirely to the commands of the parliament." Already had the Scottish general, who governed in Ulster, set an example of that mode of dealing with the Irish, which Cromwell some years after adopted,—having at Newry wantonly put to death sixty men and eighteen women. With this brutal Puritan soldier the Irish chief had not yet come in collision, nor ever did any two men more widely differ from each other than did the vapouring Scottish general and the quiet, but brave, descendant of the ancient Hy-Nialls, with whom he was now, for the first time, to encounter. But though to the sanguine spirit of the Irish, the very ardour they saw roused around them, appeared in itself a pledge and omen of success, there were difficulties yet to be faced, from which even the bravest might have shrunk. The powerful soldier with whom they had to cope commanded an army composed of the Old British forces and the New Scots; the former being regarded as the very best body of troops in the whole kingdom. To expect that the Irish, prompt and brave as they were, should venture to face such fearful odds, appeared at first to be wholly chimerical. A resource, however, suggested itself, which was hailed by O'Neill himself with the greater pleasure, as, while it served the public cause, it would also afford a most timely and welcome relief to a large class of suffering Irish, whose lands had lately been wasted by the incursions of the English forces into their territories. These people, who were called Creagths, led



a wandering life, like Tartars, and now most readily lent their aid to swell the ranks of the national army under the O'Neill.

About the end of May, 1646, this chief, at the head of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, approached Armagh.\* Munroe, who was then stationed within ten miles of the city, marched thither on the 4th of June, at midnight, with eight hundred horse and six thousand foot. Meanwhile, O'Neill, aware of his advance, had encamped his troops at Benburb, betwixt two small hills. The rear of his army was protected by a wood, and the right by the river Blackwater. Here Munroe determined to attack him, and for this purpose marched thither on the 5th of June, at the head of his troops.

He had ordered his brother, George Munroe, to proceed expeditiously with his corps from Coleraine, and to join him at Glasslough, or Benburb. O'Neill, aware of this movement, had despatched Colonel Bernard Mac Mahon and Patrick Mac Neny, with their regiments, to prevent this force from joining with Munroe. Munroe himself had passed the river, at a ford near Kinnaird (Caledon), and marched towards Benburb.

As he advanced, he was met by Colonel Richard O'Farrel, who occupied a strait through which it was necessary for him to pass; but the fire of his cannon compelled that commander, after a short rencontre, to retreat. And now the two armies met in order of battle. The wary O'Neill amused his enemy, during several hours, with various manœuvres and trivial skirmishes, until the sun, which at first had been favourable to the Scots, began to descend in the rear of the Irish troops, and shed a dazzling glare on their enemies. The detachment which O'Neill had sent against George Munroe, was seen returning towards the hostile armies. The Scottish general at first imagined that this was the expected reinforcement from Coleraine; but when he perceived his error, he prepared instantly

\* This account of the battle is taken chiefly from Stuart.

to retreat. O'Neill, however, seized the opportunity with the promptitude of an experienced commander, and charged the Scots and British with the most determined valour. The gallant lord Blaney, at the head of an English regiment, made a noble defence. He fell combating with the most undaunted resolution, and his men maintained their ground till they were hewn to pieces, fighting around their beloved commander. Meanwhile, the Scottish cavalry was broken by O'Neill's horse, and a general rout ensued. One regiment, indeed, commanded by colonel Montgomery, retreated with some regularity, but the rest of the British troops fled in total disorder. Lord Montgomery, twenty-one officers, and one hundred and fifty soldiers were taken prisoners; three thousand two hundred and forty-three men were slain on the field of battle, and many perished the succeeding day in the rout. Munroe himself fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving his artillery, tents, and baggage, with the greater part of his arms, booty, and provisions to the enemy. Colonel Conway, accompanied by captain Burke, also escaped to Newry, after having had two horses slain under him in his flight. The loss of O'Neill in this decisive battle was only seventy men killed and two hundred wounded.

There had now occurred within a few months three remarkable events. On the 28th of March, the peace was concluded with Ormond; on the 5th of May the king surrendered himself to the Scots; and on the 5th of June O'Neill triumphed at Benburb;—the only great victory, since the days of Brian Boru, achieved on Irish ground, by an Irish chieftain, and in the cause of Ireland.

O'Neill survived but a few years this brilliant triumph; and having been poisoned, it is thought, by some jealous enemy, died at Clocknacter.

*Accounts, by various Historians, of the Battle of Benburb.*

## MAC-GEORGHEGAN.

Owen ô Neill assembla au mois de Mai ses troupes, qui faisoient une armée d'environ cinq mille hommes d'infanterie et cinq cens de cavalerie; il se mit en marche avec ce corps pour aller du côté d'Ardmach. Monroe, à la tête de six mille hommes d'infanterie et de huit cens de cavalerie, tant Ecossois qu'Anglois, campoit à dix milles de cette place. Informé qu'ô Neill étoit en marche, et qu'il vouloit surprendre Ardmach, le Général Ecossois fit lever son camp le 4 Juin, et s'avança vers cette ville, où il arriva à minuit, dans le dessein de surprendre l'ennemi. Ayant appris ici qu'ô Neill étoit campé à Benburb, Monroe se mit en marche le lendemain pour l'aller combattre; quoiqu'il fut bien supérieur en nombre à ô Neill, il envoya ordre à George Monroe son frere, qui commandoit un corps de troupes à Coleraine, à quelques lieues de là, de le venir joindre à Glaslogh près Benburb: ô Neill en fut averti à temps, il envoya aussitôt les Colonels Bernard Mac Mahon et Patrice Mac Neny avec leur régimens, à la rencontre de ce renfort, afin d'en empêcher la jonction avec l'armée du Général Monroe. Ces deux Officiers s'acquitterent de la commission à la satisfaction de leur Général; ils taillèrent en pièces le corps ennemi commandé par le jeune Monroe, et retournerent le lendemain à Benburb, où ils partagerent avec ô Neill l'honneur de la victoire que ce Général remporta sur l'ennemi.

O Neill étoit posté avantageusement entre deux collines, ses derrieres étoient fermés par un bois, et sa droite appuyée sur la riviere de Blackwater; étant averti que le Général Monroe se portoit à Glaslogh, ô Neill fit faire un mouvement à sa cavalerie et se plaça sur une hauteur, d'où il examina l'armée Ecossoise dans son passage sur l'autre bord de la riviere.

Dans ces entrefaites les Ecossois passerent la riviere à gué près de Kinard, et marcherent vers Benburb; ô Neill envoya aussitôt un détachement sous les ordres du Colonel Richard ô Ferral, pour occuper une gorge par laquelle l'ennemi devoit passer; mais le feu du canon ennemi rendoit ce poste insoutenable, et obligea ô Ferral de ce retirer, ce qu'il fit en bon ordre.

Les deux armées se mirent en ordre de bataille; ô Neill amusa l'ennemi pendant quelques heures par de légères escarmouches et des coups de fusil tirés au loin, en attendant le déclin du soleil qui l'incommodoit pendant la journée; et l'arrivée du détachement qu'il avoit envoyé la veille à

la rencontre des troupes de Coleraine. Monroe qui vit arriver ce corps, le prit d'abord pour le renfort qu'il attendoit de Coleraine; mais le voyant rentrer dans le camp d'ô Neill, il s'aperçut de son erreur. O Neill fit charger alors l'ennemi; il ordonna à ses troupes d'avancer jusqu'à la portée de la pique sans tirer un coup, et de fondre sur l'ennemi le sabre à la main. Cet ordre fut exécuté avec la plus grande valeur. Le régiment Anglois commandé par le Lord Blaney, après une vigoureuse défense, fut taillé en pièces, la cavalerie Ecossoise fut enfoncée par celle d'ô Neill, la confusion fut grande et la déroute devint générale: il n'y eut que le régiment du Chevalier Jacques Montgomery qui se retira en corps, tout le reste de l'armée se sauva dans le plus grand désordre. Le Colonel Conway, après avoir eu deux chevaux tués sous lui, gagna avec peine Newry, accompagné du Capitaine Burke et d'environ quarante cavaliers. Le Lord Montgomery fut fait prisonnier avec vingt-un Officiers et environ cent cinquante soldats; il resta du côté de l'ennemi trois mille deux cents quarante-trois morts sur le champ de bataille, sans parler de ceux qui furent tués le lendemain dans la poursuite. Le Général ô Neill perdit dans cette bataille environ soixante-dix hommes tués et deux cents blessés; il prit toute l'artillerie des Ecossois, leurs armes, leurs tentes et bagages, avec trente-deux drapeaux. Le butin fut considérable; il consistoit en quinze cents chevaux de trait et en provisions pour deux mois de toute espèce. Le Général Monroe se sauva avec peine à cheval par la fuite sans chapeau et sans perruque; il fit bruler Dundrum, il abandonna Port-à-Down, Clare, Glanevy, Down-Patrick et autres places fortes; et la consternation fut si grande dans son armée, qu'un grand nombre quitta l'Irlande pour se sauver en Ecosse.

#### WHITELOCK'S MEMORIALS.

The Scots forces in Ulster marched out of their garrisons under Major Munro to fall upon the rebels; all of them were about 5000 foot, and eleven troops of horse. They were informed that the rebels had eight regiments of foot and twelve troops of horse, completely armed. But the Scots would not believe it, nor valued it, but the British forces marched after them. The rebels drew up in good order in a place of advantage, and set divers ambuscades. The British horse drew up so near them that they were galled and retired. Their ambuscades made the Protestants retire; and after some hours' hot dispute, the rebels prevailed; near 500 of the Protestants killed, taken, and routed; five field pieces, with all the ammunition and baggage lost, and about 5000 foot-arms, and most of the officers killed and taken.

The Lord Montgomery and Lord Blaney taken, the Lord Conwey had two horses killed, yet mounted on a third, and escaped. Many horses lost, and more wounded.

## RINUCCINI.

RELAZIONE DELLA BATTAGLIA D' ULTONIA SEGUITA FRA I CATTOLICI E GLI SCOZZESI.

Dopo che i due Generali Eugenio e Felice O'Neil per opera di Monsignor Nunzio con generosa reconciliazione ebbero uniti gli animi, unirono anco le forze, e si fece la massa dell' esercito nei confini della Lagenia. Quivi avendo inteso il Generale D. Eugenio, che l' inimico sotto la condotta del Capitano Monroe scozzese stava preparato nel contado di Tiron, fece risoluzione d' andarlo a trovare; e dato ordine che ogni soldato portasse addosso i viveri per sedici giorni, dieda la marcia e s' avanzò sessanta miglia dentro l' Ultonia.

L' inimico inteso la risoluzione dei Cattolici girando verso la città d' Armagh procurò d' incomodargli il sito ed il paese, ed alla fine si trovarono in due campi un miglio vicini all' altro ad un luogo detto Bemborb il giorno di venerdì, ai 5 del presente mese: furono collocate l' ordinanze con grandissimo sapere da tutte le parti. Gli Scozzesi avevano dieci reggimenti d' infanteria e quindici compagnie di cavalli, seguitate da mille cinquecento carrette fra munizioni e bagaglio, con cinque pezzi di cannoni da campagna. I nostri non arrivavano a cinque mila fanti, e otto truppe di cavalleria, onde si resero tanto più ammirabile il valore dei capitani, l' ardire dei soldati, ed il miracolo della vittoria.

Ma dalla parte dei Cattolici fu notabile la prima preparazione al combattere. Confessatosi tutto l' esercito, ed avendo il Generale D. Eugenio preso con grandissima pietà insieme con gli altri Capitani il Santissima Sacramento, si diedero le fedi della confessione in mano del P. Eugenio uno dei Definitori generali degli Osservanti, deputato da Monsignor Nunzio alla cura spir'ituale dell' esercito, il quale dopo una breve esortazione diede a tutti la benedizione Apostolica, e subito chiamando il nome di S. S. s' accinsero al conflitto.

I cannoni scozzesi diedero principio alla pugna, ma dopo molte sparate non restò morto che uno dalla parte cattolica; venuti alla zuffa si combattè per quattr' ore con tanto valore, che non si seppe conoscere da qual parte fosse il vantaggio, ancorchè i Cattolici oltre al numero avessero di più lo svantaggio del sole e del vento contrario, benchè questo sul principio della battaglia con gran maraviglia d' ognuno s' andasse a poco a poco scemando. Alla fine s' accorse il Generale che l' inimico voleva ritirarsi, e ristrettosi speditamente con i suoi mostrò loro per diverse ragioni, che la ritirata non



potenza succedere senza danno di essi nemici, e però voleva che si seguitasse avanti, promettendo sicura vittoria. Io dissi, con l' aiuto del Cielo, e con l' augurio della benedizione ricevuta, m' invio avanti di tutti: chi sarà di parere diverso, si ricordi che in questo luogo averà abbandonato il suo capitano. Detto questo s' alzò un grido universale dell' esercito, e scesi a piedi tutti i Colonnelli per tagliarsi il ritorno, diedero dentro con ferocia incredibile.

La cavalleria cattolica aprì lo squadrone avversario, e venutisi alle picche e alle spade i Puritani cominciarono a cedere, disordinarsi e confondersi, sicchè alla fine restorno in tutto disfatti e trucidati sul campo, saziatosi di sangue e di preda fino ad ogni soldatello ordinario. Sul campo sono stati numerati i corpi fino a 3243. Degli altri uccisi nelle strade per dove fuggivano, ai passi delle quali aveva inviata soldatesca il Generale, non si è potuto sapere il numero, ma ben' è certo, che della fanteria son rimasti tutti morti, per l' uccisione fatta sparsamente nei due giorni seguenti, e dei cavalli sono scampati pochissimi. Si è guadagnato il bagaglio, i cannoni, i viveri, i padiglioni, e le spoglie. Il Generale Monroe fuggi ferito, perchè si è trovato il cappello, la spada, ed il ferraio. Prigionieri sono rimasti 21 ufficiali, tutti gli altri ammazzati.

Dei nostri son morti solamente settanta, e fra questi un Sig. principale Ultoniese, ma venturiere. Cento soli feriti uno dei quali è il Colonnello Fenel percosso in una spalla, che si è segnalato fra gli altri con incredibile bravura.

#### LELAND.

The Scottish general, Monroe, drew out six thousand foot and eight hundred horse; and by a forced march, arrived by midnight at Armagh, in order to surprise O'Neill in his quarters. Here he learned that the Irish army lay seven miles farther, at a place called Benburb, strongly posted between two hills, with a wood behind, and on their right the river Blackwater, thought difficult to be passed.

On the next morning, Monroe marched on the other side of the river in full view of O'Neill, to meet a considerable reinforcement which he expected; when, finding a ford unexpectedly, he crossed the river, and advanced on the Irish. Each army was drawn up in order of battle: but, instead of coming to a general engagement, the Irish general contrived to waste the day, and amuse the enemy with skirmishes. The sun, which had been favourable to the Scots, was now declining on the back of his army. A detachment which he had sent to oppose the troops expected by Monroe had been foiled in the attempt, and now hastened to join the

main body. Monroe was alarmed at seeing the enemy reinforced by a considerable troop, which, as they advanced, he had mistaken for his own men. He prepared to retreat, and in that moment was furiously attacked by the Irish, in full confidence of victory. An English regiment, commanded by Lord Blaney, maintained their ground till he and most of his men were cut to pieces. The Scottish cavalry was soon broken, cast the foot into disorder, and produced a general rout. More than three thousand of the British forces were slain on the field of battle, with the loss only of seventy killed on the part of the Irish. The Scots artillery, most of their arms, tents, and baggage, a great quantity of booty and provisions, were taken. Monroe fled with the utmost precipitation, abandoned several posts of strength, summoned the whole northern province to take arms against the victorious Irish, was vigorously pursued, and Ulster on the point of being entirely reduced by O'Neill, when this general was suddenly called by the Nuncio into Leinster to oppose the peace, and instantly marched at the head of ten thousand barbarous ravagers; for to this number had his army swelled by the victory of Benburb.

## WARNER.

O'Neill having been with the Nuncio in the spring, and received some supplies for his army, at the latter end of May assembled a body of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, with which he advanced towards Armagh. Monroe having drawn out above six thousand to oppose him, and having received intelligence that the enemies' design was to possess themselves of that city, he caused his army to march thither, with hopes of finding O'Neill there and surprising him in his quarters. But the Irish were encamped at Benburb, seven miles further, strongly posted between two hills; having a wood behind them, and the Blackwater, which was thought difficult to be passed, on their right. But Monroe, finding a ford in the river unexpectedly, passed over, and advanced to meet the Irish. O'Neill amused them with little skirmishes for four hours, till he had got the sun on his back, and till a detachment which he had sent off in the morning had returned. The Scots, who had stood all that time in order of battle without advancing, being much surprised to see such a body join the Irish, began to make their retreat. O'Neill then attacked them in earnest; and having ordered his men not to fire until they were within a pike's length of the enemy, they did incredible execution. The English regiment, commanded by Lord Blaney, maintained their ground till he and most of his men were cut to pieces; and the Scotch horse being

pushed, and falling in disorder upon the foot, a general rout ensued. Above three thousand were slain on the field of battle, with inconsiderable loss on the side of the Irish, who took the Scotch artillery, most of their arms, colours, tents, and baggage, fifteen hundred draught horses, and two months' provision. Monroe himself fled without his hat and coat to Lisburn, and ordered the whole country to rise; which caused a general consternation.

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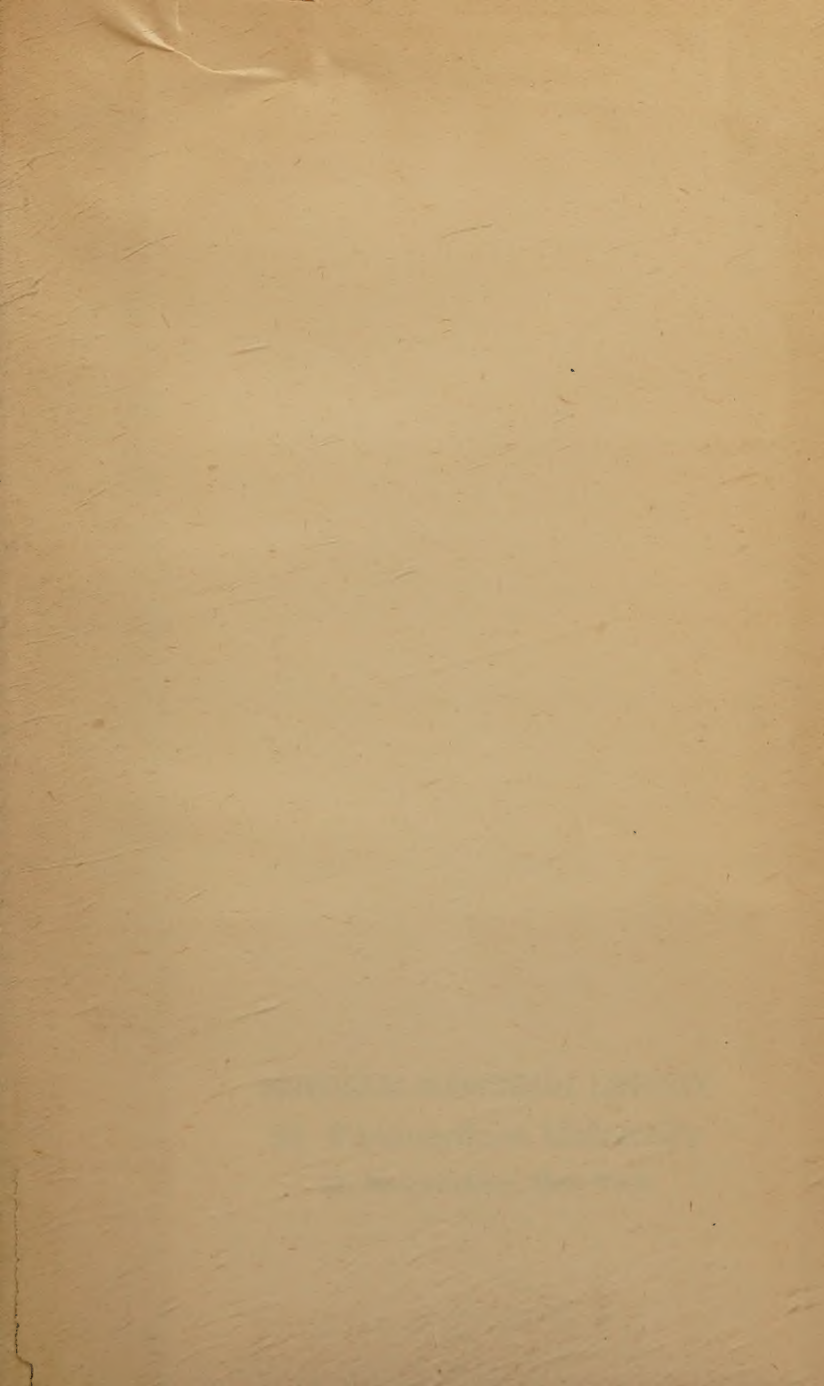
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